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HISTORY OF METHODIST MISSIONS

IN SIX VOLUMES

HISTORY OF METHODIST MISSIONS
In Six Volumes

PART ONE
EARLY AMERICAN METHODISM, 1769–1844
in Two Volumes

VOL. I, MISSIONARY MOTIVATION AND EXPANSION
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PART TWO
THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, 1845–1939
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MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL
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WORLD OUTREACH OF METHODIST MISSIONS *in*
EDUCATION, LITERATURE, MEDICAL SERVICE, AND COOPERATION

HISTORY OF METHODIST MISSIONS

In Six Volumes

PART TWO

The Methodist Episcopal Church 1845-1939

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME THREE

Widening Horizons

1845–95

by

WADE CRAWFORD BARCLAY

The Board of Missions of The Methodist Church
New York, 1957

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Preface

The writing of this volume has required more time than was anticipated. It is, however, in content the size of two ordinary volumes of this series. The author is reminded of the historian William Lovett's apologetic statement upon issuance—four years late—of his centennial history of the London Missionary Society. "Had he realized . . . ," he said, "that the work would have demanded *half* the patient research, the weary plodding through letters, reports, books, and material of many kinds, and the prodigal expenditure of time it has required, he would never have dared to undertake it." His statement throws light on the time schedule of the present volume but it should also be said that the geographical spread of the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, embracing as they did the American continent, much of Europe and of Latin America, a considerable expanse of Africa, and a great part of China, India, Malaya, Japan, and Korea, was much wider than that of the London Missionary Society.

During the years covered by this volume tremendous changes took place in the life of society. Spurred by the industrial revolution, the nation overhauled earlier patterns and forged ahead in an enlarged world of opportunities. During the four decades 1850-90 the national population increased from approximately twenty-three million to more than sixty-three million, almost a threefold increase. Owing to the immense immigration of peoples of widely diverse racial and cultural backgrounds the ethnic composition of the population was notably changed. The agricultural economy which had prevailed from the founding of the nation gave way to a dominant industrialism. Unprecedented developments in the physical sciences wrought far-reaching changes in cultural life. The application of the principles of historical criticism to the study of the Bible altered traditional patterns of religious thought and belief. In its membership the Methodist Episcopal Church more than kept pace with the growth of population registering almost a fourfold increase. These developments all profoundly affected the Church.

"Are our preachers as ready to pioneer the Western wilderness as were the men of other years? Is there as much of the spirit of self-sacrifice among them now as formerly?" With such questions as these the Missionary Society challenged the Church as it faced the task imposed by the rapidly changing conditions. Stephen Olin, one of the truly prophetic preachers of the time, saw

[illegible]5927, cop. 2

"something fearfully ominous" in the prevailing situation and again and again lifted his voice in summons to the Church to face heroically its total missionary task.

Decade by decade as the period passed the home missions program was expanded until it gained immense proportions. Not less than six different types of missions were developed.

The Church's world outreach during the period of 1845-95 was amazing. In 1845 Liberia was the one overseas mission of the Church, the South America Mission having been practically abandoned in 1841-42. In 1895 the number of overseas Annual Conferences and Mission Conferences numbered twenty-four: in China, three; in India, five; in Europe, seven; in Africa, one; in South America, one; in Japan, one; in Korea, one; in Malaysia, one; in Mexico, one. The author has endeavored to portray the impressive stature of many of the missionaries, working against almost insuperable obstacles, with no precedents to guide them, no foundations laid by others on which to build and, particularly in the Orient, compelled to use languages which it took years to master. He has sought to describe graphically the complexity of the missionaries' task, involving not only preaching the Gospel but also building houses, chapels, and churches; founding and maintaining schools in which it was necessary that they and their wives in the beginning should do the teaching; healing the physical ills of the people, establishing dispensaries and eventually hospitals; planning the strategy of advance with the aim of finally occupying as large an area of the entire field as humanly possible; and, finally, placing the distinctive stamp of Methodism upon every phase of the program.

The author has not been content to accept uncritically the factual statements and evaluations of secondary sources. Every fact has been documented, in the large majority of cases from an original source. Every critical judgment has been based upon careful weighing of evidence. Limitation of space has made it impossible to include biographical sketches of all those who played a notable part in the great drama of mission history. Biographies of a few of the representative men and women of each mission were included, with the author's frank acknowledgment that data on others equally worthy of mention had to be omitted. As in the preceding volumes of the series, in many instances the author has let the missionaries speak for themselves. This has been done with the conviction that the words of their own mouths, and the description of events as they themselves saw them, add a degree of human interest to the narrative that could not be imparted in any other way.

What can the Church learn from its early missions? Do we know enough about the history of Methodist missions of yesterday to discern where possible mistakes may have been made? Was the foundation which was laid wholly of Christ and His teaching? Or was the message of the Gospel too narrowly conceived? Did missionaries purpose a too exact re-creation of the Church of the Western world? Was there any portion of truth in the old charge that the Church in the nineteenth century unthinkingly followed the flag in the era of a rapidly developing, socially blind industrialism; of a growing, increasingly dominant economic power; of a new imperialism, unconsciously contributing to the development throughout the world of a narrow nationalism? On the other hand, did some missionaries subscribe to and propagate "the conviction that in . . . extending the range of Western liberal culture and developing its assumptions they were in effect establishing on earth that which would grow into the Kingdom of God"? To what extent did they hold a too easy belief in man's ability to create by himself an ever better society, even to the extent of assuming that human society is keyed to a process of inevitable progress? All of these are questions which the history of missions should help us to answer and which, if answered, should aid the Church in avoiding mistakes of the past. The author ventures the hope that this volume will serve—besides use as a reference work—as a means of bringing to the ministry and laity of the Church a measure of clearer realization of the tremendous scope and difficulty of the Christian missionary task, and a challenge to deeper consecration and greater effort toward its fulfillment.

Acknowledgments

During the years this Volume has been under way the author has from time to time called upon the services of so many friends, interested persons, authorities, that all cannot be named, although each in some way contributed to his aim for complete accuracy in statement, an interesting narrative, and evaluation and interpretation of the sources. To all the missionaries, active and retired, who furnished him with materials of their own or of their parents—personal correspondence, diaries, and other records; clippings, newspapers, and out-of-print publications—he is forever indebted. But for these, it would have been impossible to picture the work in progress as accurately as has been done. Very often these invaluable records were preserved only because these individuals recognized the tremendous importance of primary documents, and in danger to life rescued their files through earthquake, fire, and alarm of war. To those especially who were in a position to visit at our office and came in expressly to read the manuscript and advise, he particularly wishes to say thanks. Among these are Dr. E. M. Moffatt, retired missionary of India, and August Klebsattel, retired missionary of Africa. On the China field we have had particular interest shown and cooperation from Mrs. Egerton H. Hart, Miss Grace Hart, Mrs. Stanley B. Reynolds, Dr. Harry L. Canright, Mrs. F. T. Brewster, Mrs. H. Olin Cady, Jacob F. Peat, and Frederick M. Pyke. Mrs. Elizabeth Bruere and Mrs. Ivan Prowattain supplied personal items for the India account. On the American scene J. H. Wenberg gave materials on the Oneida Indians. Mrs. Ernest Lyons proffered a tremendous collection of Oldham papers. L. R. Kipp offered help on Africa. The list is too long to mention the names of all those missionaries who supplied—following a general request for materials—their collections of pertinent data.

To those who gave unstintingly of their time in reading the manuscripts on various sections the author offers his grateful thanks. He cannot fail to mention the patient help of Miss Elizabeth M. Lee, Miss Henrietta Gibson, James K. Mathews, T. T. Brumbaugh, Earl R. Brown, and Frank T. Cartwright among others.

For special assistance in drafting the chapters on the foreign fields he must acknowledge the labors of many others. Charles W. Iglehart brought his intimate acquaintance with Japan into service in constructing the chapter on the Japan Mission. Arlow W. Anderson applied his wide knowledge of Norway and Denmark to the account of Methodist missions in those countries; and Henry C. Whyman gave like assistance on Sweden. Earl L. King rendered aid on the chapter on Africa; and Miss Florence Hooper helped substantially in the preparation of the section on Bulgaria. Mary E. Moxcey and Alfred D. Moore both contributed to the assembling and ordering of material for the account of Italy; and E. Leigh Mudge aided on the Germany and Switzerland section. Bishop Juan Pascoe from his close connection with the Mexico mission was able to supply primary sources for use in the history of that mission; and Franklin D. Cogswell worked indefatigably in aiding to draft the account of its development. Don Yoder assisted in organizing the South America source materials.

As always, one owes much to librarians and custodians everywhere. My gratitude can never be fully stated for the patient, untiring efforts of Miss Dorothy Woodruff, Librarian of the Board of Missions, in locating and obtaining source materials, in arranging loans of books, in checking data, and in many other ways. To her capable assistant, Mrs. Elsie Lund, a word of thanks must also be expressed. The cooperation of the librarians of Missionary Research Library, Union Theological Library, and Drew University Library must also be mentioned, as speeding our research and easing the burden of work.

Research for the present volume in the field of Woman's Work was begun by Mrs. Bonnie Schlosser Michaud and continued until the end of her tenure in November, 1951. Mrs. Otis Moore became a member of the staff in December, 1951, with special reference to Woman's Work. Her previous connection with the W. F. M. S., her intimate acquaintance with India missions, and her indefatigable energy made her service invaluable. In addition to extensive research she wrote the section in Chapter VII, as revised by the Author, on the Korea Mission.

Sincere and grateful appreciation is expressed to members of the office staff for their unvarying cooperation and diligent labors. Mrs. Elizabeth Schiffman as Editorial Assistant gave much valuable aid, especially through her close attention to the checking of data and annotation of references. Mrs. Noreen Barron Church, Researcher, in addition to research on most of the subjects treated in this volume, wrote the section on Germany and Switzerland missions as it appears in Chapter X, revised by the Author. Mrs. Ursula Colbourne Brecknell, Associate Historian and Editor, wrote the chapter on Africa missions in collaboration with the Author, and gave immeasurable aid in the preparation of the entire volume. She also bore the final responsibility for the assembling of the References and Notes and for the Index. Much help has also been received from a number of office assistants who have served on the staff from time to time.

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I

The Changing Structure of American Society 1845-95

WITHIN THE HALF CENTURY 1845-95 changes of profound significance occurred in the life of State and Church in the United States, affecting every phase of the nation's existence. Immigration on an unprecedented scale phenomenally increased the population, notably modifying its ethnic composition. The prevailing agricultural economy of the country gave way to a dominant industrialism. Great cities arose, to become a principal factor in social, political, and commercial life. The national wealth vastly increased, great fortunes were accumulated by a few, and the general income level of the American people was substantially raised. Unprecedented developments in the physical sciences wrought far-reaching changes in the cultural life of society, and the application of the principles of historical criticism to the study of the Bible altered traditional patterns of religious thought and belief. In the name of Manifest Destiny a definite, ambitious expansionism emerged; and as the nineteenth century drew to its close the nation came to be recognized as a foremost world power.

The seventh federal census (1850) indicated a population of 23,191,876; the eleventh (1890), 62,622,250, almost a threefold increase.[1] In 1900, of the European nations only Russia exceeded the United States in number of people.

INCREASE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

The period was characterized by rapid growth of the Churches. The proportion of church members in the total population increased from 22 to 34 per cent. Dorchester in his *Christianity in the United States* estimates the number of communicants of the Protestant Churches in 1850 at 3,529,988,* while Shaughnessy in *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* calculates the Roman Catholic population for that year at 1,606,000, a total estimated church membership of 5,135,988, or one church member to 4.5 of the population.[2] In 1890 H. K. Carroll, who was director of the Division of Churches of the eleventh census, estimated Protestant communicants as 14,180,000, and the Roman Catholic population as 7,362,000, a total for both groups of 21,542,000.[3]

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* Since statistics are not available for either 1845 or 1895 it is necessary to take for comparison 1850 and 1890. The seventh census (1850) did not make an enumeration of church communicants. This is Dorchester's estimate of the strength of the evangelical denominations. It is an incomplete calculation since in it he did not include the "non-evangelical bodies." Shaughnessy's estimate is of the "Catholic population." He says, "The Church . . . has never made any attempt to enumerate its followers other than by estimates of pastors and bishops. . . . Accordingly, in determining the actual Catholic population . . . recourse must be had to estimates, ..."—*Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* . . . , p. 33.

In the Conference year 1845-46, according to the *Minutes* of Annual Conferences, members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, not including probationers, numbered 644,299 *; Traveling Preachers, 3,280; Local Preachers, 4,935. In 1895 the membership in the United States and overseas totaled 2,454,645 full members, 312,011 probationers, 12,024 Traveling Preachers, and 14,896 Local Preachers, almost a fourfold increase. In 1845 the Church had one overseas Mission Conference, that in Liberia, with 837 church members. Fifty years later it had in foreign fields twenty-four Annual Conferences, Mission Conferences, and organized missions with 77,460 members, 59,208 probationary members, 726 Traveling Preachers (including missionaries who held their Conference membership in the Annual Conferences which they served), and 1,132 Local Preachers.†

As the period closed the Methodist Episcopal Church stood first in size among the Protestant denominations.‡ Adding the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and Negro Methodists in Churches other than the Methodist Episcopal, the total Methodist membership was more than four and a half million. In number of local church Societies and houses of worship the Methodist Episcopal Church was also first. It was represented in every state and territory with the single exception of Alaska. Of the 2,790 counties in the United States and its territories it had organized Societies in all except 585—chiefly counties in the South where the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was represented. In seventeen states of the North it had Societies in every county.[4] In 1886 the Secretaries of the Missionary Society declared that the growth of "missions and Conferences upon the frontier . . . has been without parallel." [5]

THE GREAT IMMIGRATION

Of all the causes affecting growth of population and change in American society during the half century under consideration none was so spectacular, none so immediate in its effect upon the national character, and none so responsible for the complexity and difficulty of the Churches' missionary task as the tremendous influx of alien peoples. Although the migration of individuals and groups from one geographical area to another is as old as history no previous migration from one nation or continent to another equaled the immense flow of population from the countries of Europe to the United States during the second half of the nineteenth and the first two decades of the present century. In contrast with this, which came to be known as the Great Immigration, other migrations of ancient and modern times, measured numerically, pale into insignificance. Even the total emigration from Europe in the whole of the seventeenth century did not equal the number of European immigrants entering the United States in any one of several years between 1880 and 1910.[6]

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* The *Minutes* for 1845-46 did not give the number of probationers.

† These statistics do not include the West China Mission.

‡ In 1850 also the Methodists were first in numbers. The three next largest Protestant groups, according to Dorchester's estimate, were the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. In 1894 the first four denominations, numerically, were the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans. —Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States . . . ,* pp. 734 f., 744 ff.

By 1845 immigration had attained considerable proportions. In this year 114,371 persons entered the country. In 1846 the number increased to 154,416. In 1847 the total reached 234,968. In 1854 the maximum number for the ten years 1845-55 was recorded, 427,833. The oncoming of the Civil War acted as a brake on the movement, the incoming tide declining to less than 100,000 in 1861 and again in 1862. With the following year a gradual increase set in, rising to 318,568 in 1866, 352,768 in 1869, and the astonishing total of 459,803 in 1873. In a single week, that ending June 19, 1865, immigrant arrivals at the port of New York numbered 8,000. The depression of 1873-78 greatly retarded the flow but with improvement of business, immigration immediately increased, reaching in 1882 the unprecedented figure* of 788,992.[7]

In the decade 1845-55 the largest contribution to America's new population was made by Ireland. During these years Irish immigration not only surpassed that of any other country but almost equaled that of all others combined—more than a million and a quarter. By 1866 New York City, with a total population of 800,000, was estimated to have more than 200,000 inhabitants of Irish birth. Over a period of eight decades (1820-1900) the Irish immigration, second only to that of Germany, totaled more than four million. The forced emigration of Irish during the potato famine (1845-50) marked the beginning of large-scale transfer of paupers to America at the expense of foreign governments, a policy against which the United States finally found it necessary to pass restrictive legislation.[8]

Immigration from Germany, which had been in progress for many years,† was accentuated by the Revolution of 1848. From 1855 to 1900 it was greater than that of any other nationality. In the decade of the eighties, 1,452,970 Germans entered the United States, distributing themselves widely over the entire country. After 1852 the actuating influence was predominantly economic. Germans migrated principally in family groups, although as time went on a considerable portion of single persons made the venture on their individual initiative. Among the immigrants farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, and common laborers were chiefly represented.

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* The all-time high in immigration was reached in 1907 when 1,285,349 immigrants arrived.—George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration, 1820-1924,* p. 156.

† For the German population in the United States before 1800 see Vol. I of this series, pp. 273 f.

In the late forties, because of disturbed political conditions, Bohemian immigration became sizable.[9]

Immigration from the Scandinavian countries—Norway, Denmark, and Sweden—had scarcely begun previous to 1843, in which year a few more than one thousand immigrants arrived. By 1869 it had increased to 43,941 and in 1882 reached its highest point, 105,326. The twelfth census (1900) registered a Scandinavian population of 1,064,309 of foreign birth, and an additional 880,024 of foreign parentage. During the early decades the Scandinavians settled principally in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, later in Minnesota and the Dakotas.[10]

Previous to 1880 by far the largest proportion of the incoming host was composed of people closely related ethnically, and kindred in traditions, institutions, and customs to the original American colonists. The current of immigration from England, for example, continued to flow through the entire period, at varying rate from year to year, during the two decades 1870-90 more Englishmen crossing the Atlantic than Scandinavians. But beginning about 1880 the composition of the tide changed and a steadily increasing proportion of immigrants came from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia.*

By 1894 the percentage from eastern Europe approximately equaled that from the western countries.[11]

Immigration from Italy did not attain significant numbers until about 1880 and did not reach its height until after the turn of the century. In 1900 100,135 Italians, including Sicilians and Sardinians, entered the United States. Increasingly, southern Italians, less enterprising and thrifty than the northern Italian stock, constituted the larger proportion of the immigrants. Of the former probably not less than 50 per cent were illiterate.[12]

About 1880 a mass invasion of New England by French Canadians got under way. For some years, beginning as early as 1860, only a few of these immigrants arrived annually. But as they were found adaptable to work in the mills and the need increased for more employees, the movement was stimulated by immigration agents sent to the provinces. The new element constituted approximately one-sixth of the foreign-born population of the New England states.

These which we have named were the chief components of the Great Immigration. But there were many more besides: Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Switzerland, France, Spain, Greece, Armenia, Persia, Syria, the Cape Verde, Azores, Canary, and Balearic Islands, British Honduras, Tasmania and New

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* Of the foreign-born in the United States in 1900 11.33 per cent were from Slav nations (Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Finland); 4.67 per cent from Italy; and 1.17 per cent from Asiatic countries.—Prescott F. Hall, *Immigration and Its Effects Upon the United States,* pp. 38, 40.

Zealand, the East and West Indies, Puerto Rico and Cuba, Mexico, Central and South America; each and all supplied a quota.[13]

In the early decades of the half century many of the new peoples lived to themselves in large unassimilative blocs, stedfastly maintaining their customs and habits of thought and speech. Probably as many as one-third were illiterate. Few of any newspapers or books found their way into the homes of those who were able to read. These conditions contributed to a stratification which greatly complicated the processes of education and inculcation of democratic thought and action. On all these counts the incoming of these alien peoples in such vast numbers created new problems for American democracy. The ideals, principles, and procedures of American government were unfamiliar to them with the result that many lent themselves readily to the machinations of agents of political corruption and misrule.

A process of assimilation gradually got under way. However, even with the second and third generation, when superficial American ways of life had been acquired, multitudes still lacked sympathy with the earlier national spirit and the traditions with which the founding fathers and successive generations had been so deeply imbued.

PHENOMENAL GROWTH OF THE WEST

Of all regions of the country, the West was most affected by immigration. Since a large number of immigrants arrived at the ports of entry virtually penniless it was inevitable that they should congregate in the cities of the eastern seaboard, but for hundreds of thousands the height of ambition was to reach the fertile prairies of the newer sections of the country.

This western immigration was supplemented by extensive migration of farmers, agricultural workers, and small-town tradespeople from New England and other eastern states. America had long been considered to be economically a land of promise and this indeed for multitudes it had proven to be. But by 1845 the northeastern states had ceased to offer extensive opportunity for economic aggrandizement. The census of 1850 would report more than 50,000 paupers in the United States, almost all in the East and Northeast.[14] In many sections continuous intensive cultivation of the land over a long period of time had seriously depleted the soil, much of which originally had been shallow and not well suited to agriculture. By the middle forties migration to the West of farmers and non-land-owning agricultural workers seeking more productive and cheaper farms was threatening the depopulation of hundreds of local communities.

Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri attracted tens of thousands of emigrants. Census reports indicate that not less than 150,000 people moved into Iowa during the decade ending in 1850. During the early fifties the rate of settlement increased, by 1854 becoming unprecedented. A contemporary writer reported:

> For miles and miles, day after day, the prairies of Illinois are lined with cattle and wagons . . . . At a point beyond Peoria, during a single month, seventeen hundred and forty-three wagons had passed, and all for Iowa. Allowing five persons to a wagon, which is a fair average, would give 8,715 souls to the population.[15]

During the decade of the fifties the population of Illinois increased from 851,470 to 1,711,951, and Missouri from 682,044 to 1,182,012.[16] Wisconsin also grew rapidly within these years. In 1848 a German settler wrote, "In New York every hotelkeeper and railroad agent, every one who was approached for advice, directed men to Wisconsin." [17] The German immigration into the state reached high tide by 1854 but continued with considerable strength throughout the period. Second in number to the Germans were the Scandinavians—chiefly Norwegians. These were followed by other nationalities, including English, Irish, Scotch, Canadians, Bohemians, Poles, Dutch, Belgians, Finns, and Swiss. "By 1890 Wisconsin was surpassed only by Pennsylvania in the variety and solidarity of its groups of foreign-born folk." [18]

The population of Minnesota at the first federal census following its admission as a state in 1857 was 172,023. By 1870 it had increased to 439,706, of whom 161,000 were of foreign birth, in round numbers 59,000 Scandinavians, 41,000 Germans, 47,000 British and Irish.[19]

A new and different stimulus for migration to the region farther west was provided in 1854 in the passage by Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill * which opened up Kansas for settlement, at the same time repealing the Missouri Compromise. In the intense political struggle, involving bitter conflict, passage of the measure was facilitated by a tacit understanding that Kansas would be settled by pro-slavery partisans and Nebraska left for settlement by Free Soil advocates.[20] The spreading abroad throughout the North and East of news of this compromise stirred abolitionists to aggressive action. A vigorous protest was signed by three thousand clergymen of various denominations, among them many Methodists. Active emigrant aid associations, formed to give financial assistance to anti-slavery emigrants, were organized in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other states. Pro-slavery advocates were no less active in the South, although not as successful in enlisting recruits for emigration.[21]

By far the larger proportion of Kansas settlers, however, were people who came on their own initiative. Roads were thronged by incoming multitudes, approximately one-third from the South, two-thirds from New England and New York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and other free states.[22]

Both westward migration and foreign immigration received immense

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* By the provisions of this bill, sponsored by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the two new territories included the whole of the Indian country with the exception of that part which is now Oklahoma. In order that a way might be opened for the building of a transcontinental railway from Chicago to the far West Douglas was willing to dispossess the Indian tribes located in the area by government treaty and pay the South's price of vastly increasing slave territory in the North.—James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America,* pp. 245 f.

stimulus from a series of legislative acts beginning with the homestead exemption laws of the early fifties. Before the close of 1852 twelve states had placed such laws upon their statute books. In the same year Congress passed a homestead bill considered to be generous in its provisions for acquiring land ownership.[23]

Despite this legislation, in 1860 1,048,000,000 acres—more than half of the total national domain* (1,920,000,000 acres)—remained in the hands of government. Influenced by the land hunger of non-homeowners and expression of public opinion against large-scale purchase and holding of public lands by speculators the government in 1862 † abandoned the long-standing policy of attempting to obtain revenue through sale of the public domain and substituted that of granting free farms to settlers.[24] Throughout Europe, reaching millions of landless people, the word spread that in the new world a farm could be had for the asking. So great became the demand for farms that in the immediate post-Civil War years from five to seven million acres of public land were sold and granted away annually.[25] The outposts of homesteads at this time were bordered by a line through eastern Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas to the Indian Territory, then from its southern boundary running southwest into Texas. Beyond this line, exclusive of the Pacific coast, was a vast region of unoccupied land, the grazing ground of immense herds of buffalo, its possession claimed by powerful tribes of hostile Indians. Within its entire extent only isolated homesteads and widely scattered settlements had been established. But now, again, an immense migration got under way.‡

By 1870 Missouri, with a population of 1,721,295, had become the fourth state of the Union in size; St. Louis the fourth city. Nebraska, admitted as a state in 1867, had 122,993 people; Kansas, 364,399; the Territory of Colorado, 39,864.[26] By 1880 the total population of the four great grain states and territories—Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Dakota—had increased to nearly two and a half million people.§

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* The national domain is the total area, land and water, embraced within the boundaries of the United States.

† The Homestead Law of 1862 made it possible for any person 21 years of age or older, a citizen of the United States, or one who had declared his purpose of acquiring citizenship, to occupy and cultivate surveyed land to the extent of 160 acres and, completing 5 years' occupancy, to become its owner by paying an entry fee of $10. Later the Homestead Act was further liberalized and extended. "In 1870 veterans of the Civil War were permitted to count their term of service against the five years' residence . . . . The Pre-emption Act, which was not repealed until 1891, permitted a homesteader to purchase an additional 160 acres at the minimum price of $1.25 an acre. . . . [Later acts] . . . liberalized residence or purchase requirements and enlarged the size of the tract that might be acquired."—Ernest L. Bogart and Donald L. Kemmerer, *Economic History of the American People*, p. 439; see also Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War*, I, 277 f.

‡ In 1865, it was estimated, not less than five thousand teams a month crossed the plains into the Rocky Mountains and beyond. In five months, from March 1 to Aug. 10, 1865, 9,386 teams and 11,885 persons following the Platte route passed Fort Kearney, Neb.—Reports of Maj. Gen. Grenville M. Dodge in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. XLVIII, Part 1, 342.

§ This population growth resulted in a phenomenal crop increase. While in Kansas the corn crop in 1860 had been 6,000,000 bushels, in 1880 it was over 100,000,000. Minnesota, which in 1860 had grown 2,000,000 bushels of wheat, in 1880 grew 34.000,000. Dakota's wheat production in 1860 was a paltry 1,000 bushels; in 1880 it was almost 3,000,000 and ten years later (now represented by two states) 42,944,503.—*U. S. Eighth Census, Agriculture*, pp. xlvi, xxix; *U. S. Tenth Census, Agriculture*, p. 177; *U. S. Eleventh Census, Agriculture*, p. 355.

The first American immigration into California had begun in 1826. Great impetus was given by the discovery of gold in 1848. The mining industry predominated until 1860 when agriculture and fruit growing began to compete with it, stimulating increase of population and filling up the vast vacant spaces.* A large number of the settlers came from the older agricultural states. In 1850 California was received into the Union. Before the decade of the seventies had closed it had become one of the leading states in wheat growing and in production of wool. Gradually large-scale agriculture gave way to fruit growing as a dominant interest.[27]

Oregon in 1859 entered the Union with a population of 52,465, increasing in the next ten years to 90,923, of which a large portion were native-born, a condition that continued throughout the period.[28] Immigration was chiefly from the states of the Midwest and Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania.

Not until 1889 was Washington admitted as a state. The population of the territory in 1860 was only 11,594 and rapid growth did not come until the decades of the eighties and nineties with an increase from 75,116, including Indians, in 1880, to 349,390 in 1890, to 518,103 in 1900.† Montana likewise was admitted to statehood in 1889, followed in 1890 by Idaho and Wyoming. In each of the three a large majority of the population, as in Washington, were native-born Americans. Of emigrants from other states a large portion came from Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, and Missouri.[29]

Immigration to the frontier states was stimulated by official state agencies. Everywhere the need for more post offices and schools, improved roads, nearby markets, and branch-line railroads was keenly felt but without more people none of these could be had. Men of rugged physique and physical endurance, inured to hard labor, were required to break up the prairie sod, clear off the underbrush, drain the marshes, work the mines, and furnish a common labor supply for the many hard jobs incident to pioneer life. While migration from the states of the East, and the central West such as Ohio and Indiana, continued and the stream of foreign immigration also was continuous, there was still much unoccupied land. Yet more settlers and more laborers were needed. Immigration was the quickest and the only sure method of increasing the adult population. In this situation Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, and other states established agencies which sent representatives to European countries to recruit immigrants.[30] As one result of these efforts, so many Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes were drawn to the northwestern states as almost to make of them a new Scandinavia.

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* Phenomenal growth occurred in California between 1880 and 1890, the population increasing from 864,694 to 1,208,130. Of European nations Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, Italy, France, Sweden, Portugal, and Switzerland, in the order named, contributed the largest number of immigrants.—*U. S. Eleventh Census, Population,* Part I, pp. 2, 606 ff.

† Of Washington's population in 1900 by far the largest segment (406,739) was native-born. These were contributed by many states, more than 16,000 each by Illinois, Iowa, New York, Oregon, Minnesota, Ohio, Missouri, and Wisconsin. Of the 111,364 foreign-born the largest totals were in order, English-Canadians, Germans, Swedes, English, Norwegians, and Irish.—*U. S. Twelfth Census, Population,* Part I, cxxxi, cxlv, clxxiii f.

The influx of new peoples during these years could not do other than challenge the attention of the missionary organizations of the Churches. The Methodist Missionary Society in its report for 1880 said:

> The immigrant arrivals at the port of New York for 1880 were nearly treble the number for 1879, being over three hundred thousand . . . . Seventy-five per cent of these immigrants now make their way at once to the West for agricultural pursuits. It has been said that out of all the arrivals from Germany at the port of New York, scarcely more than twenty families were uncertain as to their destination. . . . In the heart of every intelligent Christian an intense interest will be awakened to see that the Church does its duty toward these stalwart and self-helpful strangers who come in such numbers to join themselves to our body politic.[31]

So great was the inflowing tide during the closing decade and a half of the period that before its end not less than one in five persons "in the Great West was foreign-born." During the decade 1880-90 Nebraska doubled its population; Kansas increased from a million to a million and a half; Idaho multiplied its people two and a half and Wyoming almost three times. A great new inland empire had come into being within a generation. By 1895 the frontier had at last disappeared. The census of 1890 stated that the unsettled area "has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line." [32]

ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION

A distinctive phase of the Great Immigration was the incoming to the United States—principally to the Pacific coast—of Oriental peoples. The first to come in any considerable number were the Chinese. The news of discovery of gold in California in January, 1848, reached Hong Kong in the spring of that year, creating no little excitement. Ready facilities for emigration were at hand and almost immediately emigrants were upon their way, most of them young, thrifty, and industrious peasants from villages and country districts adjacent to Hong Kong. Landing at San Francisco, they at first mingled with the multitudes of incoming prospectors from the central and eastern states, Mexico, South America, and France. The gold rush created a need for more laborers, carpenters, gardeners, and cooks, and because of this acute shortage the unobtrusive, reticent, diligent, and adaptable Chinese were welcomed. When word of chance for ready employment and of opportunity for establishing laundries and restaurants reached China, emigration rapidly increased. An estimate of the California population made sometime about 1853 included 17,000 Chinese.[33]

Fierce competition in the mining camps soon developed, resulting in strong anti-foreign hostility which was given expression in expulsion from them of all aliens, Mexicans, South Americans, and French, as well as Chinese. In 1852 a San Francisco correspondent of the *Christian Advocate* wrote:

> Chinese immigration seems to be the great exciting topic in our State at present. The miners manifest a determination not to permit them to work in the mines, and as thousands of them are still flocking here, no one knows what will be the result. They are perfectly peaceable . . . . The people complain of them not because they are disorderly, but because they expend almost nothing, and design to take all the gold they get out of the country. It is also contended, if there is not a stop put to this immigration, this country will be overrun with them.[34]

Within a few years discrimination took numerous forms—for example, imposition of special taxes, and exclusion from the ballot, the witness stand, and finally from hospitals and the public schools. Nor was this all.

> In addition to these discriminations there . . . [was] a tally of physical persecution and intimidation, which however incomplete, discloses even more the lawless and inhuman spirit of the times. It would be impossible to estimate the number of victims unrecorded, who were driven from their claims, robbed, maltreated and murdered.[35]

Internal forces were in conflict. Although on economic grounds every effort was being made to discourage Chinese immigration, yet when laborers were required for the building of the Central Pacific Railway its promoters imported Chinese, by the close of 1866 a total of ten thousand.[36] Furthermore, the insistence of the United States on the right of admission of its citizens into China for purposes of trade motivated the enactment of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 which recognized the right of free migration.* While this treaty operated to the commercial advantage of the United States it had little effect on local attitudes and acts in California. Intensified, systematic persecution continued, much of it in connection with political campaigns and with agitation by white workingmen's organizations.[37] The "California Senate Address and Memorial (1876)" † was largely influential in the enactment in 1882 of a federal Restriction Act imposing a ten-year suspension of Chinese immigration.[38] Subsequent legislation added to the restrictions of the original law. Martin C. Briggs, veteran Methodist missionary, pronounced the Act "a crowning infamy." Although both political parties claimed the dishonor of its passage many "far-seeing citizens," Briggs stated, "never approved it, and many who hastily endorsed the measure . . . [later were] convinced of their error." [39] The census of 1890 recorded a Chinese population of 107,475 in the United States. Thereafter the number gradually lessened.

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* Article V of the treaty read: "The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively, from the one country to the other, for the purposes of curiosity, of trade or as permanent residents."—As quoted by Richmond Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration* . . . , p. 229.

† Although this document purported to be the report of an official state Senate investigation it "might as well have been written," says Mary Roberts Coolidge, "without taking any testimony at all; for in order to produce an anti-Chinese report the committee ignored, emasculated or falsified most of the competent testimony, preferring in matters of religion the opinion of police officers to those of missionaries; on the subject of manufacture, the opinions of police officers to those of a large manufacturer; and again on the subject of coolie slavery, the opinions of city officials and policemen to those of persons who had lived many years in China."—*Chinese Immigration,* pp. 93 f.

Very few Japanese came to America previous to 1880. In the decade 1880-90 there were 2,270 arrivals and in the succeeding decade 20,826. Not all who came remained permanently, according to the census reports the number living in the United States being 2,039 in 1890.[40] As in the case of the Chinese, during the early years the Japanese were welcomed as immigrants since, with the cessation of Chinese immigration, demand for laborers increased, particularly for persons willing to work for low wages. Most of the arrivals were young men, students, merchants, farmers, artisans and laborers. At first the majority were employed as farm laborers or house servants. Some very soon leased land for small-scale farming or truck gardening. Within a short time much the same type of objection began to be raised against the Japanese as earlier toward the Chinese. By 1895 labor unions and others in California were voicing vehement antagonism and clamoring for exclusion.[41]

Immigration of other Oriental groups was very small. In 1890 there were only 2,143 immigrants from India, and 2,260 from other Asiatic countries, most of whom settled in the north Atlantic and north central states.[42]

EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION ON CHURCH GROWTH

Immigration contributed in greater or less measure to the growth of all the Protestant Churches during the period 1845-95. Undoubtedly Methodism received reinforcement from incoming emigrants from the British Isles, particularly from England and Ireland—members of the Wesleyan Societies—although no dependable statistical estimate can be made.

Among immigrants there were many converts of the Methodist missions in Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. As early as 1852 reports began to appear in the *Christian Advocate* of pastors in various parts of the country receiving into membership persons who presented certificates of transfer from missions in Germany. A Presiding Elder reported fourteen persons having been received "into society from Saxony." The pastor of Morris Chapel, Cincinnati, wrote of receiving seventeen members by letters given in Germany. Similar reports continued to be made.[43] Conversely year-by-year accounts from the missions in Germany lamented the extent to which their Societies were weakened by emigration. L. S. Jacoby, reporting in 1854, stated:

> At least two hundred members have emigrated to America since the commencement of the mission. . . . One whole class left, with the exception of one member, from the Frankfort mission, so that we had to give up that appointment entirely . . . . However, this emigration of our members hinders the extension of our work very much.[44]

In the Conference year 1879, for the first year in the history of their mission, the Methodists of Germany sustained a net decrease of thirty in their membership, one of the principal factors being the emigration of their members to the

United States. Similar reports of loss came from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.[45]

Of all religious groups in America the Roman Catholic Church received from immigration by far the largest reinforcement.* The immense number of immigrants from Ireland, Germany, and Italy, with a lesser number from France, Belgium, Austria, and other predominantly Catholic countries, vastly increased the Roman Catholic constituency, giving that Church in most of the large cities of the nation a numerical predominance over Protestantism, a religious situation which had never before prevailed. Roman Catholic churches in fifty principal cities of the United States, according to Dorchester, increased from 170 in 1850 to 959 in 1890; the number of priests from 336 to 2,196.[46] By 1890 the Roman Catholic population of four of the largest centers was: New York, 386,200; Brooklyn, 201,063; Philadelphia, 163,658; Chicago, 262,047.[47]

For one year only, 1899, the federal immigration authorities compiled a record of the religious affiliation of immigrants. They were divided: Roman Catholic, 52.1 per cent; Protestants, 18.5 per cent; Jewish, 10.4 per cent; Greek Catholic, 4. per cent; Brahmins and Buddhists, 0.9 per cent; miscellaneous, 13.9 per cent. In this great disproportion of Catholic immigrants is to be seen the explanation of the more rapid growth of the Roman Catholic Church.[48]

While the Great Immigration made large additions to the Protestant and Roman Catholic membership it also introduced into the United States numerous forms of religion and organized religious groups practically unknown before, including Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, and Greek Catholicism. Since the Jews for the first time in American history became a sizable element Judaism took its place as one of the prominent religions of the nation. In every large city and in many of the small cities and towns Jewish religious societies were formed and synagogues built. According to a report made in 1854 there were in the United States ninety-seven organized Jewish congregations, of which thirty were in the state of New York. The 1890 census reported 533 Orthodox and Reformed Jewish congregations with 130,496 members.[49]

The New Industrialism

Every phase of the national life during the latter half of the nineteenth century was affected by the new industrialism. The industrial revolution in America did not come in one year or in ten. It began early in the century,† made phenomenal progress in the first half of the third decade, encountered a temporary setback in the depression of 1837-41, gradually regained momentum, and received immense stimulus from the Civil War. Military operations required huge supplies of shoes, clothing, and munitions, while the necessity for prompt and efficient transportation of troops, war equipment, and supplies demanded the expansion, reconstruction, and re-equipment of the railways. Government contracts called for the building of new mills and factories and reconstruction of old plants, the installation of new and improved machinery, and the founding of great new industries. By the end of the war industry in the North had reached the highest point ever known and progress was to continue without interruption for eight years.

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* G. Shaughnessy: ". . . the American [Roman Catholic] Church has, in the past century, increased by millions. All commentators are . . . in agreement that the abnormal development has been due to immigration, ..."—*Op. cit.*, p. 32.

† See Vol. II, 44.

> More cotton spindles were set revolving, more iron furnaces were lighted, more steel was made, more coal and copper were mined, more lumber was sawed and hewed, more houses and shops were constructed and more manufactories of different kinds were established than during any equal term in . . . [the nation's] history.[50]

Between 1850 and 1900, while the nation's population increased threefold and the products of agriculture almost trebled in value, the number of wage earners was multiplied five times and the value of their product twelve times.

Postwar international expansion opened new domestic and foreign markets. The application of science and invention to many lines of manufacture reduced the costs of production, increased its volume, and expanded the use of numerous products. To these developments the seventies brought a rude interruption, a financial panic and industrial depression exceeding in its severity and sweep anything the country had ever known. Over a period of five years (1873-78) business failures totaled 47,000, causing a loss of more than a billion dollars, and throwing some three million workmen out of employment.[51] The beginnings of revival appeared in 1876, when the nation's exports exceeded its imports, which had previously occurred only three times. From that year to the close of the century only in 1888, 1889, and 1894 did the nation purchase abroad more than was sold. Recovery was slow but the final effects were impressive.*

Again in 1893 industrial progress was halted by a disastrous depression, characterized by the same incidence of large-scale unemployment, paralysis of business and manufacturing, and acute human misery that had marked the panic of twenty years before. Coming after so brief an interval it was widely recognized as presenting serious challenge to American economic and political institutions, yet neither industry nor government was able to offer even elementary palliative or curative measures.

Despite economic crises, greater advance in making possible means of subsistence, adequate shelter, and abundance of clothing for all the people was made during the period 1865-95 than had taken place ever before within a single generation. The economist Edward Atkinson declared:

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* By 1890 capital investments in mechanical and manufacturing industries had increased 546 per cent over 1860; the value of their products, 397 per cent; number of employees, 347.88 per cent; and total wages paid, 707.22 per cent over 1850.—Carroll D. Wright, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States,* pp. 160, 191.

> There has never been in the history of civilization a period, or a place, or a section of the earth in which science and invention have worked such progress or have created such opportunity for material welfare as in these United States in the period which has elapsed since the end of the civil war.[52]

THE NEW INDUSTRIALISM AND LABOR

By 1845, having partially recovered morale after the disastrous collapse of 1837-41,* labor had begun an attempt to rally its disorganized forces. Numerous workingmen's associations were formed in the East and Northeast between 1845 and 1860. In 1866 the National Labor Union was organized and by 1870 there were some thirty national unions with a membership approaching three hundred thousand.† But advance in labor organization was seriously hindered by continuous incoming of immigrants, many of whom were skilled workmen, eager for employment under conditions against which American labor was rebelling.[53]

Labor's struggle from 1845 to 1860 largely centered in an effort to secure reduction of the working day from twelve to ten hours. Mass meetings were held under the auspices of workingmen's associations in the larger industrial centers, re-established labor organs were active in agitation, Horace Greeley lent influential editorial support through the New York *Tribune,* and pressure was brought to bear upon state legislatures.‡ In 1853 eleven hours was authorized by many corporations as a compromise but by 1860 the ten-hour day prevailed in many factories. It was not until 1874, after twenty-nine years of agitation, that Massachusetts passed a law making ten hours the normal working day for women and children.[54]

A second objective of organized labor—this throughout the half century—was a living wage. For common labor in railroad building until 1851—much of it done by Irish immigrants—the prevalent day rate was from 75 to 87.5 cents from sunrise to sunset. In 1851 the workers revolted and by rioting, strikes, and destruction of railroad property managed by the following year to increase their pay to one dollar. Unskilled laborers in the eastern cities were paid even less than men on the railroad construction gangs, many newly arrived immigrants as low as 65 cents a day.[55] Many factory operatives received somewhat higher pay. The average for employees of different types of mills* for the decade 1850-60 ranged from 87.3 cents per day for woolen-mill operatives and $1.03 for cotton-mill operatives to $2.96 for glassmakers. After forty years of protest, agitation, and continuous struggle the wage in 1880 for woolen-mill operatives was $1.24 and cotton-mill employees $1.40 per day while that of glassmakers actually suffered a reduction to $1.79.[56]

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* See Vol. II, 49.

† Among these were the International Typographical Union organized permanently in 1852; the Iron Molders' Union of North America, 1859; the United States Wool Hat Finishers Association, 1869.—C. D. Wright, *op. cit.,* pp. 243 f.

‡ The response of the joint standing committee on manufactures of the Massachusetts Legislature of 1846 was typical. The committee maintained that if men had the strength and constitution to labor fourteen hours per day the state should not interfere; that the right of freedom of contract was sacrosanct; and that the less interference with business relations by law the better.—George E. McNeill, Ed., *The Labor Movement . . . ,* pp. 107 f.

Such limited increase as labor had been able to gain was apparent rather than real. Carroll D. Wright, the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1885-1901, estimated that from 1860 to 1881 the average increase of all wages was about 31 per cent while prices rose about 41 per cent showing that as regards living costs the workingman was actually worse off in 1881 than in 1860.[57] Wage earners, Washington Gladden emphasized, were the one group to whom the new industrialism, in terms of material gains, was a disadvantage.

> Other people, who do not labor with their hands, . . . the traders as a class, the professional people, the people on salaries, most of them, are able to live in a great deal better style now than they could afford a quarter of a century ago; while as for the capitalists and employers, they certainly show us many evidences of greatly increased wealth.[58]

The most severe labor crisis the nation had ever known was precipitated by the depression of 1873-78. Inventions resulting in new types of machinery during and following the war displaced many thousands of workers. Reduced sales' demand closed hundreds of factories. Wage cuts were followed by lay-offs until between two and a quarter and three million people were unemployed. Strikes were without result other than to provoke blacklists and legal prosecutions. Hunger, destitution, and stark misery became widespread.[59] During the depression of 1883 William Godwin Moody reported:

> To-day there is heard the wailing of great multitudes for work—for work that they may live. It comes from the strong and from the weak; from the skilled and from the unskilled; from the old and the young; from the cultured and from the uncultured; from mothers and from daughters; from fathers and from sons; even from babes and infants of six and eight years. . . . The same want fills our streets with prostitution and crime; our insane asylums to overflowing, and our reformatories and penal institutions beyond their capacity.[60]

Of approximately thirty strong national trade unions existing at the beginning of the depression only eight or nine remained at its close. However, an opposite effect was the growth to greater power and effectiveness of the unions which remained, notably the Noble Order of Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, which attained a maximum membership of 500,000 in 1886, and the American Federation of Labor, organized in 1886 and still in existence.[61]

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* The situation affecting other than factory labor during the same period was comparable. The pay of agricultural laborers advanced from an average of $1.01 for the ten-year period ending in 1860 to $1.31 per day in 1880, that of masons from $1.53 to $2.79, carpenters from $2.03 to $2.42.—C. D. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

The professional vagabond or tramp first appeared in the United States as a result of the unemployment of 1873-78. Within these years tramps became an army in number—an evil that did not abate during the lifetime of their generation.*

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The industrial revolution greatly increased the number of women and children employed in manufacturing. Women from time immemorial had engaged in spinning and weaving and when machines began to be used in these operations it was a natural transition from the homes to the mills to spin and weave by power-driven machinery. Since women were readily employable at a lower wage than men, which made possible increased factory profits, their labor was in demand.† Soon other types of manufacturing establishments began to reach out for them. By 1820 women were employed in seventy-five different kinds of factories. By 1850 industries employing women had increased to approximately one hundred and seventy-five.‡ This same year "female employees" of all ages§ constituted 23.3 per cent of the total number of persons employed in manufacturing.[62]

Throughout the half century the wage scale for women was absurdly, piteously low. In the decade 1845-55 women worked twelve hours for an incredible wage ranging from ten to twenty-five cents. # Forty years later the income of many women workers, according to the report of the New York Bureau of Labor for 1885, was below $2. per week, "from which sum food, clothing, light, fuel, and rent" had to be paid.[63] The median wage per week for women in the New England cotton mills, where wages were somewhat higher than in other parts of the country, for the decade 1890-1900 ranged from $5.50 to $6.; in the clothing industry from $4. to $4.50.[64] It is possible that these wages, though the best yet paid, might have been higher, had these (1893-96) not been depression years.

The employment of large numbers of women in factories led mercantile

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* As late as 1898 their number was estimated at 60,000.—Josiah Flynt (Willard), *Tramping with Tramps . . . ,* p. 304.

† See Vol. II, 44.

‡ The five industries employing the largest number of women were textiles, clothing, cigarmaking, boots and shoes, and printing and publishing. The total number of persons employed in these five groups in 1905 was 1,364,039. Of this total 685,532 were men; 590,832 were women; and 87,675 were children. Employees in 1900 in *all* industries—of whom 19 per cent were women—were in excess of five million.—*U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1905,* as quoted in Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry; A Study in American Economic History,* pp. 84 f., 82.

§ Not until the census of 1870 were boys and girls under 16 separately classified.

John Bach McMaster: "In New York City . . . in 1845 several hundred women, constituting the Female Industry Association, tailoresses, shirt-makers, book-folders, cap-makers, representatives of all trades then open to women, met in the Superior Court room to assert their rights against unjust and mercenary employers. . . . the president said that in the trade she pursued wages were from ten to eighteen cents a day. Only the most proficient received twenty-five cents."—*A History of the People of the United States . . . ,* VIII, 98.

establishments in turn to hire an increasing number of women and girls at low wages. Saleswomen in prominent stores of eastern cities who were on their feet from seven-thirty or eight o'clock in the morning until nine or ten at night, often with not more than thirty minutes for lunch, were customarily paid $5. or $6. a week. There were thousands of working women and girls employed in smaller shops and stores whose weekly pay was not more than $3.50 or $4.

Dependable data on the extent of child labor in industry prior to 1880 are practically nonexistent. The tenth census reported the number of wage-earning children as 1,118,356, the directors explaining that this was an underestimate.[65] Ten years later the number had increased to a million and three-quarters.

In the report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts for 1881 Carroll D. Wright said:

> In our cotton mills especially the women and children largely exceed the men, being often from two-thirds to five-sixths of the whole; and the proportion of them is steadily increasing.[66]

But child labor was not confined to New England mills. It was to be found wherever the type of machinery in use could be operated by children. Factories, planing mills, potteries, and other Ohio industries in 1880 employed 48,593 children under fifteen years of age. The 1,583 persons employed by thirteen Wisconsin knitting mills were, according to Florence Kelley, mostly boys and girls.[67] In 1887 the Chief Factory Inspector of the state of New York reported:

> Year after year we have seen the demand increase for smaller and still smaller children, until it became a veritable robbery of the cradle to supply them.[68]

Though a few humanitarians whose concern had been awakened by the multiple evils associated with child labor in factories and sweatshops labored zealously to do away with it their efforts up to 1895 had met with little success.

MORAL AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Quite apart from its material achievements the industrial revolution resulted in far-reaching social changes in the nation's human economy. In their ways of thinking and acting, their manners and customs, their motives and attitudes, the lives of millions of Americans were profoundly altered. As a result the Churches were confronted with new and difficult problems.

Change from handcraft processes to machine manufacture had long been under way, a shift which was now greatly accentuated.

> [The industrial revolution] . . . took the tool from . . . [the workman's] hand and harnessed it to a shaft. It robbed him of his personal skill and joined his arm of flesh to an arm of iron. It reduced him from a craftsman to a specialist, from a maker of shoes to a mere stitcher of soles.[69]

The labor of the workman is his chief means of self-expression. Machine industry deprived him of his individual opportunity for creative expression. The ideality, the inherited traditions of craftsmanship, the cultivation of skill of hand, the opportunity for imagination in the creation of a beautiful object, the incentive to individual attainment, all these, together with their cumulative effects on character and personality, were to a great extent taken away from the craftsman.* Machines were primarily designed to increase production, not to improve the quality of the product, and much of what they produced was inferior to the handmade goods which they displaced.

The controlling motive of the new industrialism was the making of profit. The individual employer, or corporation, who owned the factory and the tools of production provided work only when and so long as he had a market. To gain a market and maintain it he considered it necessary to depress wages and lengthen hours. He was able to do this by bargaining individually with employees, pitting one against another. The more the factories increased and the more severe the competition became, the more he exploited his workers to gain competitive advantage. Increasingly labor came to be regarded as a commodity, almost as much so as steel, cotton, or coal, and the employer's concern was simply how and where it could be bought most cheaply. The worker was without status. Though his labor was necessary he was not integrated into the new national economy. His dependence upon the owners of industry was absolute. He was subject at the will of the employer† to layoff when his services were not needed or discharge when his continuance was no longer profitable.[70]

One consequence of these developments was a serious impairment of workers' morale. The worker no longer felt that he was his own master, that the making of a living for himself and his family was in his own hands. He was continually haunted by a sense of insecurity, a fear that the calamity of unemployment was hanging over his head. Under these conditions the motives of many were undermined: they tended to lose ambition and pride in their work, to become indolent and careless, resentful and rebellious.

The close contact between employer and employee, which was often friendly and interested under the economy of small industry, was replaced by the impersonal relation of corporate capitalism and labor. Strikes, particularly in depression years, increased in frequency and in intensity,* and strife often flared into violence involving destruction of property and loss of life.[71] These conditions drew from Washington Gladden the observation:

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* R. Whately Cooke Taylor: "The aesthetic result . . . is wholly unsatisfactory. From this point of view there is scarcely a word to be said in favour of the modern factory system. It vulgarizes the product, it stultifies the workman, it deteriorates public taste; the very buildings in which its operations are performed, the emanations they emit, give an added gloom to life. . . . There are many beautiful fabrics made in factories, and the perfection to which some machinery is brought—the separate parts of which are factory-made—often strikes one with admiration. But there is no ideality in the work, it is all painfully, obtrusively, utilitarian."—*The Modern Factory System,* pp. 442 f.

† "These developments have taken place wherever the capitalist system of industrial organization has been in operation."—Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Department of Research and Education, *Our Economic Life In the Light of Christian Ideals,* p. 38.

> Everybody admits that the relations between the working classes and their employers are extremely uncomfortable; the strikes, the lockouts, the boycotting, the rioting here and there, make up a large share of the telegraphic news in our daily papers. The state of industrial society is a state of war, and the engagement is general all along the line.[72]

The Altered Character of Rural Life

Certain conditions affecting agriculture during the period 1845-95—some tied in more or less closely with the new industrialism, others entirely independent—created social and religious problems of the first magnitude, and greatly complicated and increased the difficulty of the Churches' task of evangelization.

Invention had provided machinery previously unavailable; machine methods were rapidly displacing hand labor and reducing the drudgery of earlier times. The purchase of new farm equipment, machine-made clothing and shoes, and other factory products required cash outlay. These conditions necessitated commercial farming, that is, the production of marketable commodities whose sale would return a cash income. During the flush years of the late forties and fifties and the inflationary war years when market demand was abundant all went well. Between 1854 and 1868 the volume of wheat receipts at Chicago increased fivefold; of flour tenfold. But when postwar deflation set in markets were glutted, prices fell, and farmers found themselves in difficulty. Before the close of 1868 rapid decline in prices of breadstuffs had begun. Corn fell in some western markets to ten cents a bushel—so low that it was cheaper than wood or coal for fuel.† Wheat, cotton, and other marketable farm products suffered similar decline. There was no comparable decrease in prices of consumers' goods. Duties on all imports that the farmer had to buy were iniquitously high, The Morrill Tariff Act of 1864, placed upon the statute books at the demand of manufacturers, had the effect of greatly increasing the price level and despite consumers' protests was continued in force without revision until 1872 and then only slightly modified.[73]

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* Josiah Strong: "In this country, from 1881 to 1886 inclusive, 1,323,203 employes were involved in strikes, directly affecting 22,304 establishments.[Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1887, p. 12.] In the summer of 1892, within a few days of each other, the states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee ordered out their militia, while Idaho called on the United States government for troops to suppress labor riots."—*The New Era or the Coming Kingdom*, p. 135.

† V. L. Parrington: "The prices of . . . [the farmer's] staples were sinking below the cost of production. With four-cent eggs, five-cent butter, ten-cent corn, and fifty-cent wheat, with more hogs and cattle than the stockyards would take, and with debts contracted at interest-rates fixed by a higher scale of values, the economic position of the Middle Border was becoming desperate, and in the later eighties a sullen bitterness took possession of the land."—*Main Currents in American Thought*, III. *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America*, 261.

A farm of 160 acres, for which the Homestead Act made provision, was adequate for the fertile areas of central and northern Illinois, Iowa, southern Minnesota, and eastern Nebraska, where rainfall was ample, and settlers in these sections of the Middle Border fared reasonably well. Their frame houses were for the most part small and the furniture usually cheap and limited in quantity. In many cases families were large, contagious diseases—especially children's contagions—prevalent, and skilled medical service limited, in some communities not available at all. For both the farmer and his wife the working day was long and involved much hard toil, the women obliged to carry water from the well, ofttimes distant from the house, wood from the woodpile and, at planting and harvest, in many cases to work side by side with their husbands or fathers in the fields. But life was free and healthful, and as the years passed those who were good managers and industrious succeeded in clothing themselves better, in improving their farms with more commodious houses and barns, and in providing the newly invented conveniences for their homes, sewing machines, washing machines, and hardcoal heaters or furnaces. Many also accumulated ample competence for old age.[74]

In the newer belts of settlement in the semiarid and arid regions farther west the story was different. Thousands upon thousands swarmed over the plains' country, living in dugouts walled with sod, logs, or stone, and roofed with boards and sod. Many of the immigrants were without capital, possessed of few tools and little or no household furniture. Within a few years after the breaking of the sod the surface soil was depleted and crop yields declined. From the beginning much of the land was unsuitable for grain and should have been used only for grazing. Despite the decline in yield it was evident that land had been taken up more extensively than was justified by market demands for grains and overproduction served further to decrease prices. Under the circumstances a quarter-section homestead proved to be too small an area on which to make a living for a farm family. Even though later acts increased the size of the land grant the odds were against the homesteaders. The hazards of nature were oppressive. Winter blizzards brought snows so deep and temperatures so low that livestock—often with no protection save the lee side of a strawstack—were frozen on the hoof. Dry springs brought prairie fires whose waves of flame, swept onward by gales of high wind, destroyed everything combustible in their path. At all too frequent intervals summer brought swarms of grasshoppers or locusts, chinch bugs, and potato bugs that devoured or otherwise destroyed the crops. Added to all these were recurrent droughts—some so serious that grain at harvesttime did not reproduce the seed that had been sown in the spring—when pastures became brown and bare, and garden vegetables failed to mature.

In 1850 the farm wealth of the nation was more than half of the national total; by 1890 it was less than one-fourth. Under the circumstances described a large portion of farmers found it necessary to mortgage their land to purchase farming equipment, construct necessary farm buildings, and meet living costs. Money was readily available from local bankers and from agents of eastern loan companies but interest rates were unconscionable, often as high as 12, 15, even in some instances 20 per cent. By 1890 farm mortgage indebtedness had reached more than one billion dollars and in some counties of the West as many as 90 per cent of the farms carried heavy mortgages. Foreclosures were numerous in the western states; by 1895 title to almost 90 per cent of the land in fifteen Kansas counties had been taken over by banks and loan companies.[75] In the fall of 1890 many appeals for emergency aid were received by the Missionary Society. One, from the Ellsworth District, Northwest Kansas Conference, read:

> The emergency grows out of the utter destruction of crops by the hot winds in 17 counties . . . . [The Presiding Elder] . . . traveled 500 miles through these counties and found an entire failure of oats, potatoes, vegetables, and feed of all kinds. Farmers have sold their stock at 1/3 its value and often less. Cattle and horses that cannot live on buffalo grass during the winter will perish. He says, 'Our case is a desperate one, and some of our preachers are so hard-pressed with want and destitution that starvation stares them in the face. . . .' [76]

In the case of many settlers Parrington did not exaggerate in characterizing the history of the western frontier as

> a long drab story of hardship and privation and thwarted hopes, of men and women broken by the endless toil, the windows of their dreams shuttered by poverty and the doors to an abundant life closed and barred by narrow opportunity.[77]

Not in all but in far too many cases what Hamlin Garland records of the Midwest was a statement of fact which applied to a much wider area:

> Every house I visited had its individual message of sordid struggle and half-hidden despair. . . .
>
> I perceived beautiful youth becoming bowed and bent. I saw lovely girlhood wasting away into thin and hopeless age. Some of the women I had known had withered into querulous and complaining spinsterhood, and I heard ambitious youth cursing the bondage of the farm.[78]

ACUTE AGRARIAN DISCONTENT

Little wonder under these circumstances that the years from 1867 to 1900 were for many farmers of the West a period of discontent, social and political ferment, and vehement protest. The agrarianism of the first three-quarters of a century of national independence had been a decentralized order, individualistic in its attitudes, lacking in media of common expression or organized action, and thoroughly democratic in its sympathies. The new industrialism was a centralized order, highly organized, with limitless capitalistic ambition, selfish in its attitudes, possessing a large measure of political power. That conflict between two orders of such contrasting philosophies and such antagonistic interest would develop was inevitable.

In the earlier period agriculture had been for the many not so much a financial enterprise as a way of life. With the opening up of the national domain, which made available at low cost many millions of acres of fertile soil, capitalists saw the possibility of an agricultural industrialism. Some contended that investments made in large tracts of land converted into industrial plants equipped with machinery for the production of flax, wheat, oats, barley, and corn, operated by gangs of seasonal laborers, would pay 20 per cent the first year and subsequently as much as 55 per cent annually. With the stimulus of such profit possibilities[79] many capitalists invested in "bonanza farms." * In this development small farmers, and students of social trends as well, saw a threat of destruction of the family-size farm, with land concentrated in the hands of corporations and wealthy individuals, cultivated by tenants and hirelings. The danger of the trend was real since the cost of operation on the large mechanized farms was lower, the greatly increased production tended to depress the market, and grain had to be sold by small farmers at less than cost. This threat, however, was short-lived.[80] By 1890 the "bonanza farm" movement had spent its force and a strong trend toward medium-size farm operation—except in areas adapted only to grazing—had set in.†

Farmers in the newer sections of the country were located at long distances from commodity markets, which made them dependent on railway transportation. One of their chief complaints was made against the railroads, on three counts. The government made excessive free grants of land for railway building to corporations which in turn sold their holdings in blocks of tens and hundreds of thousands of acres to speculators at a minimum price. Small lots were sold to settlers at prices ranging from $3. to $10. per acre. When these were no longer available farmers desiring to purchase were at the mercy of the speculators, often being compelled to pay fifteen or more dollars per acre. Naturally they felt that they had been victimized. Again, they suffered from freight discrimination. The large producers were granted special rates, often as much as 50 per cent below the regular schedule. Aside from discriminatory practice the farmers felt that rates were unreasonably high,

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* George I. Seney, a Methodist layman, president of the Metropolitan Bank of New York City, established an industrialized farm of 2,000 acres near Sheldon, Iowa; the firm of Thompson and Warner, the Rock County Farm of 50,000 acres near Luverne, Minn.; and Goldsmidt, the German banker of Frankfort-on-the-Main, several large farms. Not only in Iowa and Minnesota but also in Nebraska, Kansas, the Dakotas, and elsewhere agricultural industrial plants were established. In 1860 farms of 1,000 acres and over in the free states numbered 791; in 1870, 1,507. By 1880 in the country as a whole there were 28,578 farms of more than 1,000 acres.—William Godwin Moody, *Land and Labor in the United States,* pp. 32, 75; cf. [W. G. Moody,] "The Bonanza Farms of the West," *Atlantic Monthly* . . . , XLV (1880), 267 (January), 33-44.

† Maximum profit in "bonanza farm" operation was gained on new land. When the cream had been skimmed from the soil by one-crop farming, and land values had risen, the large holders found it advisable to sell their holdings in small units for intensive cultivation.

established on a basis that would enable the railroads to pay dividends on heavily watered stock.[81] Few of the towns in the newer sections had flour mills. As a result wheat was shipped at high rates to the distant terminal market, converted into flour, and returned at a second freight toll to the local store.* For his flour made from wheat which he sold at seventy cents a bushel the farmer was often compelled to pay seven dollars a barrel. To him this seemed to be extortion. He charged, not unjustly, that his products had to pass through too many toll-taking hands on their way to the consumer.[82]

Other agrarian grievances had to do with currency fluctuation which in its operation between 1865 and 1879 made it necessary for him to pay debts contracted in depreciated currency, with money worth as much as 20 per cent more than the value of that which he had borrowed.[83]

Farmers' grievances were loudly voiced but for lack of effective social action their protests bore little fruit. Rural life, lived close to nature, is not of a character to stimulate radicalism.† The possession of even a meager holding, if the owner can manage by hard work to retain it, gives him a sense of security that the wage earner does not possess. Nevertheless, by the seventies agrarian discontent in the free states gave rise to several trends which were destined to have far-reaching effect upon the social economy of the nation and to pose serious problems not only for Methodism but for all of the Protestant Churches whose strength lay to any considerable extent in rural communities.

FLIGHT FROM THE LAND

One of these trends was the tendency of the rural population, particularly its younger generation, to desert the farm for the city. The opportunity for increased income, combined with the glamour of city life, offered an irresistible appeal. The extent of the rural exodus first became strikingly evident when the 1890 census was made. Of 1,502 New England townships, 932 had fewer people than in 1880. More than 3,300 farms in Maine, over 1,300 in New Hampshire, nearly 1,500 in Massachusetts, and more than 1,000 in Vermont had been abandoned. Nor was this all. Of other northeastern states nearly five-sixths of the geographical area of New York, one-fourth of New Jersey, and two-fifths of Pennsylvania had lessened in population.[84] Within the decade 1880-90 immigration saved the midwest states from a net loss in population, but during these years the proportion of their people living in the open country, in villages, and in towns of less than 4,000 declined from four-fifths to two-thirds of the total. In the entire central region from Ohio on the east to Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota on the west, and including these four states, the migration from the open country to the larger towns and cities was reducing the rural communities to a markedly inferior position in the social organism. Many entire counties of these states, and of southern Michigan, central and southeastern Indiana, and of northern and western Illinois, as well, actually suffered a net loss of population. Of 25,746 townships in thirty-nine states and territories 10,063 (39 per cent) decreased in population in the decade.[85]

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* V. L. Parrington: "The gap between producer and consumer was widening to a chasm. The railways charged twenty cents a bushel cartage for wheat from the Mississippi to Chicago, and fifty-two and a half cents to the Atlantic seaboard. The elevator companies fixed monopoly tolls, swindled the farmer in their grain-gradings and combined to force down the market price at harvest time and raise it after the crop came under their control."—*Op. cit.*, III, 261.

† Notice, however, should be taken of a number of agricultural orders which, though they enlisted only a minority of the farm population, stimulated significant social and political action. The first and one of the most influential of these was the Patrons of Husbandry, or the Grange, which at the date of maximum growth (1874) had 21,697 local organizations. Another was the Farmers' Alliance which by 1890 had elected three members of the Senate and fifty members of the House of Representatives. The constitutional conventions of Wyoming, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and North and South Dakota reflected agrarian antipathy to railroads and other corporations. In 1892 the People's Party (the Populists) demanded broad social reforms, including a graduated income tax, government ownership of railways, telephones, and telegraphs, the free coinage of silver, direct election of United States senators, postal savings banks, and the initiative and referendum—Solon Justus Buck, *The Granger Movement* . . . , pp. 66 f., 309; John D. Hicks, *The Constitution of the Northwest States*, University of Nebraska Studies, XXIII (1923), 1-2 (January-April), 31 f., 90 ff., 134 f.; J. T. Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

This depletion of farm population had a serious effect upon the rural churches. In the summers of 1889 and 1890 the Evangelical Alliance found, in a study of church conditions in the rural areas of New York, that many Protestant church buildings had been abandoned and were falling into decay. One village, which had fourteen saloons within one-fourth of a mile, had two disused Protestant churches.

> There were a few years ago in one town a large Presbyterian church, two Methodist churches, a Baptist church, and a flourishing Baptist seminary. To-day the Presbyterian church is used as a barn, the Baptist church is abandoned, the two Methodist churches are almost extinct, and the Baptist seminary is utilized as a Roman Catholic church.[86]

Similar conditions prevailed in many other states.

INCREASE OF TENANTRY

A second trend equally serious in its social implications and effects was a steady increase in farm tenantry. This was an outgrowth of the basic economic disorders previously discussed. It was also concomitant with the flight from the land since many farmers who migrated to the urban centers did not dispose of their farms but rented them to tenants. Numerous eastern capitalists and English, French, and German men of wealth bought immense tracts of railroad lands and, instead of operating them through employed agents, rented their acreage out in small units. The more widespread cause of tenantry, however, was mortgage foreclosure. Under conditions prevailing in the late sixties and the seventies thousands of farmers in the Midwest and in the newer sections found themselves unable to meet principal and interest payments on debts contracted for building, buying machinery, and increasing acreage, and in losing their land were reduced to the status of tenant or of farm laborer.[87] Statistics on farm ownership were not included in the federal census until 1880. When published the returns were startling, revealing that

1,024,701 farms—one-fourth (25.5 per cent) of the nation's total—were operated by tenants. Every state and territory had its quota. New York reported 39,872 tenant farms; Ohio, 47,627; Illinois, 80,244; California, 7,124; Iowa, 44,174; Missouri, 58,872; Nebraska, 11,424. Later census reports showed steady increase in the disastrous trend: 1890, 28.4 per cent; 1900, 35.3.* Even these figures failed to reflect the actual situation.[88] Farms of operating proprietors were so heavily mortgaged that the owners' equity was less than 50 per cent, in some cases as low as 20 per cent.[89]

Increasing tenantry inevitably resulted in a continual weakening of rural morale. Tenantry caused a lessening of the sense of community, esprit de corps, and community welfare spirit through the loss of resident owners. Leases were commonly made for a term of one year and in a considerable portion of cases because of dissatisfaction of owner or of tenant were not renewed. There was a corresponding loss of personal morale, not only of the tenant farmer but also of his wife and children. The accompanying sense of insecurity was detrimental to physical and mental health and well-being. Tenant families had little or no social life. With few exceptions they did not identify themselves with any of the institutions of the local community, the school, farmers' organizations such as the Grange or Farmers' Alliance, or the Church. Tenants' children were likely to be irregular in school attendance, and to leave school at an early age with the result that their experience was unsatisfying and of little educational value. The adults had none of the intellectual and civic stimulus which owner farmers received from their local organization. They became indifferent to religion and commonly were neglected by the churches. In areas where tenants became a majority or a near majority it was increasingly difficult to maintain efficient local institutions, with the inevitable result of decline in moral, intellectual, and political standards.[90]

The social erosion involved in increasing tenantry was accompanied and its long-range effects made more serious by the steadily increasing erosion and exhaustion of the soil. The tenant who had no assurance of continued occupancy had no interest in improving or even in maintaining the fertility of the soil.† His primary interest was in immediate return for his labor in cash crops. He was a rare tenant who could be induced to engage in diversified farming or to plant soil-building crops. Many owners, also, were shortsighted and for their part showed little concern for soil improvement or for maintenance of the tenant house and other farm structures, resulting in steady deterioration of both land and improvements.

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* The trend has continued in the twentieth century, in 1930 reaching the unprecedented proportion of 42 per cent. The decade 1930-40 was the first to show a decline in tenantry.—*U. S. Sixteenth Census, Agriculture,* III, 138.

† The English tenant system, although unsatisfactory in certain important respects, was superior to the American pattern. In England leases often were for a lifetime, and in numerous instances were held in families through successive generations. Many leaseholds were practically homesteads.—Cf. W. G. Moody, *Land and Labor in the United States,* p. 72.

Process of Urbanization

During the early decades of the nation rural life had been predominant.* To Jefferson and many others who valued the older American tradition cities were "ulcers on the body politic." But gradually during the period under review the city replaced the country as the ruling factor in the national economy.[91] The polity of early American Methodism had been geared to rural life. The vast majority of its churches were in small towns, villages, and the open country. Would the Church be able to adapt itself to the changed situation? Urbanization confronted the Church with many of its most difficult missionary problems.

The seventh census revealed that in 1850 2,897,586 persons, 12.5 per cent of the population, lived in cities of 8,000 or over. Forty years later 18,272,503, or 29 per cent, were city dwellers. Between 1880 and 1890 the rate of increase was much greater than in any preceding decade.[92] While the nation in this decade was rapidly increasing in numbers the rural populace increased only 14 per cent in contrast to the 61 per cent urban rise. New York City grew from 1,206,299 people to 1,515,301; Boston from 362,895 to 448,477; Baltimore from 332,313 to 434,439.[93]

The growth of the newer cities of the West was rapid from the beginning of the period. During the ten years 1840-50 Chicago increased from less than 5,000 to almost 30,000 while Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis each more than doubled in size. During later decades the growth of the midwest cities was phenomenal. Showing the most rapid increase, Chicago leaped from a population of a half million in 1880 to more than a million in 1890, thus becoming the second in size of the great cities of the nation. St. Paul and Minneapolis increased threefold, while Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, and Milwaukee grew from 60 to 80 per cent.[94] At the close of the period approximately four-fifths of the urban population of the entire nation lived north of the Mason and Dixon line, of which more than one half were concentrated in the five states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois.[95]

Three factors were chiefly responsible for the disproportionate growth of American cities during the period 1845-95, immigration, industrialization, and the accompanying flight from the land. A large portion of immigrants came from congested European urban centers. Accustomed to city life, in America they naturally sought homes in the cities. Others who were without funds to pay transportation to distant rural areas, as pointed out earlier, also naturally gravitated to settlements in industrial centers.

> Community of language, kinship or friendship combine with poverty to produce constant accretion in any settlement once started; so that even those accustomed at home to country life and the cultivation of the soil, instead of following similar occupations here, become occupants of the sweat shop and the factory.[96]

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* See Vol. I, 78.

In the case of two large urban centers, Chicago and St. Louis, the foreign-born as early as 1850 numbered more than those of native birth.[97] Decade after decade this trend continued. Great colonies of aliens—in the aggregate, millions of people—were established in the hearts of urban communities.* In Boston in 1885 only 31 per cent of the people were native-born. In a small area surrounding Hull House on South Halsted Street, Chicago, eighteen nationalities were represented. Greater New York City had become the world's largest immigrant center.† The New York *Sun* reported in 1903 sixty-six different languages spoken in the city, forty-nine foreign language newspapers in circulation, and one school with pupils of twenty-nine nationalities enrolled.[98]

According to the tenth census forty-four of the chief cities of the nation contained 38.73 per cent of all the Germans, 38.71 per cent of the Bohemians, 45.26 per cent of the Irish, 52.43 per cent of the Poles, and 60.80 per cent of the Italians.[99] By 1894, Prescott F. Hall estimated from government figures, immigration from southeastern Europe was furnishing three times as many people to the slums of Baltimore as was northwestern Europe, nineteen times as many to the slums of New York, twenty times as many to the slums of Chicago, and seventy-one times as many to the slums of Philadelphia.[100] At the close of the period the proportion of foreign-born in the great urban centers was four times as great, and the proportion of children of immigrants "three and one-third times as great as that of the colonial and older native stock." [101]

For labor the consequences of the high degree of immigrant concentration were deplorable. It tended to create an oversupply of common laborers, a high percentage of unemployment, and a depressed wage level, resulting in extreme poverty.[102]

Since the great majority of factories were located in cities industrialization became a principal stimulus to urbanization. As industries multiplied and expanded they drew ever more laborers into the great city centers. When the labor supply was inadequate, particularly during the Civil War, agents of American industrialists brought aliens into the country under wage contracts. This procedure was made illegal by Congress in 1885 but enforcement of the law was attended with much difficulty and the practice continued to a greater or less extent for many years.[103]

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* By the close of the period only two cities of Germany—Berlin and Hamburg—had a larger German population than Chicago; in Sweden only Stockholm and Göteborg had more Swedes; and in Norway only Christiania and Bergen more Norwegians.—Unnamed source, as cited by Frederick J. Turner, "Dominant Forces in Western Life," *Atlantic Monthly* . . . , LXXIX (1897), cccclxxiv (April), 438.

† New York City's Irish population was double that of Dublin, while it also had about as many Germans as Hamburg, two and a half times as many Jews as Warsaw, and half as many Italians as Naples.

GAINS AND LOSSES OF URBANIZATION

Flight from the land to the cities was motivated by expectation of larger cash income, a shorter working day with less drudgery, better furnished homes, more social pleasures, better schools for the children, and opportunity for business and professional advancement. For many rural people who left their farms, these hopes were in part, though seldom wholly, realized. Concentration of population in cities exercised a beneficial influence in stimulating the initiative, enterprise, and versatility of people. Paved streets, electric railways, street lighting by arc lamps, facilities for sanitary disposal of sewage and wastes, and other discoveries and inventions which had become the commonplace necessities of contemporary living were to some extent an outgrowth of the massing together of people in urban centers.

For the small minority of immigrants who were skilled workmen, shop foremen, and persons able to qualify for managerial positions or for the upper ranks of salesmanship there were good homes, better clothing, and more recreational and cultural opportunities in the city than in the country. For those in the lower ranks of factory operatives and for common laborers, whether European immigrants or émigrés from American farms, conditions were much less favorable. The combination of over-rapid urbanization and the avarice and venality of real estate owners and builders produced slums that rivaled the worst to be found in the old world. Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Hartford, Fall River, and some other cities had shameful areas but, of all, those of New York were the most deplorable. As early as 1856 the metropolis had 100,000 slum dwellers and year after year conditions worsened. In 1879 and for twenty years thereafter virtually the only type of tenement built was the "dumb-bell":

> Five or six stories high, the bleak narrow structure ran ninety feet back from the street, . . . pierced through the center by a stygian hallway less than three feet wide. Each floor was honeycombed with rooms, many without direct light or air and most of them sheltering one or more families. Almost at once such barracks became foul and grimy, infested with vermin and lacking privacy and proper sanitary conveniences. . . . [One such district] . . . was known as "lung block" because of the many deaths from tuberculosis.[104]

Significant correlation was evident between growth in size of cities and increase in the crime rate. The larger the city and the greater the overcrowding in slum areas the higher the rate of crime per thousand of the population.* All types of immorality, vice, and crime flourished in the big cities, gambling, political corruption, gangsterism, prostitution, robbery, and murder. That vice and crime were fostered by economic insecurity, low wages, unemployment, overcrowding, and other unwholesome conditions in living quarters, the prevalence of saloons and lack of restrictions on the sale of liquor to minors and to habitual drunkards, poor law enforcement, and lack of recreational facilities for youth were matters of common knowledge.

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* Arthur Meier Schlesinger: "A census inquiry disclosed a fifty-per-cent rise in the number of prison inmates from 1880 to 1890. . . . In most large centers a crook could secure police 'protection' provided he agreed . . . if operating locally, to share his profits with the authorities."—*The Rise of the City, 1878-1898,* pp. 114, 115.

For children of elementary school age the shift from the free and open life of the country to that in tenement districts and on crowded city streets involved serious deprivations. Schools in the cities were larger, with better trained teaching personnel and superior physical equipment, but they lacked playgrounds and other recreational facilities. The values inherent in living close to nature—acquaintance with nature's processes, possession of many pets, and abundant opportunities for healthful, stimulating outdoor exercise—were for the most part lost.[105]

For thousands of adolescents the advantage of high schools was offset by lack of normal outlets for youthful energy. For many of the children of the tenements the city's streets became a school of crime. Forming gangs the youth preyed upon neighborhood shopkeepers, unwary vendors, and innocent passersby unable to protect themselves. Sometimes gangs of adjacent city districts engaged in internecine violence involving loss of life of some of the participants. Individual members graduated into the ranks of pickpockets, thieves, and murderers. More often than not gangs were composed of American-born children of immigrant parents whose fathers, and not infrequently mothers also, were employed long hours in factories, which left the children without parental oversight. These conditions imposed problems with which religious and social agencies, most of all the churches, were ill prepared to cope.[106]

Furthermore, poverty, illiteracy, and low moral standards provided ideal situations for the growth of political corruption and the reign of unprincipled machine politicians—the "boss" and his henchmen—who through their control of elections made democracy a byword and a hissing in so many American cities.[107] These same conditions fostered the increase of commercialized prostitution in the large cities to an extent which became a national civic disgrace. One hundred and eighty-five cities reported houses of ill-fame to the tenth census (1880). Philadelphia, with 517, had the largest number. Everywhere in the nation lax enforcement of law against the evil was condoned.[108] Little concern was awakened among the rank and file of citizens, the lawmakers, or law enforcement officials against political corruption or any of the other prevalent forms of crime, and slight attention was given to the seriousness of the problems or to possible ways and means of their solution.

For middle- and upper-class people cities provided worth-while advantages. They had well-stocked bookstores, art galleries and museums, lecture centers and concert halls, high schools, colleges, and universities. They made possible the development of specialized journals and great newspapers. In these and other ways they became centers of social, intellectual, and cultural progress, stimulating the development of the arts, sciences, philanthropy, and education.

Increase of National Wealth

The decade beginning in 1845 marked a period of rapidly increasing wealth. The growth of population occasioned by immigration stimulated real estate prices. The Crimean War in Europe created heavy export demand for farm products. Enormous amounts of gold from California contributed to the general prosperity. Customs revenue for the year ending June 30, 1857, was the largest sum derived in any twelve months. The building of great fortunes had begun. According to one estimate there were fourteen millionaires in New York City in 1846 and twenty* in 1855.[109]

Between 1860 and 1890, according to the U. S. census, the nation's wealth increased three times as rapidly as its population.[110] The years following the Civil War saw the beginning of large-scale looting of the natural resources of the continent—the coal and oil of Pennsylvania and Ohio, the copper and iron ore of upper Michigan, the silver and gold of the Rocky Mountains and California, the forests of Wisconsin and the Pacific Northwest—a ruthless, shameless, wasteful process which continued throughout the period and long beyond. In industry, also, unconscionable profits were made. Wanton procedures were the means of the building of many great fortunes. By the close of the period there were not less than 3,800 American millionaires, an increase unparalleled in world economic history. A government census estimate stated the increase in assessed valuation in a single decade, between 1880 and 1890, as $8,333,269,923., a rise of 48.62 per cent; the increase in estimated true valuation as $21,395,091,197., or 49.02 per cent.[111]

Of equal import in its bearing upon American life was the rapidly increasing concentration of wealth. The Massachusetts Labor Bureau estimated in 1873 that 48 per cent of the wealth was owned by 2 per cent of the population. By 1890, according to one calculation, nearly one-fourth of the national income was received by 1 per cent of the families; one-eighth of the families received "more than half of the aggregate income." Although labor insistently claimed a proportionate share in the increased wealth it made very little wage gain during the period. Writing a few years after 1895 Robert Hunter stated, as a result of his study of economic conditions in the United States, that more than ten million people were living in poverty; a large segment of the working classes was propertyless; in all industrial communities masses of the people were living under extremely unsanitary conditions; and a large part of the unskilled workers were receiving wages insufficient for the maintenance of physical efficiency.[112] Seeking to call the attention of the Churches to the moral peril of the situation John R. Commons wrote in 1894:

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* A pamphlet published in 1855 by Moses Yale Beach, *Wealthy Men of New York,* listed nineteen men estimated to possess more than a million dollars each. William B. Astor headed the list with $6,000,000.; next was Stephen Whitney, $5,000,000. James Lenox was third, credited with possession of $3,000,000.—Cf. Burton J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business: A Chronicle of the Captains of Industry,* pp. 10 f.

> On the one hand is great wealth, bringing great luxury and extravagance, great haughtiness and little thought for the trials and privations of the unpropertied. On the other is insecurity of employment and a servile dependence enforced by the whip of hunger, more inexorable than all tyrants. The moral effects of this condition are just what we should expect. . . . Crime has increased. Intemperance has become frightful, because life is a dreary burden of work, with no future of relief, and food is poor in quantity and quality. The home is being disrupted, because the working people are crowded into open tenements and the family cannot meet its daily wants without the help of wife and children.[113]

For the large portion of the population between the extremes of wealth and poverty the half century had brought a marked rise in the average economic level. Wholesale and retail merchants, jobbers, managers, shopkeepers, salesmen, professional people, and many others were better off financially and enjoyed more leisure than earlier generations. Abundant production of foodstuffs, the construction of more ample and comfortable homes, the invention and use of new types of household equipment, the application of factory methods of manufacture which greatly increased the available supply of a wide range of products, all contributed to material well-being. New refinements of living were widely introduced. High schools and colleges were multiplied and education became more generally diffused. Facilities for transportation and convenience in traveling were increased and cultural contacts were broadened.

Note

The same years that witnessed such phenomenal increase in national wealth and accompanying rise in the level of living of the middle class saw also as a concomitant a deeply disturbing increase of corruption in private and public life. In the New York *Tribune* of June 5, 1860, a correspondent wrote:

> There can be no doubt in any reasonable mind that we are entered in this country upon what may be fairly termed the Era of Corruption in the administration of public affairs. . . . Not that all the corruption of mankind has at once centered upon our time, but circumstances have conspired to give it a remarkable development at this period.[114]

If the beginnings of the "Gilded Age," Mark Twain's apt characterization, were in the late fifties and the early sixties, its heyday was in the decades immediately following the Civil War, a period which witnessed an unparalleled orgy of political chicanery and fraud, speculation, bank defalcations, stock manipulation,* and ostentatious, vulgar display of ill-gotten gains.[115]

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* The era was typified in the career in his later life of "Commodore" Cornelius Vanderbilt. In 1865 he possessed about $10,000,000. By operating a fleet of steamboats, acquiring control of the Hudson River, the New York Central, and Lake Shore Railroads, bribing legislatures, corrupting courts, engineering high stock-watering operations, and speculating on the Stock Exchange, he amassed by the time of his death in 1877 a fortune of $104,000,000.—the first American to accumulate a hundred million dollars.—Cf. B. J. Hendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 19; E. L. Bogart and D. L. Kemmerer, *op. cit.*, pp. 763 f.

Political corruption was rife on all levels from municipal primaries to federal administrative circles.

> In some cities a large part of the primary meetings are held in low saloons, . . . [and] the administration of city affairs is determined by the lowest and most corrupt elements of the population.[116]

Frequently registration lists were falsified. In Baltimore, according to Daniel Dorchester, eight of the "judges" of a municipal election were men who had been indicted for crime, of whom four had been convicted. Similar facts could be cited concerning Albany, Cincinnati, Boston, Chicago, and other cities. For years the "Tweed Ring" virtually governed New York City, prostituting every agency of government and infecting even the state judiciary and legislature.* After serving a penal sentence of seven months for embezzlement of public funds in Philadelphia Charles T. Yerkes transferred his activities to Chicago where for years he exercised dominating control over successive mayors, governors, city councils, and the Legislature.[117] Few state legislatures were free of scandal. The 1867-68 legislative session of Illinois "was a veritable orgy of boodle legislation." Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Minnesota, and other midwestern states shared the shame of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.[118] The record of Congress and of federal administration was scarcely, if any, better.[119] The eight years of U. S. Grant in the White House

> were little better than a national disgrace. All the festering evils of post-war times came to a head and pock-marked the body politic from head to foot. Scandal and corruption whispered all about him, the hands of his closest advisers were dirty; yet he stubbornly refused to hear the whispers or see the dirt.[120]

A favorite field of financial buccaneering was railroad spoliation.† Probably the most unscrupulous and ruthless group was the small New York coterie composed of Cornelius Vanderbilt, Daniel Drew, Jim Fisk, Jay Gould, and Russell Sage, whose "Erie War" ‡ "smirched executive, judiciary, banks, corporate systems, professions, and people . . . in one dirty cesspool of vulgar corruption." [121]

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* The two political parties were equally involved. The "Tweed Ring," whose peculations were variously estimated from $50,000,000. to $200,000,000., were in league with the Democratic Tammany Hall organization, while in Philadelphia the "Gas Ring," which embezzled millions, was under Republican domination.

† Another area no less profitable was that of municipal franchises and public utilities in which such notorious figures as William Elkins, Peter A. B. Widener, William C. Whitney, Thomas Fortune Ryan, Mark Hanna, Patrick Calhoun, and others built enormous fortunes by buying public officials and fleecing investors. Their operations constituted an incredibly sordid tale of deceit, treachery, and wholesale robbery of which the full details never have been and never can be told.—Cf. B. J. Hendrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff.

‡ The "Erie War" was a fight between Vanderbilt and Drew, Gould, and Fisk for control of the Erie Railway and stock market profits. The latter group, without authority of the Board of Directors, issued bogus stock certificates in the amount of $10,000,000.; had the issues legalized by buying the Legislature, paying from $15,000 to $100,000 to senators for their votes; offered them on the Stock Exchange, and when the market broke bought them back at a fraction of the original selling price.—J. T. Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 280; the full details are narrated by Gustavus Myers, *History of the Great American Fortunes*, Part III, ch. x; see also Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and Henry Adams, *Chapters of Eric, and Other Essays.*

The attitude of these men and others of their kind toward the law and public welfare can be pithily summed up in Vanderbilt's alleged retort when reminded that certain of his transactions were "absolutely forbidden" by the law. "Law!" he is said to have roared, "What do I care about law? Hain't I got the power?"

Though the urge of industrial magnates and lords of finance to make money was intense, moneymaking was not their sole purpose. They were dominated by an inordinate ambition for success—influenced by the prevailing cult of success which was fostered by new and greater opportunities arising from the rapid increase in national wealth, the immense variety and extent of newly discovered natural resources, and the great expansion of industrial and commercial enterprise. They were animated not less by a desire to gain power, to do big things, to achieve the impossible. This preoccupation with power was so absorbing that it crowded out every other concern, blinded men to moral principles, obscured the worthier goals of life. Their methods were ruthless, tainted with fraud, regardless of public opinion, heedless of social consequences.

This prevailing corruption was not a new aspect of American life. What was new, as Henry Steele Commager has asserted, "was the magnitude, . . . [the] pervasiveness, and . . . [the] ostentation" of the operations.[122]

A deplorable aspect of the situation was the complacency and apathy of the general public. The citizenry at large seemed to be blinded to the illicit means used in the accumulation of wealth. Its possession was commonly accepted as evidence of ability and skill.

Yet grounds for blanket indictment of all engaged in industry, business, and politics did not exist. Innumerable exceptions existed of men who scorned to engage in the current corrupt practices, while here and there solitary voices were raised in protest and rebuke. William Jewett Tucker, who during the years 1875-80 was pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York City, testifies to the presence in his congregation of numerous men "in public life and in the more exacting forms of business," including two mayors of the city, who impressed him by their "spiritual accessibility" and "spirit of worship." [123] And many other ministers in widely scattered sections of the country could bear a like testimony.

Developing American Imperialism

In his fourth annual message to Congress on December 9, 1868, President Andrew Johnson gave expression to a long-pentup national aspiration to spread freedom and democracy throughout the world:

> the conviction is rapidly gaining ground in the American mind that with the increased facilities for intercommunication between all portions of the earth the

principles of free government, as embraced in our Constitution, if faithfully maintained and carried out, would prove of sufficient strength and breadth to comprehend within their sphere and influence the civilized nations of the world.[124]

This conviction of America's mission, perhaps best expressed in the phrase "Manifest Destiny," had been invoked variously in spirit and in word by presidents and statesmen from the time of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.* In 1813 Adams wrote to Jefferson, "Our pure, virtuous, public-spirited, federative republic will last forever, govern the globe, and introduce the perfection of man . . . ." [125] The concept did not involve intent or purpose of militaristic conquest. These early American leaders expected America to influence the world "in the manner of the stars with their kindly light—by the passive radiation of . . . 'brilliant example.' " [126] But in time this pacific, idealistic objective was interfused with economic and political aims, a process facilitated by growing commerce between the United States and foreign nations.

Within the year following the close of the War of Independence Robert Morris, merchant prince and founder of the Bank of North America—oldest financial institution in the United States—together with several other merchants, fitted out the Empress of China which carried the Stars and Stripes into the port of Canton. Before the end of Washington's second administration the American flag was familiar not only in Canton but also in the ports of India, Java, and the Philippines.

In the decade 1830-40 American business with China totaled almost $75,000,000. The British government, as a result of the Opium War which it waged against China, extorted certain commercial privileges from the Chinese. With a financial stake amounting to millions of dollars annually it was but natural for the American merchants of Canton to desire government protection against possible discrimination in favor of the British. In their behalf Abbott Lawrence, cotton-mill owner of Massachusetts, in 1840 laid before the House of Representatives their memorial "asking for the appointment of a commercial agent . . . to negotiate a commercial treaty . . . and for the dispatch to Chinese waters of a suitable naval force for the protection of American trade and property." [127]

President Tyler in 1842 proposed to Congress authorization of a special mission to seek a treaty from the Emperor of China. The mission, duly authorized, encountered no special difficulty in negotiating the Wanghia Treaty, signed on July 3, 1844, which secured for American citizens the coveted commercial privileges in Chinese ports and right of trial in their own consular courts if and when violation of Chinese law should be charged against them.[128]

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* In 1785 Jefferson had proposed "that the seal of the United States should represent the Children of Israel led by a pillar of light." His biographer asserts that Jefferson was convinced "the American people was a chosen people, . . . gifted with superior wisdom and strength."—Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson, the Apostle of Americanism,* p. 428. See also Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States,* p. 313.

The Mexican War (1846-48), brought on by tensions arising out of the annexation of the Republic of Texas and subsequent dispute over its boundary, and the desire of the United States to acquire upper California, ended with a treaty which not only abrogated Mexico's claim to Texas but ceded also New Mexico and California.* Andrew Jackson in his Farewell Message had declared that the Americans had been chosen by Providence as "the guardians of freedom, to preserve it for the benefit of the human race," a concept which, transmuted into the popular slogan "extension of the area of freedom," had served effectively in promotion of the war spirit. A popular interpretation of this expansionist ideology held that it was America's moral responsibility, even religious duty, to regenerate the oppressed, unfortunate people of the enemy nation "by bringing them into the life-giving shrine of American democracy." [129]

The decade of the fifties marked the emergence of a definite, deliberate, and ambitious expansionism. Its first expression was the opening up of Japan. Early in 1852 President Millard Fillmore commissioned Commodore Matthew C. Perry to command a naval expedition to Japan. On November 24 Perry sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, with a small naval force. His somewhat apologetic phrasing of national ambition was in accord with naval tradition: "we cannot expect to be free from the ambitious longings of increased power, which are the natural concomitants of national success." [130] After laying before the Japanese commissioners the American demands, in disregard of Japan's national rights, in violation of her territorial waters, he seized some of the Bonin Islands.† The treaty which he negotiated was duly signed in 1854.

Franklin Pierce, when inaugurated as President (March 4, 1853), for the first time in American history enunciated territorial aggrandizement as a national aim. James Buchanan reiterated the sentiment of his predecessor in terms of a permanent national purpose: "Expansion is in the future the policy of our country, and only cowards fear and oppose it." [131]

A former American medical missionary, evidently disposed to take Buchanan at his word, moved to put the newly declared expansionist policy into effect. Dr. Peter Parker, now in the service of the government, learned that an American company seeking to exploit the trade of Formosa had raised the Stars and Stripes at Takow. To him this seemed an opportunity too good to ignore. An obliging naval officer close at hand offering to collaborate by keeping the flag aloft until the approval of Washington could be secured, Parker communicated to the State Department his hope that "the Government of the United States may not *shrink* from the *action* which the interests of humanity, civilization, navigation, and commerce impose upon it in relation to Tai-wan . . . ." Much to his chagrin the word came back that the United States military and naval forces could be used only "by the authority of Congress." [132]

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* War against Mexico was declared despite strong opposition in Congress. Abraham Lincoln "lifted his voice against the war" and Joshua R. Giddings condemned it as "a war against an unoffending people, without adequate or just cause, for the purpose of conquest; with the design of extending slavery: in violation of the Constitution, against the dictates of justice, humanity, . . . and the precepts of the religion which we profess."—Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization,* I, 606.

† Perry's superiors at Washington repudiated his action, whereupon the U. S. flag was lowered in the Bonin Islands and the sovereignty of Japan reasserted.

William H. Seward as Secretary of State (1860-69) rephrased the expansionist doctrine in much more specific and grandiose terms than ever had been used before, predicting that eventually American outposts would be extended on the northwest coast to the Arctic, that Canada would be brought into the Union, that the Latin-American republics would be joined with the United States into a great confederation of which Mexico City would be the capital, and that the Far East—"in regions where civilization first began"—would be the scene of conflict between America and Russia.[133] Seward implemented his declaration by the purchase of Alaska in 1867, and proposed to expand the idea further by the purchase of the Virgin Islands from Denmark and the acquisition of the Bay of Samana, Santo Domingo, but was thwarted by the opposition of Congress.[134] In these immediate postwar years Congress was too deeply engrossed in the difficult problems of internal reconstruction to concern itself seriously with expansion abroad.

However, despite the bitter sectional antagonisms engendered by the war, powerful forces were working effectually in the forging of a new and stronger national unity. These influences are succinctly described by Merle Curti:

> New social and economic ties did much to soften antagonisms . . . . The expansion of industrial and finance capitalism from the East into both South and West forged a new and tightly knit web of interests. Both business and labor tended to assume the pattern of national organization. . . . The problems arising from the expansion and integration of business inevitably became issues for discussion on a nation-wide scale. . . . By the sixties the transcontinental railroad was a visible band of steel across the country, and railways uniting South and North provided a material basis for reconciliation. . . . the railroads facilitated the dissolution of prejudices and the growth of common ideas by enabling people to go to and fro on a scale that never before had been possible. The multiplication of telegraph lines . . . the consolidation of news services in the Associated Press, and the appearance of the telephone . . . promised to break down isolation and sectionalism by reducing both time and space within the national domain.[135]

The United States was at the same time awakening to a new realization of its place in an interdependent family of nations; a consciousness that independently of its own choice, by virtue of its industrial strength, its growth in commerce, its expanding geographical area and population, and its phenomenal increase in wealth, it was rapidly becoming a world power with a heavy stake in the political stability, order, and economic progress of other nations.

Within the first year of his administration (1869) Ulysses S. Grant maneuvered for the annexation of Santo Domingo by the United States and negotiated a treaty to this end but failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds Senate vote of approval.* Undiscouraged, he continued to advocate expansion in the Caribbean. The President next directed his expansionist intentions toward Samoa but in this also his efforts came to naught.

In the first year of the Hayes administration an offer of annexation from Samoa was rejected by Secretary of State Frelinghuysen with the assertion that "The policy of this Government . . . has tended toward avoidance of possessions disconnected from the main continent." [136] However, this tendency—if tendency in a real sense it was—soon began to give way before the resurgence of imperialistic ambitions. In 1889 the United States, in collaboration with England and Germany, arranged for a tripartite protectorate over the Samoan group.†

Unmistakable signs of the weakening of resistance to Manifest Destiny were seen when in 1893 in the administration of Benjamin Harrison a treaty of annexation of the Hawaiian Islands,‡ two thousand miles from America's west coast, was presented to Congress. Action was halted by Grover Cleveland's reaccession to power but the resolution of annexation was finally signed by William McKinley in 1898.[137] In this development the United States shared a tendency common to most of the great nations. An era of world imperialism had begun.

> Some of the roots of [this] imperialism were economic, for growing populations and expanding industrial systems demanded new markets. Some were political, for rival nations sought strength in overseas dependencies. Some were naval . . . . Some were religious and ethical, for evangelical churchmen felt it a Christian duty to spread light in dark places, while reformers talked of the white man's mission of uplifting backward peoples.[138]

At this juncture political and religious motives often became mutually complementary. Political leaders used the citizens' sense of moral and religious responsibility as a means of promoting expansion for the sake of commercial gain and some church leaders in turn argued that missions would result in the spread of commerce and increase in national prosperity, repaying many times over for all the money invested in them. A. T. Mahan, a chief exponent of national expansion through sea power, in his numerous books and articles in popular magazines variously phrased his defense of force as a Christian means of the conversion of the nations. "To right what is amiss, to convert, to improve, to develop, is of the very essence of the Christian ideal," he declared.

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* In his last annual message to Congress (Dec. 5, 1876) Grant naively stated that had his early policy been approved "the soil [of Santo Domingo] would soon have fallen into the hands of the United States capitalists."—James D. Richardson, Comp., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* VI, 4366.

† This arrangement prevailed for only a few years. It was superseded in 1900 by a treaty which allocated Tutuila and some small islets to the United States, and the remaining islands to Germany. Thus American suzerainty was established in the southern Pacific.

‡ This action was deeply disturbing to many isolationists. In an article in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* Carl Schurz stated that it represented a new interpretation of Manifest Destiny as national policy: "the acquisition of such territory, far and near, as may be useful in enlarging our commercial advantages, and in securing to our navy facilities desirable for the operations of a great naval power."—"Manifest Destiny," LXXXVII (June to November, 1893), 738.

> Without man's responsive effort, God Himself is—not powerless—but deprived of the instrument through which alone He wills to work. Hence the recognition that, if force is necessary, force must be used for the benefit . . . of the commonwealth of the world.[139]

In demanding the retention of the Philippines Senator Albert J. Beveridge proclaimed that God had "marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world." [140] W. F. Taylor in an address at the Methodist Centenary Congress (1885) declared, "It is the civilization originating in . . . [missions] which has created a demand for our commerce, the products of our lands, the labors of our artisans, the trade of our merchants, and the employment of our ships." [141] The Missionary Society in a promotional tract included an article entitled "The Reflex Influence of Foreign Missions," which stated:

> We do not work for the conversion of the heathen without realizing reflex benefit to our land, our Churches, and ourselves. Our commerce has been increased. . . . Christian missions have produced and provided safe Christian ports; have increased permanent wealth in heathen and desolated lands, thus increasing their buying capacity, and the demand for plows, cutlery, and other of our manufactures.[142]

In no publication were the nationalistic ambition and the missionary appeal more skillfully interfused than in Josiah Strong's widely circulated volume, *Our Country*. Strong contended that "God, with infinite wisdom and skill," had long been training the nation and its people for the hour sure to come when the United States would dominate the whole world. Not only was God "preparing in our civilization the die with which to stamp the nations, but, . . . [also] preparing mankind to receive our impress." He continued:

> Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it—the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization—having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth. If I read not amiss, this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond.[143]

II

A Changing Church in a Changed Society

EVEN AS THE structure of American Society was profoundly altered during the fifty years 1845-95 so also was the Methodist Episcopal Church changed in all phases of its life and work. It was inevitable that a Church which, as perhaps no other denomination, was a people's movement* would be affected by the social, economic, and cultural forces which were transforming American life. Methodism as an integral part of the nation was subject to the influences that were reconstituting society as a whole.

The Church itself was but slightly aware of the transformation it was undergoing. Many of the members, particularly of the older generation, were conscious of certain changes that were taking place and some were dismayed by them, but few realized their inner significance. Certain of the quadrennial Episcopal Addresses expressed concern lest the Church depart from the standards which had caused Methodists of earlier days to be regarded as "a peculiar people." In their address to the General Conference of 1852 the Bishops said:

> If we have correctly estimated this 'age of progress' and change, there never was a period fraught with more danger to the soundness and stability of first principles, and their legitimate application in domestic, civil, and religious governments, than the present. . . . In the state of the times, as General Superintendents, we have regarded it to be our duty to awaken in you a more than ordinary vigilance to preserve from radical change the excellent system which began with our fathers, and from them has come under our guardianship.[1]

In his address to the British Wesleyan Conference of 1865 Bishop Edmund S. Janes said:

> It is, perhaps, a most important question for us to answer whether the American Methodism of 1865 is the Methodism introduced in 1766. Notwithstanding all that croakers and grumblers have said or can say on this subject, a careful examination will show that if it does not strictly retain the resemblance of the impression to the signet, it does bear the identity of manhood to childhood, of the harvest to the seed.[2]

The Bishop went on to mention certain changes, chiefly in the polity and practice of the Church, but failed to press on to the close, analytic scrutiny that characterized Wesley's examination of the religious life and institutions of his time.

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* See Vol. II, 367-72.

Much the same note was sounded in the Pastoral Address of 1872:

> From the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Alaska to Texas, an open door is set before us, as a denomination, to proclaim a present, free, and full salvation all over our land, and to lay strong foundations for Christian civilization. . . .
>
> . . . You may avail yourselves of all that is valuable in the present age of progress without departing from the old landmarks, for Methodism is not only 'Christianity in earnest,' but it is Christianity availing itself of modern appliances—Christianity conquering the world for Christ. . . . Let 'Holiness to the Lord' still be our motto. May it be inscribed not only on our Churches, but on our business and on our pleasures . . . .[3]

Reluctant as the Bishops were to admit the extent and depth of the process under way—if indeed they were fully cognizant of it—Methodism was changing significantly in respect to the itinerancy, the relation of the Church to society, methods of evangelism, and in other important ways.

A CHANGING ITINERANCY

The trend toward comparative increase of Stations which had become marked in the thirties was accelerated in the forties and fifties. For example, of nineteen appointments in 1846 on the Newark District, New Jersey Conference, eight were Stations.* Not until 1857 did the Philadelphia Conference *Minutes* contain detailed statistics indicating the number of churches on a charge. In that year twelve of the thirty appointments of the Reading District were Stations. In contrast, on the Easton District all of the eighteen appointments were still Circuits. A decade later, of the forty-one appointments of the Reading District twenty-seven reported but one Church. The Cazenovia District, Oneida Conference, had in 1858 twenty-six appointments of which thirteen were Stations.

The trend toward an increasing number of Stations was less marked in the West than in the East and in the Mission Conferences of the far West practically nonexistent. The ten English-speaking Districts of the Illinois Conference, within the state of Illinois, had in 1859 only twenty-nine Stations as compared with eighty-eight Circuits.[4]

As early as 1846 Stephen Olin was convinced that the trend toward changing from Circuits to Stations had gone too far. In that year he stated in an address on "Missions and Methodism":

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* This statement and those following on the comparative number of Stations and Circuits are based on presumptive evidence. The Conference *Minutes* do not in most cases specifically designate appointments as Stations or Circuits, nor do they indicate the number of organized Societies. If an appointment is reported as having only one church and one Sunday school it is presumably a Station and is so reckoned in the above statements; if two or more churches and Sunday schools are reported it is obviously a Circuit. However, in a few instances an appointment reported as having one church and one Sunday school may have had in addition one or more preaching places without a church or Sunday school in which case the *Minutes* are misleading.

> [The number of] petty stations ought to be greatly, though gradually diminished; not by their abandonment but by a return, wherever it is practicable, to the circuit system. Two or three of these small societies, united in a circuit, would afford an inspiring and remunerating field of ministerial labor, when the preacher would get a better support, and the people, we verily believe, would get better preaching.[5]

The explanation of the change was obvious. Urbanization was causing a comparative increase in number of larger towns and cities and city churches demanded more of a minister's time and more frequent services than the rural Societies; increase of money in circulation and rise in the income level of church members made it possible for a larger number of the Societies to assume the entire support of a minister; the supply of preachers, while still unequal to the need, was more nearly adequate; and, finally, many of the preachers—a larger proportion of whom were married men—were less willing than those of an earlier generation to undergo the discomforts and disadvantages imposed by large Circuits which required excessive travel, together with frequent and prolonged absences from home.

A second significant development affecting the itinerancy was the change from a uniform allowance for all Traveling Preachers, including Bishops, to a salary determined by the Quarterly Conference of each Circuit or Station. The Disciplinary "annual allowance of married travelling preachers" up to 1860 was "two hundred dollars and their travelling expenses"; of unmarried preachers, "one hundred dollars, and their travelling expenses." The General Conference of that year changed the rule.* In the older Conferences for several years the regulation had been a dead letter. The New Jersey Conference *Minutes* for 1854-55 printed for the first time the "allowance" and the amount received by each preacher. In the Newark District appointments had been made to twenty-three Circuits and Stations. In the case of three of these the "allowances" were not stated. The remaining twenty ranged from $100. to $1,000.†

In the Philadelphia Conference "salaries" were first reported in the 1862 *Minutes*. On the North Philadelphia District the highest salary, $1,250., was paid by Trinity Church, Philadelphia; the lowest by Calvary, $118.07.[6]

The *Minutes* of the Illinois Conference for 1859 list the "claims" of all Traveling Preachers, the term "claim" being used in place of "allowance." The claim of James Leaton, pastor of the Springfield Station, the highest in the Conference, was $1,017. On six of the fourteen charges of the Springfield District the claim was in excess of $600. The lowest, $163., was that of the junior preacher on the Chatham Circuit. On seven charges deficits on the claim were reported. The deficits ranged from $75. to $374., the latter at Taylorville where slightly more than one-half of the claim was paid. The claims of the Presiding Elders ranged from $570.—that of Peter Cartwright, Jacksonville District, on which a deficit of $242. was reported—to $964. on the Springfield District.

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* The regulation enacted in 1860 read: "It shall be the duty of the Quarterly Conference of each Circuit and Station" to appoint an Estimating Committee to "make an estimate of the amount necessary to furnish a comfortable support to the preacher or preachers stationed among them, taking into consideration the number and condition of the family . . . which estimate shall be subject to the action of the Quarterly Conference, and the Stewards shall provide by such methods as they may judge best to meet such amount."—*G. C. Journal,* 1860, p. 288.

† The respective allowances paid by the twenty Circuits and Stations were: one, $100.; one, $300.; two, $400.; one, $432.; two, $425.; two, $500.; one, $510.; five, $600.; one, $716.; two, $800.; one, $900.; one, $1,000. Each of two churches in the Conference paid its pastor $1,000.: Broad Street, Newark; and Trinity, Jersey City. All but two of the twenty churches paid the allowance in full; two paid slightly more than the allowance.—*Minutes, New Jersey Conference,* 1855, pp. 6 ff.

These statistics supply conclusive evidence that by 1855 all Methodist preachers were no longer on the same economic level. Gone were the days when every preacher, whether a humble Circuit Rider, pastor of a city church, Presiding Elder, or Bishop, received the same allowance. The Station preacher received more than the Circuit Rider; the Presiding Elder more than the Station pastor; the editor and the Corresponding Secretary of a board more than a Presiding Elder; and the Bishop more than either editor or Secretary. Already the differential was considerable. As the years passed it became much greater.

The inflation that accompanied the Civil War brought a sharp increase in the salary level. In the Indiana Conference, for example, the salary paid to the pastor of Wesley Chapel, Indianapolis, increased from $1,000. to $1,700.; Greencastle increased from $745. to $1,000.; Vincennes from $750. to $820.; Bloomington from $700. to $1,000.; Paoli from $246.50 to $825.[7] Similar increases occurred in other Conferences.* Increases on Circuits in the newer Conferences were less.

Through the greater part of the period salaries of domestic missionaries in the far West continued to be on a poverty level. At its meeting on November 16, 1880, the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society appropriated $519. to be allocated to twenty-two mission charges of the West Nebraska Mission to supplement amounts contributed by the churches. Examples of respective amounts paid to five of the twenty-two missions were: Sidney, $25., and to be raised by the people, $150.; North Platte, $50., locally, $50.; Cozad, $20., locally, $40.; Kearney, $40., locally, $100.; Grand Island, $32., locally, $60. The average amount paid locally toward support was $71.36. The highest salary paid, counting local support and missionary allocation, was $175.; the lowest, $60. Chauncey Hobart records that one of the preachers on the Minnesota frontier had given up a salary of $40. a month "for the privilege of preaching the Gospel . . . for less than $40. a year" and that another traveled the Mankato Circuit for an entire year during which he received as cash salary only $9.[8]

A third modification of the itinerant system had to do with the method of fixing the appointments of preachers. Even before the division of the

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* In the New Jersey Conference, for example, 1861 to 1866, Green Street, Trenton, increased from $800. to $1,200.; Broad Street, Burlington, from $700. to $900.; Third Street, Camden, $1,000. to $1,500.; Trinity, Bridgeton, $600. to $800.—*Ibid.*, 1861, pp. 31 ff.; *ibid.*, 1866, pp. 36 ff.

Church a changed attitude on the part of both churches and preachers toward the appointing power had become more or less common—an attitude which within a few decades would greatly modify the system which prevailed during the days of Asbury and McKendree. On March 24, 1842, John McClintock, then a professor in Dickinson College, wrote to his friend Dallas D. Lore, pastor at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, asking: "Have you selected your next station yet? Or have you chosen your successor in Lancaster?" [9]

The disposition of churches practically to dictate to the Bishops as to who should be appointed pastor had by 1845 become a serious embarrassment to them in their responsibility of determining the appointments. In a discourse on the "Administration of Discipline" delivered before several of the eastern Conferences Bishop Hedding said:

> The difficulties attending this duty [of appointment of pastors] are increasing every year; and unless there be an abatement of the claims of some, both of the preachers and people, for certain places and certain men, it is impossible to see how the itinerant system can be long maintained in some parts of the country.[10]

The Disciplinary rule limiting pastoral tenure to two years, which had been fixed by the 1804 General Conference, was still in force in 1844-45. In 1864 the possible pastoral term was extended to three years, and in 1888 to five years. The General Conference of the latter year changed the limitation on appointment of a Presiding Elder to the same District successively from four to six years.

The Methodist ministry was changing also in its general character. The establishment of the Concord Biblical Institute (later the Boston Theological Seminary) in 1847; the Garrett Biblical Institute of Evanston, Illinois, in 1854; and Drew Theological Seminary in 1867; and the eagerness with which their graduates were welcomed into the pastorates of leading churches signaled the emergence of a new and higher type of ministerial leadership in Methodism.

As the number of churches which expected full-time ministerial service steadily increased, demand also grew for a larger proportion of academically trained preachers. Elsewhere attention has been directed to the wide range of temperament, personality, and intellectual gifts represented in the early American Methodist ministry.* Along with numerous men of superior preaching ability, including some who attained recognition far beyond the limits of their denomination, there were many Circuit Riders whose sermons were little more than fervent exhortations. These men could not acceptably serve in Station appointments, either in the cities or the larger towns. By the middle of the century the churches, particularly of the East and the Midwest, had among their lay members a goodly number of graduates of

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* Consult Vol. II, 445-57.

Methodist and other denominational colleges who, while they valued unction and spiritual power, also desired from their ministers sermons which supplied ethical and religious instruction and challenged thought and action.[11]

A negative factor in the life and work of the Church during the period was the decline in recognition and prestige of Local Preachers in the Church's program. In proportion to Traveling Preachers their number did not decrease greatly between 1845 and 1895,* but the increase in number of Stations and possibly other unrealized influences contributed to less use of them in the denomination at large and in the local churches. It seemed to Abel Stevens an amazing fact that Methodism would allow the local ministry to lapse practically into inefficiency just at the time when other evangelical denominations, and the newly organized Y.M.C.A., were eagerly making a larger place for laymen in evangelistic work and other forms of Christian service. He declared:

> The Church is full of advanced laymen—teachers, legislators, lawyers, doctors, and others equally able—whom she should set to work in her service, as she did in her old victorious days. But the very thought of the availability of these forces seems to have almost died out of the denomination in our older fields. Who can deny that there is as wide and urgent a field as ever there has been in our history, for such laborers, in the vast neglected suburbs of our great cities, and in our rural districts as well?[12]

Growing Influence of the Laity

It was not to be expected that the victory of clericalism in the General Conference of 1824 which resulted in the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church had permanently settled the question of the right of lay representation in the governing body of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The surprising fact was that agitation of the subject was postponed for more than two decades. But, although not strongly vocal, conviction of democratic right persisted, and finally in 1852 found expression in a petition formulated by a convention of laymen held in Philadelphia. The General Conference of that year was not in a mood to consider the question seriously, voting 171 to 3 that it was "inexpedient so to alter the economy of the Church as to introduce Lay Delegation into the General and Annual Conferences." Like action was taken by the 1856 General Conference. But the climate of opinion in the Church was beginning to change.† In 1860 the Bishops, in their Episcopal Address, stated: "We are of opinion that Lay Delegation might be introduced in one form into the General Conference with safety, and perhaps advantage, that form being a separate house . . . ." [13] Sentiment among the laity had become so strong that the Conference felt under compulsion to act. Accordingly, a resolution was passed expressing willingness to approve lay representation in the General Conference "when it shall be ascertained that the Church desires it." The question was therefore referred to a vote by orders—the preachers required "to lay the subject . . . before the male members over twenty-one years of age, and in full connection in their several charges" at meetings specially called for the purpose; and the Bishops instructed to present the question before all the Annual Conferences of 1862—the first time such an action had been taken in the history of American Methodism. Strange as it may seem, both the ministry and the laity voted adversely: the ministers voting 1,338 for, 3,069 against; the laymen 28,884 for, 47,855 against. A laymen's convention, held concurrently with the General Conference, maintained that the result was in no way decisive. The vote had been "very imperfectly and in some churches irregularly taken," the laymen charged, and besides preoccupation with the war had interfered with proper consideration of the question. They made vigorous demand for action by General Conference irrespective of the vote:

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* In 1846 the Church had 3,280 Traveling Preachers and 4,935 Local Preachers; in 1895 the respective numbers were 12,024 and 14,896.—*General Minutes,* 1846, p. 91; *ibid.,* Fall, 1895 pp. 602 f.

† A noteworthy fact is that the strongest opponent of lay representation was a layman, Thomas E. Bond, "easily the first controversialist" in the Church. In 1828 he had written for the committee on Petitions and Memorials of the General Conference the report which was decisive in determining the issue in the long controversy. His argument chiefly rested on "the assumption that the divine call to the ministry carries with it the equally divine right of the ministers to the exclusive government of the Church. . . . virtually [putting the Church] on Roman Catholic ground." So apprehensive were the opponents of lay representation that the General Conference of 1852 recalled Bond to the editorship of the *Christian Advocate.* George R. Crooks: "He still, however, . . . relied upon the old arguments, republished his famous 'Appeal,' and claimed the authorship of the 'Report on Petitions and Memorials' of 1828—a point which, up to this time, had been in doubt."—*The Life of Bishop Matthew Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* pp. 408 ff.

> To resist the claim of the laity to participate in the general administration of the Church is, . . . a resistance of the whole tendency of the Christian life in this our age. In all the Protestant Churches of the world—unless our own be the sole exception—a more perfect association of the ministry with the laity in the administration of the interests of the kingdom of Christ is forming. This fact is one of the salient features of the Church history of our times.

They supplemented their declaration with other strong, pertinent arguments.[14] But the Conference was unmoved, reaffirming its previous willingness to approve lay representation when assured "that the Church desires it," but discerning "no such declaration of the popular will as to justify . . . taking advanced action." [15]

By the time of meeting of the 1868 General Conference the demand of laymen for representation had become so strong as to be irresistible. The Conference not only voted to refer the question again but submitted a definite plan to be presented during the ensuing quadrennium with a recommendation for "the godly consideration of . . . ministers and people." [16]

The plan was approved by decisive vote: the people voting two to one for representation, and the ministers in the Annual Conferences by more than a three-fourths majority (4,915 to 1,597) to change the Restrictive Rule. The General Conference completed the action by voting 283 to 6 to concur in changing the rule.[17]

As a result, in the 1872 General Conference, eighty-eight years after the organization of the Church, laymen appeared for the first time as members of its supreme lawmaking body.* The legislation, however, provided for only two lay delegates from each Annual Conference, which did not satisfy the laity. Also, having obtained representation in the General Conference, they desired admission into Annual Conference membership. The General Conference of 1876 would go no farther than to authorize a commission of five ministers and five laymen to consider the "propriety" of the proposal. The commission made favorable report but the plan was tabled in 1880 and no action taken. The proposal was brought up again in 1884 and a commission, larger than before, was authorized "to take into consideration the whole subject of representation, ministerial and lay, and report." This commission in 1888 recommended equal lay and ministerial representation in General Conference, but expressed the judgment that it was not deemed "expedient to now recommend any plan" for lay membership in the Annual Conference. The vote in the Conferences of 1889-90 was adverse and the proposal again in 1893-94 [18] failed of approval.†

THE INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH

In their address to the General Conference of 1852 the Bishops deplored an evident weakening of the traditional discipline of early American Methodism:

> There appears to be more wordly-mindedness now than formerly. This is exhibited in conformity to the world, in costly dwellings, splendidly furnished—in gay and fashionable dress in which we can see little or no difference between professing Christians and those who make no profession of religion—fashionable parties, in some instances associated with vain and sinful amusements. . . . Another unfavourable omen, which awakens apprehension, is found in the neglect of many of our ministers to execute, with wholesome strictness, our excellent *Discipline,* each thinking that he finds extenuation, if not justification, in the neglect of his predecessor . . . .[19]

DECLINE IN DISCIPLINE

The changes which the Bishops deplored reflected a weakening of the inner life of the Church, a kind of creeping paralysis which had been under way for years. When John Scripps was appointed in 1819 to the Cape Girardeau and St. Francis Circuits, with John M'Farland as his colleague, he found even then that "the exercise of Discipline had been entirely neglected the preceding year." [20] In a sermon preached in the early sixties George Peck * asserted that church discipline had all but fallen into contempt.

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* Andrew J. Endsley, of the Pittsburgh Conference, a prominent ministerial member of the General Conference, characterized the lay delegation: "The one hundred and twenty-nine laymen here are in the main men of note in their respective localities. Many are well known as successful merchants and manufacturers; some have filled positions of responsibility and honor in our State and National affairs. Several have been Governors, some are Congressmen, and some are occupying seats on benches of Circuit and Supreme Courts; and not a few are distinguished at the bar. On the whole, the laymen may be said to be very happy in the selection of their delegates."—*Daily Christian Advocate,* May 27, 1872, p. 1.

† The 1896 General Conference again recommended equal lay representation. This time the proposal was approved and in 1900 laymen were admitted to the General Conference in equal numbers with ministers.—*G. C. Journal,* 1896, pp. 428f., 298.

> The old strictness of living is now scarcely attempted to be enforced. . . . Outward and inward pressure have borne upon ecclesiastical authority until it is fast becoming nerveless; and its restoration to its original vigor and efficiency is all but hopeless.[21]

By 1845 the Band had become practically nonexistent,† and the General Conference of 1856, on recommendation of its Committee on Revisals, struck from the *Discipline* all allusions to it. Signs were not lacking that a similar fate would in time overtake the Class meeting, which for more than three-quarters of a century had been a principal means of stimulating and conserving Christian fellowship among American Methodists.‡ "We grieve to hear," said the Bishops in 1848, "that in many parts of our work there is a great, and, we fear, an increasing neglect of . . . class meetings." ". . . more than any [other] prudential institution among us," they declared, the Class meeting has "served to keep alive in our body the life and power of godliness." [22] By the eighties in many of the churches the Class had ceased to exist and in others the Class meeting was attended by only a fraction of the older members.

The 1864 General Conference made an attempt to reinforce discipline by authorizing a revised statement on "Neglect of the Means of Grace." Members of the Church found guilty of habitual "neglect [of] . . . the public worship of God, the supper of the Lord, family and private prayer, searching the Scriptures, class-meetings, and prayer meetings" were to be excluded from membership.[23] This regulation was retained in the *Discipline,* in substantially the above form, until 1936, but was omitted in the first *Discipline* of the reunited Church. From the time of its enactment, however, little attention had been paid to its enforcement, and few if any members were ever brought to trial in accordance with its stipulated procedure.

INCREASING COMPLACENCY AND CONVENTIONALISM

The form and outward aspects of congregational worship also were gradually modified during the period as an outgrowth of a rising society dominated by material standards. Particularly in the larger towns and cities more attention than formerly was given by both ministers and lay people to order and convention. Worship became more subdued and less demonstrative. The loud "Amen" from numerous members of the congregation, earlier so generally expressed, was much less frequently heard. The charge of excessive emotionalism so frequently urged against Methodist revivalism during the early decades of the century was seldom made after 1850.

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* George Peck (1797-1876), one of five brothers who were ministers, was born in Middlefield, N. Y. He was received on trial in the Genesee Conference in 1816 (*Gen'l Minutes,* I, 269). At twenty-six he was elected to General Conference and successively re-elected twelve times. He was principal of Oneida Conference Seminary (1835-39); editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* (1840-48); and of the *Christian Advocate* (1848-52). Later he served as pastor and Presiding Elder in Wyoming Conference. He was the author of numerous books, including *Work of Faith* and *Christian Perfection.—Christian Advocate,* 101 (1926), 36 (Sept. 9), 1099 f.

† See Vol. II, 340-42.

‡ For example, the Committee on Class Meetings of the Illinois Conference at the session of 1859 expressed deep and painful conviction "that the Methodist Episcopal Church, within the bounds of the Illinois Conference, has suffered materially, both in her spiritual and financial interests, by the very general and culpable neglect of class meetings on the part of the membership, and the reprehensible inattention of the larger portion of the preachers . . . to those parts of the Discipline of the church regulating class meetings among us."—*Minutes, Illinois Conference,* 1859, p. 34.

"I have wished a hundred times that I might have weathered the trials of the fathers, that I might have shared their triumph," wrote Gilbert Haven in 1853.

> I have an old, wise, intelligent, orderly church, which makes me feel more than ever the difference between them and their fathers. The most earnest and elaborate discourses preached by bishops or doctors couldn't more than momentarily excite them. They would depart, say a few words about the sermon, and relapse into the ordinary tenor of their lives.[24]

These changes were partly cause and partly effect of the change in the manner and content of Methodist preaching. Less effort was made by preachers to stir the emotions; and more generally than before appeal was directed to the intellect. In 1866 the *Christian Advocate* noted this shift in current preaching:

> It became less declamatory, hortatory, denunciatory, in proportion as the preacher saw his congregations becoming less and less a collection of impenitent sinners. . . . he, unconsciously perhaps, assumed toward them a style of address adapted to their characters, and thus the preaching became largely didactic, consolatory, and edifying. The increased intelligence and thoughtfulness of . . . [the] people rendered necessary a larger mental furniture, and more elaborate preparations and discussions by the ministers; and this increase of brain-work in both hearers and preachers caused fewer sermons to suffice than were before thought necessary.[25]

Less and less as the century progressed were the Methodists spoken of as "a peculiar people." The marks of differentiation from other evangelical Churches one by one were disappearing. Not only in the particulars mentioned but also in other ways members of Methodist churches conformed to the manners and customs which prevailed among other religious groups. Distinctiveness in dress was no longer prevalent; strictness in the observance of Sunday as the Christian Sabbath lessened; the reading of Sunday newspapers and the playing of games and sports on Sunday afternoon noticeably increased.

Among both ministers and laymen increased attention was given to organization, system, and efficiency in church administration. Church trustees, some of whom were not members of the Church—appointed because of their business standing—came to occupy a more prominent place in church affairs. Business meetings became increasingly important while prayer meetings declined in attendance and interest. More attention was given to architecture in church building. Pipe organs and paid choirs were for the first time introduced into many of the larger churches. Not that all of these were bad in themselves, but important as illustrating a prevailing trend.[26]

A marked change from the days of Asbury and McKendree in the spirit and attitude of many preachers toward place, rank, and office in the ministry was noticeable. On his first furlough from India James M. Thoburn, a man concerning whom—as of few men—it might truly be said that for him "to live was Christ," visited the General Conference of 1864. He was troubled in spirit by the political manipulations in connection with the election of Church officials which "absorbed more attention than all other interests combined." The shuffling of offices "to suit the candidates," and the open and officious trading of votes between friends of candidates for the various offices, were to him obnoxious practices. "This kind of thing may be all right among the politicians of this world, but . . . it seemed wholly out of place, to put it very mildly, in an assembly of Christian ministers." [27]

METHODISM A MIDDLE-CLASS MOVEMENT

By 1850, according to the U. S. census, the Methodists as a denominational family had become the wealthiest Church in the nation.* The number of churches had increased to 13,302; the total valuation to $14,825,070.[28] The trend toward increasingly expensive buildings led the Bishops to protest in their Pastoral Address of 1852:

> Very costly edifices lay heavy taxes on our pecuniary resources, and we think do not tend to edification or godliness, but rather gender pride. When durable material, decency, sufficient space, due proportions, convenience, air, light &c., are secured, all beyond these seem to be superfluous or of doubtful character. The extra expenses appropriated in erecting churches for the destitute, would be a better outlay than mere ornament.[29]

There were others, also, who felt that this trend was not in accordance with the Methodist tradition. In 1868 a correspondent of the *Christian Advocate* reported that in the cities of the western states—Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, northern Illinois, and portions of Iowa—the tendency was *"toward one-hundred-thousand-dollar churches"* where "wealth, and style, and fashion gather, and the poor have not the Gospel preached to them."

Contributions made in 1866 in connection with the Centenary celebration, for churchwide and local objects, amounted to $8,709,498.39.[30] In the eighties and nineties additional evidence of financial prosperity was to be seen, particularly in larger towns and cities, in still more costly church edifices, stained-gass windows, and better clothed worshipers.

The inner life of the Christian Church has always been affected in subtle ways by material prosperity.[*] Wesley was keenly conscious of this historic fact. He foresaw the certain effect that honesty, industry, and thrift would have upon material prosperity and the accumulation of wealth and warned the members of the Methodist Societies against the moral and spiritual dangers inherent in the process. His clear insight was validated in the changes which we have noted as taking place during these decades in the life of the Church. Its rapidly increasing wealth, says William Warren Sweet, was the "most serious problem faced by Methodism as a whole at this time."

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* The worth was estimated in terms of the total value of property. The Presbyterian Church stood second.

> It was this, together with the growing luxury of urban life, which was responsible for the many disturbing changes taking place in the church, which to an increasing number of earnest people seemed to be sapping Methodist vitality.[31]

The changes taking place were by no means all in the realm of the inner life of the Church. The entire program of the churches was affected. In concession to the mood of the times Methodism, like other evangelical Churches, in all of the large cities tended to forsake the crowded commercial and industrial sections and move to the prosperous residential districts, leaving behind a large constituency of wage earners.[†] The afternoon services attended by the working people were early eliminated.[‡] Bishop John F. Hurst, in an address at an Evangelical Alliance meeting in 1887, commented on this tendency:

> It was said that 'the church follows the people.' The churches in European cities did not 'follow the people.' Why should churches here do so? Why was there not as much need for a church in its old site as in the new? [32]

The need was indisputable but in too many cases the will to maintain churches for ministry to the poor was lacking. By the close of the period it could no longer be said that Methodism was the Church of the common people. It was still a people's movement but its membership in the United States now was predominantly of the middle class.

The Church and Moral Issues

Never before in American history had Christian ethics been so flagrantly challenged as they were by the assumptions and practices of corporate business, the rape of natural resources, stock manipulation, and municipal and national political corruption. But little light radiated from the pulpits of the Methodist ministry on the complexities, problems, and abuses of the new capitalism and new industrialism.* Many of the preachers were frank and fearless in denunciations of personal sins but strangely blind to social sins.† Few were the Methodist ministers who had anything to offer by way of criticism or counsel either for the entrepreneurs interested only in exploitation or for conscientious corporation managers who were seeking for Christian solutions of problems of human relations. Very few ministers of any denomination, for example, were forthright in condemnation of the national scandal involved in the building, and in the manipulation of the stocks, of the railroads, and few if any of the general councils of the Churches placed themselves on record regarding it. How lacking in moral insight even some outstanding leaders of the Church were in the areas of these issues which came to the fore in the decades following the Civil War is illustrated by the statement of J. W. Mendenhall, editor of the *Methodist Review:* "The criticism of the Church for its alleged inattention to social and industrial questions is not wholly justified, for such questions are new, and it is a problem to know what more to do than discuss them." [33] It was a humiliating confession for a leader of the Church. For in essence the evils were not new. Many were basically of the same character as those against which the eighth century prophets in God's name brought unsparing condemnation.

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[*] Walter Rauschenbusch: ". . . the financial welfare of the churches is bound up with the economic health of society, and . . . its perils increase as wealth accumulates in few hands and the social extremes draw farther apart. Moreover, the finances of the Church have always affected its constitution and inner life in the subtlest ways."—*Christianity and the Social Crisis,* pp. 297 f.

[†] The Roman Catholic Church did not remove from the crowded industrial areas of the big cities. A. I. Abell: "Though anxious to convert the privileged groups, Catholics always stressed their ministry to the poor. For example, the Paulist Fathers, under the direction of their founder, Isaac T. Hecker, established their central parish in the midst of Irish shanties in New York City."—*The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900,* p. 7.

[‡] A. I. Abell: "For while Protestant theory disparaged material things, most Protestants loved comfort and worldly goods, the possession of which they regarded as the sure sign of Divine favor. . . . Even the Baptist and Methodist faiths, once religions of the poor, now displayed almost frantic solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the rich."—*Ibid.,* p. 4.

THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY

Although the anti-slavery action of the 1844 General Conference, which resulted in the division of Methodism, had been taken by a decisive majority the Disciplinary statements on slavery, long unsatisfactory to its opponents, remained unchanged.‡ This left the Methodist Episcopal Church in an anomalous position. Slaveholding by church members was not contrary to the law of the Church. Opposition to slavery steadily increased yet in 1856 there were six Annual Conferences—Baltimore, East Baltimore, Philadelphia, Western Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri—partly or wholly within slave states, in which slaveholding by church members still existed. In many of the local churches of these border Conferences slaveholders continued to be received into church membership with no questions raised. Gilbert Haven charged that this was "not only a sin in the administrators of the discipline of the

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* E. L. Godkin: "The complexity of modern commercial operations is so great, the line between what is fair and what is foul so faint . . . that it is often very difficult for a man to say himself whether he is acting honestly or not, and much more so for a bystander."—"The Church as a Reformatory Agent," *The Nation,* June 16, 1870, p. 379.

† For statement on this characteristic of the earlier generation of Methodist preachers, see Vol. II, 8.

‡ The General Rules condemned the slave trade, declaring that all members of Methodist Societies "should continue to evidence their desire of salvation" by avoiding such evils as "the buying and selling of men, women, and children, with an intention to enslave them." The Disciplinary chapter on slavery stated that "no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station" in the Church "where the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom."—*Discipline,* 1844, pp. 83, 202.

Church, but as likely before long to issue in breaking down all sense of the moral evil of the system." [34]

While sentiment was widespread in the Church for incorporating in the *Discipline* stronger anti-slavery legislation, the minority opposing any change was influential and vocal.* Alfred Brunson declared:

> The brethren from the border conferences . . . or from the great commercial emporiums whose merchants dealt with the South, and whose interests were as much with the South as if they actually owned slaves themselves, strongly opposed any change of our rules . . . not because they really favored the system themselves, but because it was for the interest of the people they served, to let the system alone, however much wrong it might do the subjects of it, professing to view the evil as incurable.[35]

The Church periodicals were divided on the issue of legislation. A pronounced anti-slavery position was maintained by *Zion's Herald,* the *Northern* and the *Northwestern Christian Advocates.* A moderate stand was held by the *Christian Advocate,* and the *Pittsburgh,* the *Western,* and the *Central Advocates.* One of the most vocal of the editors was Thomas E. Bond,† of the *Christian Advocate.*[36] His position by some was considered equivocal, and by others pro-slavery, accusations which he vehemently denied. He did, however, definitely assert that slaveholding was not a sin under all circumstances and that the "General Conference would do a . . . wrong which would exceed the right of any Church council to inflict . . . by passing any rule of discipline which would exclude all slaveholders from the Church, without regard to their character or circumstances." He maintained also that the superior "state of civilization" of Negroes in America, as compared with natives of Africa, "has been a result of slavery—the providential good out of the bitter evil"—and that "it is evidently . . . [God's] design to use the abominable wickedness of the slave-trade for the regeneration of Africa." [37]

Bond's editorials engendered bitter controversy. A number of the most prominent ministers were in substantial accord with his position, including John McClintock, John P. Durbin, Abel Stevens, and George R. Crooks. In 1848 he was defeated for re-election by the anti-slavery group but in the General Conference of 1852, as the leader of the opposition to lay representation, was again made editor. Following his death in 1856 Abel Stevens became editor.

Meanwhile, sentiment against any compromise with the slavery system was steadily increasing in the Church; and although Stevens' opposition to withdrawal from slave territory and denial of church membership to slaveholders was couched in much more conciliatory terms than Bond's editorial utterances, he failed of re-election in the General Conference of 1860.* In his place Edward Thomson, president of Ohio Wesleyan University, of pronounced anti-slavery convictions, was selected editor—having received 142 votes as against 73 votes for Stevens.

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* The issue, according to George R. Crooks, was not one of slavery or anti-slavery. "Rather it was a question of the best measures to be applied to members of the Church who had been faithful to us; faithful, too, in the presence of a pressure which, if it could have had its way, would have forced them into union with the pro-slavery South."—*Op. cit.,* p. 362.

† For biographical data on Thomas E. Bond see Vol. I, 251 *n.*

At this General Conference the slavery issue was paramount in the thought of all delegates. The Bishops reported that three proposals had been submitted to the Annual Conferences for changing the General Rule but that none had received the required constitutional three-fourths majority. Eight hundred and eleven memorials were received from thirty-three Conferences, signed by 45,857 persons, and from forty-nine Quarterly Meeting Conferences, asking for "the extirpation of slavery from the Church"; and 137 memorials from thirty-two Annual Conferences signed by 3,999 persons, and from forty-seven Quarterly Meeting Conferences, urging that no change be made.[38]

The Committee on Slavery made two reports. The minority report, adverse to change, was defeated. The first resolution of the majority report, recommending to the Annual Conferences a change in the General Rule, lacked four votes of the two-thirds majority required for passage. A further recommendation condemning *slaveholding* as well as the buying and selling of human beings "as chattels," and admonishing "preachers and people to keep themselves pure from this great evil, and to seek its extirpation by all lawful and Christian means," was carried by majority vote. The Conference then took an action which in effect declared the chapter to be advisory only, not statutory. It also struck from the *Discipline* the proviso which declared that no slaveholder should be eligible as a Local Preacher "to the office of an Elder or Deacon, where the laws will admit of emancipation." [39]

Although the new statement fell short of the demands made by the majority of the memorials, its adoption caused excited agitation in Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia, with many threats of withdrawal from the Church. In the 1861 Baltimore Annual Conference a majority of the members, almost all of whom were pastors of churches in Virginia, declared themselves separate and independent, but still an integral part of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Levi Scott ruled the action null and void, and in 1862 the names of sixty-six were recorded as withdrawn. Several of the local congregations in the city of Baltimore were organized as independent Methodist churches.[40]

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* At the 1860 New York East Conference, preceding the election of delegates to General Conference, a document signed by many prominent laymen was circulated imploring the preachers "by your love for us to vote for no one, whatever may be your personal regard for him, who you are not morally certain will, if elected, stand in the General Conference as a rock against any change of the General Rule on Slavery." Threats were made that if Stevens should not be re-elected editor of the *Advocate* an opposition journal would be started. *The Methodist* was established with George R. Crooks and John McClintock as editors. Its purpose was declared editorially in the first issue: "There are hundreds of thousands of conservative Methodists in these Middle States; they have an indisputable right to have a paper which shall be agreeable to their convictions. *The Methodist* is such a paper." (*The Methodist,* I [1860], 1 [July 14], 4.) With the oncoming of war popular sentiment quickly changed to support of the administration and the *Methodist* "dropped the slavery question and became the great advocate of lay delegation." (Edward Thomson [Junior], *Life of Edward Thomson . . . ,* pp. 145 ff.) *The Methodist* was merged with the *Christian Advocate,* and suspended publication on Oct. 7, 1882.—*The Methodist,* **XXIII** (1882), 40 (Oct. 7), 1.

The outbreak of war brought quick and decisive reaction throughout the North. What appeal to moral principle had been unable to accomplish the call to patriotism quickly achieved. Everywhere the cry, "the union must be preserved," resounded from pulpits and civic platforms. An attitude of indifference toward slavery was transformed into absolute denunciation.* Every Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference authorized a committee on "The State of the Country," and resolutions pledging support of the government† were passed, often unanimously.[41]

TEMPERANCE REFORM

The influence of the national temperance crusade under the leadership of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance‡ reached a high point in the late forties and early fifties. Daniel Dorchester estimated that not more than one-third as much liquor was consumed per capita in 1850 as in 1823.[42] The memorial for the restoration of Wesley's original rule, proposed in 1848, which in the two preceding quadrenniums had failed of securing a two-thirds vote of the Annual Conferences, received the necessary majority on its third round. As adopted by the 1848 General Conference the rule forbade "Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity." [43]

In their Pastoral Address for 1848 the Bishops stated: "To the restoration of this rule we felt driven, as well by the propriety of the thing as by the force of public sentiment." However, they felt under compulsion to urge moderation in the measure of its enforcement:

> But while we recommend a strict observance of this rule, and ask your faithful and strenuous coöperation to render it practically efficient, still, as its restoration is recent, and must have somewhat the nature of a retrospective or *ex post facto* law, we also recommend a reasonable forbearance with delinquents, and also kindness and gentleness in the mode of its enforcement. These remarks have a special reference to those who were engaged in the liquor business prior to the restoration of the rule. It will be well to allow them a reasonable time to withdraw their capital, and invest it in some other occupation. . . . It is better to save a soul, if practicable, than to cut him off without hope of remedy; and, on the other hand, we must not let the whole Church suffer for the secular interest, or the perverseness of a few incorrigible delinquents.[44]

The first state prohibition law was enacted by Maine. Although the liquor industry was strongly entrenched in Portland, the chief city, with many distilleries and breweries, and the state as a whole was notorious for hard drinking, the 1851 Legislature enacted a statute prohibiting all manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors except for medicinal or mechanical purposes and the arts. There followed what McMaster characterized as "a craze for temperance legislation" which "swept the country from Maine to Minnesota." Within four years twelve other states had followed Maine's example.[45]

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* What the 1860 General Conference could not do was done in 1864, a resolution was sent down to the Annual Conferences and by their action the General Rule was changed to read: "Slaveholding, buying or selling slaves."—*G. C. Journal,* 1864, p. 167, *Appendix,* 376 f.

† William Warren Sweet: "In 1862 it was reported that there were sixty-three Methodist preachers holding commissions in the Union armies . . . ; four colonels, two lieutenant colonels, one major, thirty-six captains, and twenty other commissioned officers." Altogether there were "at least five hundred chaplains to the Union armies and navies."—*Methodism in American History,* pp. 285, 287.

‡ See Vol. II, 32 f.

Among church people strong social disapproval attached to both the selling and the drinking of liquor, but two major influences abruptly halted what might well have become a national temperance reformation. The Civil War brought a rapid increase in the use of intoxicating liquors among both soldiers and the civilian population. Attention was diverted from temperance agitation to ministering to the needs of the sick and wounded and care for soldiers' families.

The second strong adverse influence was European immigration, which brought into the country many hundreds of thousands of persons accustomed to habitual use of spirituous liquors. To them legal restriction upon drinking constituted unwarranted infringement upon personal liberty, to be resisted and in every possible way evaded. Enforcement of the prohibition laws first became lax, and laxness in enforcement, accompanied by widespread illegal distilling and bootlegging of whisky, was followed by demands for the laws' repeal.

The General Conference of 1868 sanctioned the appointment within each of the Conferences of a minister to devote his entire time to temperance agitation and promotion. But reaction reigned and the adverse tide could not be quickly stemmed. One by one the "Maine laws," as they were called, were repealed until by 1875 only Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire retained their prohibitory enactments. The elation of the brewers and distillers, and their political henchmen, was great. The future, they declared, was assured: "The enormous influx of immigration will in a few years overreach the Puritanical element in every state in the Union." [46]

But they reckoned without their host. The religious forces were cast down but not in despair, and they soon began to re-form their lines. In 1869 a national Prohibition Party was organized. This was followed, in 1873, by the Woman's Temperance Crusade, and later in the same year, by the formation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with a Methodist woman, Frances E. Willard, at its head. The story of her life is an epic of woman's courage, heroism, and resolute purpose. She had remarkable administrative ability; and under the stimulus of her dynamic, skillful leadership, within two decades the W.C.T.U. had local organizations in every state and territory of the Union.[47] Apart from her organizational skill Frances Willard possessed more insight into the causes of intemperance than many temperance reformers. She recognized that the use of alcoholic stimulants often was a concomitant of poverty, low wages, unemployment, and poor housing, and based her appeals for reform on broad grounds.

The General Conferences of 1872, 1876, and 1880 reaffirmed the actions of 1868 and on each occasion took a more advanced position. Recommendations included the commendation of laws to restrict the liquor traffic, and their endorsement by all Methodists; the organization of temperance societies in all congregations and Sunday schools; the use of "unfermented wine," wherever practicable, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; the appointment in each pastoral charge, at the fourth Quarterly Conference, of a "Committee on Temperance," to meet at least once in three months; and the promotion of the circulation of temperance literature.[48]

In 1880 Disciplinary changes were authorized, to make previous recommendations effective, and a section on "Temperance"—a broad statement of principles—was included for the first time.

The following General Conference reiterated the strong positions taken earlier. At the same time it expressed opposition to the enactment of laws which, by licensing and taxing agencies of the liquor traffic, "provide for its continuance," since the Church stood for "complete legal prohibition." The federal and state governments were declared by the 1892 Conference to be "guilty of wicked complicity with a business whose awful work of destruction brands it as alike an enemy to God and man." [49]

The part that Methodists might have in bringing about the prohibition of one phase and then another of the liquor traffic had been increasingly emphasized and by 1888 could be said to have had significant results, as illustrated by accomplishments recorded in the General Conference Committee report of that year. While there was unanimity in the Church in opposition to the liquor traffic, differences existed as to ways and means of doing away with the evil. Many believed in the efficacy of political action and were committed to the support of the Prohibition Party. Others felt that the idea of achieving prohibition through the organization of a party based on a single, simple idea was a chimerical scheme, "impracticable" and undesirable:

> The attempt . . . would only result in impotent endeavors and abortive attempts, assuring their own defeat, while the party itself would be made the retreat of cranks and visionaries, and of hopelessly unsuccessful aspirants for place—the rejected material of the other parties.[50]

The 1892 General Conference declared that its anti-liquor statement should not "be construed as an indorsement of any political party."

In 1884 the General Conference Committee on Temperance and Constitutional Prohibition had before it a memorial, presented by G. B. Wight of New Jersey, calling for a temperance board and secretary. This was the first proposal for such a board. No action was then taken but in 1892 the General Conference authorized "a permanent committee of fifteen, to be called the Committee on Temperance and Prohibition, . . . with power to act within the authorized declarations" of the Church for certain specified ends, a definite step toward an organized Board of Temperance.[51]

The declaration of the 1880 General Conference for "complete legal prohibition," which was incorporated in the *Discipline,* and that of the 1884 Episcopal Address for "unyielding devotion to the principles of Constitutional Prohibition," the General Conference declared,

> constitute the platform on which we stand as a denomination, and upon which we will battle until Constitutional Prohibition is secured in every State and Territory in the Union, and finally embodied in the Constitution of the United States.[52]

THE CHURCH AND DIVORCE

Divorce, by the mid-century, was fast growing to the proportion of an acute social problem. Writing in 1884, Samuel Dike estimated that within thirty years divorces had doubled in proportion to marriages in most of the northern states. In 1849, he stated, Connecticut granted ninety-one divorces, which "was probably one for each thirty-five marriages of the year"; in 1878 "the annual average for fifteen years had become 445, or one to every 10.4 marriages." Similar conditions prevailed in other New England states. The ratio of divorces to marriages in Ohio, according to Dike, "was one to 26 in 1865," while in 1882 it had increased to "one to 16.8 marriages." A special "Report on the Statistics of Marriage and Divorce" presented to Congress in 1889 by the Commissioner of Labor showed an increase in divorces every year, with one exception, from 1867 to 1886, and a total increase in nineteen years of 156 per cent.[53]

This phenomenal increase, sociologists held, was largely accounted for by rapidly increasing urbanization; more particularly by such conditions accompanying the growth of city population as anonymity, with "its distractions and temptations," life in boardinghouses and flats, intensified economic struggle, and woman's increased opportunity for self-support. These conclusions were borne out by the fact that the divorce rate was higher in large cities than in towns and rural districts, and also that the rate of increase in cities was more rapid.[54]

The Woman's Rights Movement focused attention upon the injustice of divorce laws,* and by its agitation became one of the chief influences in directing popular thought to the evils consequent upon broken marriages. But not until 1856 did the Church take cognizance of the problem, and then with little effect. A resolution in General Conference which proposed that any person guilty of violating "the law contained in Matthew V, 31, 32" should be denied membership in the Church was laid on the table. Similar proposals made in 1860, 1868, 1872, and 1876 met the same fate.[55] Finally, in 1884 the Bishops asked "the attention of the General Conference to the expediency of more stringent regulations in regard to the solemnization of the marriages of divorced persons." In accordance with the request the Committee on the State of the Church recommended inclusion of this directive in the *Discipline:*

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* See Vol. II, 43.

> That no divorce shall be recognized as lawful by the Church except for adultery. And no minister shall solemnize marriage in any case where there is a divorced wife or husband living; but this rule shall not apply to the innocent party in a divorce for the cause of adultery, nor to divorced parties seeking to be reunited in marriage.[56]

The report of the committee was adopted and for the first time in the history of the Church the *Discipline* contained a law on the subject of divorce.

In 1888 the Episcopal Address decried the facility with which the marriage covenant was dissolved in many of the states and declared that there would be no recession from "the advanced ground" taken by the preceding General Conference.

Addresses, sermons, and writings based on the New Testament were chiefly instrumental in bringing about the new law. But there were also other influences. Popularization of sociological principles was causing a reaction against extreme individualism and a reawakening to the ancient Hebrew realization that the family, rather than the individual, is the primary socializing agency in human society. Whatever tends to destroy the unity, the integrity, and the mutuality of the family undermines the foundation of Christian civilization. The initiation of the individual into a wholesome constructive religious and social life normally comes through the home and the family.[57]

BAN ON AMUSEMENTS

Among Wesley's counsels to the members of the Methodist Societies which carried over into American Methodism was that concerning participation in "fashionable diversions." Peter Cartwright, describing Methodists as he knew them in the early years of his ministry, said that they "dressed plain," "wore no jewelry, no ruffles," and for the most part "abstained from dram-drinking." He added that parents "did not allow their children to go to balls or plays," and "did not send them to dancing-schools." James Mudge, in listing some disquieting signs in the Methodism of a later day, mentioned a "greater laxity as to frequenting worldly amusements, [and] larger conformity to fashionable follies of various sorts." Expressing their concern about the increasing "worldly-mindedness" in the Church, the Bishops in 1852 cited as one illustration the prevalence of "vain and sinful amusements." [58]

The category "amusements" covered a wide range of diversions. "To call men and women Methodists," wrote Bishop Morris, "who dance, pitch quoits, play ball, or the like, is a contradiction of terms, as much as to speak of humble fops, sober drunkards, or honest thieves." [59] He might also have included attending the theater, card-playing, and such games as chess, checkers, and dominoes, for these too came under the ban. In this blanket condemnation of the entire category of amusements, the Methodists by no means stood alone. A similar viewpoint prevailed in greater or less degree in most of the Protestant Churches. "The Y.M.C.A.'s program of games and amusements," says C. Howard Hopkins in his *History of the Young Men's Christian Association,* "was limited by the prevailing Protestant folkways." The General Convention of the Association in 1867 adopted this resolution:

> *Resolved,* That this Convention regards the introduction of games into the rooms of Young Men's Christian Associations, for the entertainment or amusement of young men, as fraught with evil, dangerous to the best interests of Associations, compromising the Christian integrity, and dishonoring to the blessed Master and Teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ.[60]

American Methodism during its early period made no attempt to legislate authoritatively in prohibiting specific "fashionable diversions." It was content, in accordance with the broad principle enunciated by Wesley, to ask its members to indulge only in such "diversions as can be used in the name of the Lord Jesus." However, in the early seventies the Church became thoroughly aroused by the changing attitude of many of its members toward amusements and, breaking with precedent, turned to prohibitory legislation as a means of stemming the worldly tide. The "increasing laxity" of which Cartwright spoke was merely a symptom of a much greater change in process in American society as a whole, as we have seen. Apparently blind to the wholesale moral corruption increasingly manifested in all phases of commercial, political, and social life, many preachers and earnest laymen centered their attention on what was a comparatively minor concern. The Committee on the State of the Church of the 1872 General Conference reported having received

> a large number of memorials and petitions from members of the Church in different sections of the land, deploring the sinful amusements too often indulged in by members of the Church; also many resolutions and pastoral addresses emanating from Annual Conferences and other official bodies belonging to our own and sister denominations.

The committee recommended that the Disciplinary chapter on "Imprudent Conduct" be amended by the inclusion of "dancing, playing at games of chance, attending theaters, horse races, circuses, dancing parties, or patronizing dancing schools, or taking such other amusements as are obviously of misleading or questionable moral tendency." [61]

Dr. Henry Slicer of the Baltimore Conference spoke in opposition to the proposed legislation. He said he hoped to live and die as a Methodist of the Wesleyan type; that Wesley's original rules "were comprised in a few short advices," and that the General Conference was on the way to make itself ridiculous "in this matter of changes" of the *Discipline.* William R. Clark of the New England Conference agreed with Slicer that the tendency of professed Christians to affiliate with the world in its spirit should be checked but that specific legislation is not the way to proceed. It will not be enforced and cannot be. Charles A. Holmes of the Pittsburgh Conference also was opposed. The *Discipline,* he said, "was sufficiently explicit now":

> he who at proper times and proper places engages in plays was not transgressing but fulfilling a law of his nature; . . . there were children of our ministers and members who were driven to Satan because their parents would be wiser than their Maker, and repress innocent amusements in proper places . . . .

William H. Goode of North Indiana was surprised and grieved at some of the remarks by Clark; that "such a provision was necessary he thought every pastor present would affirm." G. W. Hughey of Southern Illinois was also in favor. He "had no confidence in long-faced religion," but Annual Conferences and churches had petitioned "for the authority of the Church to speak out on these sins of dancing, and theaters, etc., and he hoped to see the report adopted." The vote was then taken and the report adopted by a vote of 179 to 75.[62]

Not many persons were brought to trial under the specified charges but the paragraph furnished a platform for preachers, and innumerable sermons were preached on the sins of dancing and theater-going. From the time of its adoption the Church was by no means of one mind on the wisdom of the ban, and before many years had passed proposals began to be heard for its repeal. One of the strongest articles in the controversy was written by George P. Mains in the *Methodist Review* in 1892 which pronounced the "authoritative *index expurgatorius* of amusements . . . a most grave blunder of ecclesiastical legislation." Dr. Mains listed eight principal objections to the legislation. He declared that it was "un-Protestant in its character"; unworthy of "the rank and mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church"; objectionable because "no General Conference is wise enough to legislate specifically for the government of individual Christian conduct"; the basis of a " 'damaging popular aversion' to the Church"; the means of debarring from membership "many most intelligent and conscientious Christians"; practically a dead letter "incapable of enforcement"; and even if considered to be wise and in the right direction "incomplete and insufficient in its terms." [63] Although some, at least, of these arguments were unanswerable, opposition was not sufficiently strong to lead to repeal. While with the passing of the years other churches became more lenient in their views, and some even sponsored what were considered harmless or pure amusements in order to raise money or attract new members, particularly youth, to the church buildings, the controversy in Methodism was kept well under control and the rigid legislation held for a long time after the close of the period, although in some quarters the emphasis in explaining the wrongness of amusements shifted somewhat from the notion of vicious temptation leading to the downward path of immorality and corruption of body and spirit, to the more practical consideration that while not all forms of entertainment were "hurtful," yet all were wasteful of time, and a Christian had none to spare for mere frivolity.

The Church and Society

Increasingly middle class in their membership, Methodist churches—particularly in the cities—nevertheless continued to bring together more diverse, varied, and cosmopolitan groups of people than were to be found under any other than religious auspices. But conditions were gradually changing.

RAPID GROWTH OF CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Conflicting forces were at work within American society. From early colonial times the eastern cities had their aristocracy of descent, wealth, and culture. In the nineteenth century the leveling tendencies of the frontier more and more permeated the country as a whole, reaching even to the Atlantic seaboard. But strong influences were at work in the opposite direction, creating class and race distinctions of a different character. Race antagonism, an outgrowth of the slave system, which branded the Negro as inferior to the white man, spread insidiously throughout the nation. When horse cars were introduced in New York City the right to use them was denied to colored people, despite a decision handed down in a test case in 1855 which affirmed their right to ride in all public conveyances. Discrimination took many forms, even to the extent of barring the attendance of colored people in some white churches. The colored race, declared Editor Thomas E. Bond in the *Christian Advocate,* will always remain a servile class because even the abolitionists themselves, in their social relations with Negroes, are unwilling to concede the equality they preach.[64]

Race discrimination rapidly spread and broadened during the late forties and the fifties to include the immigrants who thronged the large cities, and also became intensified in some instances, taking on the form of violence and mob rule. As nativism it sponsored a political movement, the Native American Party, dubbed the "Know Nothing" Party,* which contributed largely to the development of class consciousness.

The rapid accumulation of wealth, aided by the new industrialism, also fostered the class spirit. We boast of our democracy, said A. T. Pierson, prominent Presbyterian church leader, and at the same time are "getting to have the most contemptible of all aristocracy, *a plutocracy,* or I may call it a *caste*-ocracy." [65] The gulf separating the newly rich and the poor had become so deep and wide, declared George P. Mains, of the New York East Conference, in 1894, that in the great cities it constituted two separate worlds.

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* The party first organized in 1850 under the name of the "Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner" or "Sons of the Sires of '76," with a national council and subsidiary state and local councils. It was a secret oathbound society and members when interrogated invariably answered, "I don't know" or "I know nothing." It was strongly anti-foreign and anti-Catholic and supported only native Americans for public office. In 1854 "Know Nothing" candidates won municipal elections in several of the largest cities, the governorship of Massachusetts, and forty seats in Congress. In 1855 seventy-five members of the U. S. House of Representatives, and the governors of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were party members. In this year the *Christian Advocate* strongly endorsed the party as a Christian organization.—George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration, 1820-1924,* pp. 111 ff.; *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXX (1855), 17 (April 26), 66.

> Between the two worlds . . . there is altogether too little interchange of heart to insure any generally vitalizing or uplifting result upon the less favored community. However close the proximity of these two worlds, they are separated from each other by the widest social distances . . . .[66]

Another among the few religious writers who emphasized the rapid growth of class divisions in American society was Samuel L. Loomis:

> A great and growing gulf lies between the working-class and those above them,—a gulf that is already as broad and deep—nay, in some respects, broader, deeper, and more difficult of passage in the cities of the United States than in those of Europe. Our own working-people are even more widely separated from the rest of society than those in England, France, and Germany, because the differences in occupation and wealth, which are becoming nearly as great here as there, are emphasized here as they are not there, by still greater differences in race, language, and religion.[67]

The Churches on the whole seemed indifferent to these developments. Laymen for the most part seemed wholly blind to their sinful character, and ministers took little account of them in their sermons. Gilbert Haven, however, condemned this "sin of caste," as he characterized it, in the strongest terms, declaring it to be "the most unnatural, and destructive of all the sins of the nation." [68] He was listened to respectfully, but few church people, either ministers or laymen, took his words to heart. They had too long been accustomed to think of sin in different terms, and they were scarcely able to comprehend the idea that anti-social attitudes were essentially as sinful and as hateful in the sight of God as overt acts in violation of the moral code.

In part because of increasing class feeling comparatively few of the vast numbers of immigrant laborers—by no means all of whom were Catholics—attended religious services in the Methodist and other evangelical churches. Because they were attended and sustained by the well-to-do—the merchants, the mill and factory operators, the salesmen, lawyers, and other professional people—workingmen looked upon them as capitalist-class institutions and would have nothing to do with them. Belatedly leaders of the Church awakened to the situation. The Episcopal Address of 1888 asked:

> Are [the masses] . . . drifting away from us? Have we lost our love for them, or the aggressive spirit which carries the Gospel to their homes and hearts? Have we forgotten our mission as we have increased in wealth? Nothing is more alarming to the philanthropist and the patriot than the alienation of the laboring people from the evangelical churches. Is this alienation of fact? If so, what is its cause? If we

> have given too much attention to the rich, or cherished too much regard for social position, or have in any wise neglected the poor, we have departed from the spirit of our calling.[69]

THE CHURCH AND ORGANIZED LABOR

In no sphere of thought and action did the increasing middle-class-consciousness and sympathy of the Church become more plainly evident than in its attitude toward organized labor. It might have been expected that the increase of Stations as compared with Circuits would contribute to a closer relationship between the Church and labor but this did not prove to be the case. Also it would seem that the principal aims of the Labor Movement would strongly appeal to the sense of justice of ministers and awaken sympathy for and understanding of the struggle of workingmen for a living wage and reduction of hours of the working day. But a few only were disposed to come to the aid of the workers. In a particular instance in New York City and Brooklyn when five hundred ministers of the several denominations were petitioned by the bakers' union to preach sermons against compulsory Sunday labor all but a half dozen, according to Richard T. Ely, ignored the request.[70]

Few also among spokesmen for the Churches recognized a need for labor organization; rather, they were for the most part fearful of results which might spring from it. "What," asked John R. Commons, "can the Church expect the spiritual possibilities to be of men who are doomed to long and exhausting hours of labor; who work seven days in the week, and have no holidays or vacations except those granted by pitiful accidents and sickness?" "Yet," he asked, "do we hear the Church or the ministers crying out against this worse than chattel slavery?" Some churchmen were more than indifferent, even outspoken in opposition, arguing that unionism would tend to contribute to shiftlessness and to development of rigid class lines such as existed in Europe, at the same time blinding themselves to the developing class lines within the Church itself. [71] One of the statements of this point of view appeared in an editorial in the *Methodist Review:*

> Instead of thinking and acting as 'citizens of the republic,' they [the leaders of labor] think and act as members of the laboring class, whose interests they regard as supreme. . . . It is undemocratic, anti-American, anti-Christian, and shows how deeply the movement is rooted, not in intelligent desire to promote the general good, but in the selfism of human nature.[72]

In the 1888 Episcopal Address the Bishops dwelt upon what seemed to them possible dangers of labor organization:

> That millions of laborers compactly organized under leaderships liable to become unscrupulous, chafing under real or fancied grievances, are an element of great power and no little danger is a fact too palpable to be concealed or overlooked. The

entrance of this element into the political party strifes of this country adds to the perplexity and the peril of the situation.[73]

Among the minority of Methodist Church leaders willing to endorse labor's plea for a living wage and a reduction in hours of work was Frances E. Willard. The 1874 W.C.T.U. Declaration of Principles, which she drafted, favored the demand and in 1887 she was initiated into the Knights of Labor. Most conspicuous among Methodist laymen who stood for the right of labor to organize in defense of its rights was E. H. Rogers of Chelsea, Massachusetts, who took an active part in the organization of the Christian Labor Union of Boston and who became prominent as a champion of labor before the courts.[74] In 1884, in the General Conference in which he was elected Bishop, Willard F. Mallalieu introduced a memorial on justice to labor but it got no further than the Committee on the State of the Church.

The *Christian Advocate* in an editorial published in 1880, which presented a point of view that was gaining support in the Church, declared that the laborer is worthy "of a just compensation, graduated upon the relations of his labor to the final result and the necessities of life and society." The editorial, which disavowed any sympathy with "communistic, socialistic, or agrarian ideas," * was written to controvert Henry Ward Beecher's notorious contention that a laboring man should be able to live and support a family decently on a wage of a dollar a day.† It is "not surprising," the editor continued, "that many working-men draw back from the Church when sentiments like these are taught by ministers." [75] While occasional statements to this general effect were made by Methodist press and pulpit, no organized effort developed within the Church during these years in defense of the rights of labor or by way of interpretation of the objectives of labor organization. In what was wholly a local movement, Herbert N. Casson, a Methodist minister, in 1894 founded a labor church in Lynn, Massachusetts. The membership card of the church stated its purpose to be "to educate, to harmonize, to cooperate, and to experiment as the pioneers of that glad day when there shall be no business but friendship, and no religion but love." At a Labor Day mass meeting that same year, held on the Lynn Common, seven thousand persons were reported to have been present. Ill health made it necessary for Casson to leave Lynn in 1900 and without his leadership the church soon declined.[76]

There were several factors responsible for the attitude of Methodism toward labor organization in this period. First and most basic was the strong individualistic element in Methodist tradition. Methodist preachers clung tenaciously to the doctrine that individual regeneration was all sufficient. Conflict between labor and capital, they maintained, sprang from the natural depravity of the human heart; if the laborer and the employer were both soundly converted strife between them would not exist: all would be peace and harmony. They continued to maintain their confidence in the face of abundant evidence that equally earnest Christian men were on both sides of the labor issue. Their failure to understand the complexity of the problems led them to fall back upon an easy but inadequate solution.

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* Chiefly as an outgrowth of the acute depression of 1873-78, when unemployment reached giant proportions, Marxian socialism first won a considerable number of converts, these almost entirely within the ranks of unemployed labor.

† Beecher wrote: "I have been reproached for saying that $1 a day was enough for a laborer to live upon. It is my belief that with an economical wife, who by her industry contributes to the family store, and helpful children who also add to the income a prudent man could not only support his family, but gradually amass a property on $1 a day. . . . What labor wants in this country is moral quality—not opportunity."—As quoted in the *Christian Advocate,* LV (1880), 51 (Dec. 16), 801.

A second determinative influence in the Church's attitude grew out of its traditional opposition to violence. As tension increased between corporation managers and executives and the labor unions, and unresolved conflicts multiplied, labor came more and more to rely on the strike as the most effective means of gaining its ends. The most destructive labor battle in America's history took place in July and August, 1877, in the course of which angry mobs of the unemployed forcibly halted and derailed trains. Troops were called out and blood flowed freely in Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and other railway centers. This and numerous other strikes in the course of which violence occurred intensified the opposition of the Churches to labor unions. When workingmen under the domination of their unions resort to violence, churchmen declared, their revolt becomes unjustifiable; it substitutes the tyranny of mob law for reason and persuasion and is without defense.

The third chief factor in determining the attitude of the Church toward labor organization was the prevalent adoption of the economic doctrine that labor is a commodity and, as with other commodities, its price, *i.e.,* its wage, must perforce be governed by the law of supply and demand. The principle was stated editorially by the *Christian Advocate:*

> Labor is a commodity, having the prices varying from time to time, and in various places, according to the relative demand and supply, and it is great folly to attempt to regulate prices by law. The attempts of governments to control these things have uniformly been productive of dissatisfaction among all parties.[77]

The doctrine was sharply challenged by Washington Gladden who asserted that it could only be true "if men are not moral beings; if the doctrines of materialism or of high Calvinism are true, and if the actions of men are determined by forces outside of themselves." [78] Gladden, however, was all but alone in his position.* The churches had become too closely identified with and committed to the *laissez faire* economy. Uncritical admiration for self-made industrialists, manufacturers, and corporation executives as benefactors of society had become too ingrown for churchmen to realize the inhuman aspects of the labor-as-a-commodity principle.

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* Another who took decided exception was Bishop Henry C. Potter of the Protestant Episcopal Church who in 1886 in a Pastoral Letter said: "When capitalists and employers of labor have forever dismissed the fallacy, which may be true enough in the domain of political economy, but is essentially false in the domain of religion, that labor and the laborer are alike a commodity, to be bought and sold, employed or dismissed, paid or underpaid, as the market shall decree; . . . when the principle of a joint interest in what is produced of all brains and hands that go to produce it is wisely and generously recognized; . . . then, but not till then may we hope to heal those grave social divisions, concerning which there need to be among us all, as with Israel of old, 'great searchings of heart.' "—Quoted in H. A. Keyser, *Bishop Potter, the People's Friend,* pp. 21-26.

Gradually, however, beginning about 1880, a change of viewpoint and of attitude toward organized labor began to be evident in Methodism as in other Churches. For one thing, Church leaders were coming to realize that organized Protestantism had been gradually losing touch with a rapidly increasing segment of the population; many working people had become embittered against organized religion. A strong vocal anti-clericalism had developed among labor leaders. The declaration of Terence V. Powderly, Knights of Labor leader, was typical. The financial and industrial "masters," he charged, utilize "the powers of press and pulpit to convince the laborer that he should not aspire to the good things of earth, but should be content to live in that sphere to which it had pleased his God to call him." [79] Other official spokesmen of labor denounced the Churches for lack of understanding of labor's aims. They did not distinguish between the Churches, denouncing all in common. These denunciations, some of which were undiscriminating and unjust, were alienating increasing numbers of laborers. Josiah Strong quoted a minister as stating that he had found "in one shop sixty men (none of them Roman Catholics), only six of whom ever went to church at all." In a second shop he found about 110 Protestants of whom "only seven attended any church." [80] Washington Gladden declared in 1886 that the proportion of wage earners in the Churches was diminishing. Stating the census showed that wage earners employed in manual labor—mechanics, shop hands, and common laborers—constituted at least one-fourth of the population, he said that in the church of which he was pastor, located "in a neighborhood easily accessible to the working classes, and . . . known always as an extremely democratic congregation," only about one-tenth were of workingmen's families. The reasons, he felt, were, first, their inability to dress well enough to feel at home in a congregation as stylish as the average church; and, secondly, their sense of injustice that workingmen, as a class, were receiving at the hands of capitalist employers, as a class.[81]

The change of viewpoint and attitude found expression in a broadened conception of the Christian Gospel, of which we treat later, and in a distinctly new type of local church organization and program.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH *

Even though awakened to the existing situation, not many ministers possessed a knowledge of the principles and methods required in order to adapt the Church's program to the needs of workingmen and their families. Recognizing that the proletarian masses who thronged the crowded, tenement-house,

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* The designation "institutional church" was used by William Jewett Tucker in referring to the social activities of Berkeley Temple, a Congregational church in Boston, probably the first to use the term. The church began its widened social ministry in 1888.

industrial sections of the large cities shunned the conventional type of Protestant religious services urban Church leaders were gradually coming to see that something more and different from the conventional program of direct evangelism was required.[82]

One of the pioneers in initiating local church programs was J. W. Magruder, pastor of Wesley Chapel, the oldest Methodist house of worship in Cincinnati, Ohio, who in 1891 declared that a "down-town church like Wesley Chapel can only succeed by being an institution of all-round salvation." In elaborating his idea he declared that the church

> ought to be honeycombed with educational, musical, and industrial work and appliances, doing their part in the work along with the sermon, the Sunday school, and the prayer meeting. It must work as Christ did, healing and helping the temporal condition of man along with its ordinary spiritual work.[83]

By 1895 Wesley Chapel maintained a kindergarten, a day nursery, a young ladies' benevolent society, a bureau of justice in which four lawyers gave their services free to the poor, a building association in which people were taught to save toward a home, and a visitation society. Still more extensive was the program developed at the Metropolitan Temple, formerly the Central Methodist Church, New York City, under the leadership of S. Parkes Cadman and his ministerial and lay associates. The various societies and agencies included a reading room, a literary club, choral societies and music bureau, a sewing school, young people's societies, and an employment bureau. In this instance, however, the aim was not so much to reach workingmen as to minister to "the self-supporting and self-respecting middle class." [84]

Institutional features were introduced into the programs of several other New York City Methodist churches, notably Calvary and Washington Square. The former maintained an employment bureau, a kindergarten and day nursery, a free dispensary, a reading club, and a stenographic class. Washington Square activities included a kindergarten, boys' clubs, women's classes in gymnastics, a free library, and a reading room.

In 1895 the Presiding Elder of the Chicago District, Rock River Conference, reported that in connection with the Halsted Street Mission "a flourishing kindergarten, an industrial school, and . . . a printing school" had been carried on. This was the first mention of institutional church activities in the *Journal* of the Conference.[85]

In 1859 Henry Morgan, an independent, somewhat eccentric layman, established a mission in Music Hall, Boston. A later outgrowth was the Boston Union Mission Society, and still later, the Morgan Memorial which became one of the most noteworthy of all Methodist institutional churches.

The institutional church movement was promoted by the City Evangelization Union, an organization authorized by the General Conference of 1892. The authorization urged that local organizations be formed in all cities which had five or more charges, "for the purpose of affording financial aid to needy churches, organizing new church enterprises, and conducting mission work among the religiously destitute." [86] The early yearly conventions of the Union were largely attended and did much to stimulate social interest and activity among the churches. City evangelization unions were organized in many of the larger cities of the country. In 1893 in a paper adopted by the Union to be broadcast to the general Church George P. Mains said:

> There is no large city in which Methodism ought not at once—in its united capacity, and in that broad, large spirit which characterizes the founding of the great business enterprises of the age—to establish, in some center of massed and needy populations, the '*Institutional Church*'—a Church that shall combine the most perfect appliances for helping men, so far as possible, clear around the circle of their needs; a Church, the material support of which shall be adequately assured, irrespective of the financial ability of the community in which it ministers; a Church that shall employ sufficient working forces for the needs of its position . . . .[87]

The purpose was practical, the need was great and apparent, and funds might have been procured, but Methodism—like Protestantism at large—was unprepared to meet the challenge. With few exceptions, attempts made to establish institutional churches were discontinued after a brief period and secular agencies were developed to render the varied social services, without the aid of religion, that the Churches had failed to provide.

Religious Thought and Belief

The genius of Methodism subordinated dogma to life. This was eminently true of the teaching and practice of Wesley and characterized both early American Methodism and the Methodist Episcopal Church during the present period.* Not that doctrine was ignored or disparaged for even as Wesley strongly emphasized the importance of doctrinal preaching, so Methodist preachers during these decades continued to exhibit strong concern for right doctrine. But they subordinated emphasis on dogma to sermons on practical concerns of faith and life. Alfred Brunson in 1872 declared that doctrinal sermons "are not *now* the order of the day." [88] William F. McDowell characterized Bishop Simpson's preaching as "carrying multitudes in rapture to the conviction that faith is the victory that overcomes the world"; that of Fowler as "making men unshakably certain that the towers and bulwarks of Zion would stand against the gates of destruction and all the forces of evil to the end of time"; of Warren convincing men "beyond all doubt that Paul's prayer for the Ephesians might be answered in us all"; and of Foster "answering the question, What is man that thou art mindful of him?" [89]

BROADENING THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS

The period was one of gradually broadening theological thought in the Christian world in general and, in common with other Churches, the Methodist Church shared in this development. Progress was by way of gradual change rather than the adoption of new or radical doctrines.

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* Cf. Vol. I, xx f.; II, 373 f.

From about 1870 a marked change was in process in the theological thought of British Wesleyanism and the thinking of American Methodism reflected this movement of thought. Percy Bunting, editor of the *Contemporary Review,* dated the change from the time of Frederick Denison Maurice and associated it with the greatly enlarged place given to the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. The whole Christian world, he insisted, had been "profoundly affected by the method of interpreting all Christian theology by reference to this one master principle." [90]

The doctrinal emphases which had characterized the preaching of the early Circuit Riders* continued to be stressed during the half century. In the later decades the stern, rigid authoritarianism of orthodox Calvinism was rapidly passing and Methodist preachers found less reason for anti-Calvinistic controversial preaching.

Abel Stevens characterized the period as a time of transition. It is difficult to assemble from the extant literature of the time conclusive historical evidence of concrete changes in particular doctrines, or to determine either the precise time or extent of change.† Defenders of traditional points of view were vocal and aggressive while advocates of new emphases were inclined to be cautious and less assertive.[91]

The earlier Methodist revivalism attempted to induce an overwhelming sense of conviction of sin, not only—and often not primarily—of specific sins committed but also of inherited sin. The effort to convince the unconverted of his corrupt nature, his inherent depravity, was the burden of much revivalistic preaching. During the earlier part of the period, and even preceding its beginning, there was a noticeable lessening of this emphasis. During the later decades it found occasional expression but was no longer a predominant element in Methodist evangelism.[92] Miner Raymond, John Miley,‡ and Randolph S. Foster, leading theologians of the half century, definitely repudiated the doctrine of hereditary guilt. The associated conception of burning in literal hellfire as eternal punishment for guilt was likewise generally rejected. Partly as a result of the weakening of these emphases there was in Methodist revivals a marked decrease of acute conviction of sin. No longer, other than in exceptional instances, were terror-stricken sinners convulsed by agony of soul which rendered them unconscious and physically helpless. No longer was fear of the terrors of hell given precedence in preaching over the providential care and concern of the Heavenly Father for the salvation of all His earthly children.

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* See Vol. II, ch. V.

† Henry C. Sheldon: "When he [the judicial investigator] sees that for an appreciable period changes in doctrinal conception within the ranks of men at once studious and practical in their mental habits are almost uniformly in a given direction, and appear to proceed with cumulative force, he will feel authorized to infer that he has discovered reliable tokens of a doctrinal transition."—"Changes in Theology Among Methodists," *American Journal of Theology,* X (January, 1906), 31 f.

‡ John Miley (1813-95), born on a farm near Hamilton, Ohio, was graduated from Augusta College in 1838 and soon after received on trial in the Ohio Conference, where he served in the pastorate until 1852, when he transferred to the New York East Conference (1852-66), thence to the New York Conference. In 1873 he was appointed to the chair of systematic theology in Drew Theological Seminary, continuing until his death. His *magnum opus,* published in his eightieth year, was his two-volume *Systematic Theology.* Of him Robert W. Rogers wrote, "to us who knew him personally," the man "always seemed greater than his books, and the tenderness of his heart well mated with the ruggedness and strength of his mind."—*Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1896, p. 116; Ezra S. Tipple, Ed., *Drew Theological Seminary, 1867-1917,* pp. 153 ff.

A legalistic interpretation of the atonement—the pure governmental theory formulated by Miley*—was given official status by incorporation in the Conference course of study. This may be said to have been a retrograde development since in the earlier part of the century the generally accepted theory was only in a limited sense governmental and in larger degree ethical in its nature. Miley's theory did not satisfy the Church. The older view was re-emphasized by many and, as stated by Sheldon, effort was made

> to get rid of obnoxious attachments—such as the assignment of a penal character to Christ's sufferings; such as the representation of an antithesis between the Father and the Son in respect to their attitude toward the sinning race; such also as the idea that atoning virtue was embraced in any merely physical transaction taken by itself, and not rather in the love, obedience, and self-devotement of a holy personality . . . .[93]

The direction of influential thinking in the Church tended to be away from the conception of God as monarch, insistent upon the satisfaction of justice and monarchical dignity by propitiatory sacrifices, toward the more humane view of God as Father revealing His boundless love in His Son who gave His life in vicarious suffering upon the Cross, that He might reconcile man to God.

One of the most marked changes in the thought and practice of the Church was that in relation to sanctification. Since the third decade of the century, if not earlier, a declining emphasis upon Christian perfection had been evident.[94] In their Episcopal Addresses the Bishops repeatedly avowed the loyalty of the Church to its traditional teaching upon the subject and the General Conference in the 1852 Pastoral Address advised ministers and members

> in speaking or writing of holiness, to follow the well-sustained views, and even the phraseology employed in the writings of Wesley and Fletcher, which are not superseded by the more recent writers on this subject. Avoid both new theories, new expressions, and new measures on this subject, and adhere closely to the ancient landmarks.[95]

But despite the avowals and exhortations from official circles a changing attitude continued to be evident.† Early in the period Elias Bowen charged that while Wesley and the early American Methodists recognized a clear distinction between regeneration and sanctification, holding that the latter was a separate and distinct experience which included in its scope the elimination of "inbred sin," the "heresy of the identity of the two states is pretty generally embraced among us." [96] Somewhat later two widely circulated books, *Growth in Holiness Toward Perfection* by James Mudge and *Sin and Holiness* by D. W. C. Huntington, advanced the concept of sanctification as a progressive development to which no limit can be set.

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* The substance of Miley's theory, developed at length in his *Systematic Theology*, is indicated in the following brief quotations: "God being God, and the Creator of men, and men being what they are, a moral government is the profoundest moral necessity." (II, 90.) "The sufferings of Christ are an atonement for sin by substitution, in the sense that they were intentionally endured for sinners under judicial condemnation, and for the sake of their forgiveness. They render forgiveness consistent with the divine justice, in that justice none the less fulfills its rectoral office in the interest of moral government." —II, 155.

† Years later H. C. Sheldon wrote: ". . . evidently when nine out of ten Methodist pastors esteem it a benign providence which relieves them of the occasion to deal with a group of sanctificationists of the ordinary type in their respective flocks, the prospect for the traditional doctrine is far from being bright." —*Op. cit.*, p. 49.

The so-called "doctrinal defection" as regards sanctification was one of the principal influences leading to the organization of the Free Methodist Church* in 1860 at Pekin, New York. It also led to the adoption of specialized agencies and methods for the promotion of the doctrine. In 1867 a call for "a general camp-meeting of the friends of holiness," to be held at Vineland, New Jersey, stated:

> While we shall not cease to labor for the conviction and conversion of sinners, the special objects of this meeting will be to offer united and continued prayer for the revival of the work of holiness in the churches; . . . .

The attendance included persons from several states and various denominations—Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Friends, as well as Methodists. At this meeting the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness was organized. A chief activity took the form of promotion of holiness Camp Meetings. Between 1867 and 1872 fourteen were held in the East, the Midwest, and the South.[97] The principal leaders in the movement were Methodist ministers from various Annual Conferences,† among the more prominent being John S. Inskip of the New York East Conference and George Hughes of the New Jersey Conference. Mrs. Phoebe Palmer was active for many years as an evangelist. Support was drawn chiefly from Methodist churches. Periodicals published as organs of the movement included *Guide to Holiness* and *Beauty of Holiness in Heart and Life*.[98] Both were widely circulated. Local groups were formed in many churches composed of those who professed sanctification, or, as was more commonly stated, who had received "the second blessing."

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* The movement, principally within the Genesee Conference, which led to the organization of the Church, concerned not only doctrinal change but also questions of discipline, opposition to secret societies, and protest against the action of the Conference in expulsion of certain of its members. The Free Methodists took over the Articles of Religion and the general discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with certain modifications. As originally organized there were no Bishops but instead general superintendents elected quadrennially. Membership in secret societies was forbidden; attendance at Class meeting was made compulsory; church choirs and the pew system were forbidden as was also the use of tobacco and intoxicating liquors, the wearing of gold, costly garments, and adornment of hair or person. An addition to the Articles of Religion defined sanctification as taking place instantaneously, subsequent to justification, and salvation "from all inward sin, from evil thoughts and evil tempers."—H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States . . .* , p. 267; Wilson T. Hogue, *History of the Free Methodist Church of North America*, I, 11-18.

† George Hughes: "The brethren composing the . . . 'National Association for the Promotion of Holiness' make up a peculiar brotherhood. Never were a like number of men more diverse in temperament and endowments; . . . . The intercourse of six years, amid a succession of as exciting battles at the same period of church history has ever embraced, has revealed no discordant note, no jealousies, no minorities. . . . The entire record is one of perfect unanimity, fraternity, and love, . . . and yet there has been little of organization, a formal constitution never having been adopted. The simple purpose has been to be used for God's glory in the specific work of reviving the doctrine and experience of Entire Holiness."—*Days of Power in the Forest Temple. A Review of the Wonderful Work of God at Fourteen National Camp-Meetings, from 1867 to 1872*, pp. 39 f.

Unfortunately, the partisan spirit tended toward expression in some individual instances of a censorious, hyper-critical spirit which fomented division. In many churches and some Annual Conferences partisan, separatist groups were formed. On the other hand, many men and women exemplified the beauty of holiness in character and life, setting an example to their fellow church members of abiding loyalty to the Church and of sacrificial service. Beginning in the early nineties separate holiness sects began to be formed and numerous holiness advocates withdrew from Methodist churches.[99]

During this period there was a distinct forward movement in the thought and practice of Methodism toward a larger recognition of the central place of the living Christ in Christian experience—Christ, man's Savior and Exemplar, with whom life-giving fellowship may be realized day by day. More than in earlier Methodism Christ Jesus became

> the nucleus around which evangelical theology has formed; the center from which the gracious light of divine truth is thrown upon God's relation to man, and man's relation to God. Christ is the ground and corner-stone to which the theological structure is inseparably joined—not, however, *a Christ,* the fanciful product of human imagination, but *the Christ,* as revealed in the gospels.[100]

There was an evident trend toward a larger use of the New Testament in preaching, as compared with the Old; toward holding up the living, saving Christ before the minds of men; and toward presenting God more in ethical terms, as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and thus bringing Him nearer and making Him seem more real. In all of this Methodism was "spreading the leaven of a more scriptural form of faith" among the evangelical Churches.[101]

In 1879 a writer in the *Methodist Review,* stating that there were then two or three preachers under suspension for heresy, questioned on what grounds a Methodist minister should be tried for heretical teaching. Has the Church, he asked, "any real standards?"

> It is nowhere asked of a candidate whether he believes the teachings of certain standard authors, or whether he agrees with the consensus of Methodist doctrine,* or whether he will conform to the traditions of the so-called 'unwritten law' of Methodism, or whether he will consent to take his theology from whatever committee of triers may happen to be appointed on his case.[102]

The writer argued that the Articles of Religion alone should be maintained as the standards.* Many of the preachers felt that the Articles did not constitute a satisfactory enough statement of the distinctive Methodist beliefs. A proposal made in the 1868 General Conference for consideration by the Committee on Revisals whether "a concise statement of doctrines" should not be inserted in the *Discipline* failed of action for lack of support.[103]

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* The General Conference of 1880 added to the requirements for admission into Conference in full connection affirmative answers to the questions:

"Have you studied the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church?

"After full examination, do you believe that our doctrines are in harmony with the Holy Scriptures, and will you preach and maintain them?"—*G. C. Journal,* 1880, pp. 365 f.

Four years later Alfred Brunson proposed certain specific additions to the Articles. His formulation was received with favor by many and was referred to the Bishops for consideration. In 1876 the Bishops, commending Brunson's statements as "useful," but not "so happily worded" as to justify adoption, stated that in their opinion the "work of formulating theological truth into an authoritative declaration of faith" could only be successfully achieved through "the concurrence of many minds, after patient study and laborious research." They also questioned whether the adoption of additional Articles would not be in violation of the First Restrictive Rule.[104]

While this ended the attempt to effect change in the Articles of Religion, sensitivity with regard to theological formulations continued to be expressed in various quarters. In the 1880 Episcopal Address the Bishops strongly condemned those ministers of prominence who disseminated doctrines contrary to "the faith of the Church." [105] Three resolutions on theological subjects were introduced at the 1880 General Conference, one of which instructed the Committee on Episcopacy to report whether any of the Bishops during the preceding quadrennium had in "sermons, lectures, or published works, propounded or upheld statements not in harmony with the Apostles' Creed, our Articles of Religion, or the acknowledged standards" of the Church. Another directed the Committee on the Book Concern to inquire whether the Publishing House had issued any such publications. The committees to which these resolutions were referred made no recommendations for action. However, the General Conference (1880) strengthened the Disciplinary law for conservation of doctrine by making provision for procedure to be followed in cases where a minister or Bishop "disseminates . . . doctrines which are contrary to our . . . established standards of doctrines." [106]

The *Theological Institutes,* by Richard Watson, Missionary Secretary of the British Wesleyan Society and Methodism's first systematic theologian, which was published during 1823-29, was considered for more than a generation the standard textbook in theology of both British and American Methodism. In succession to Watson in British Wesleyanism, W. B. Pope was most outstanding. He was also widely influential in Methodist theological thought in America. His intellectual sympathies were more with the past than with the developing points of view of the half century. A number of ponderous theological treatises were produced by American Methodist writers within the period, most of them more noteworthy for their bulk than for the originality, vitality, or creative quality of their thinking. Miner Raymond's* three-volume *Systematic Theology* was published in 1877, a few years earlier than Miley's work of the same title. Most voluminous of the writers was Randolph S. Foster.† His six-volume series, *Studies in Theology,* bore witness to his deep concern with theological issues but was abstruse and verbose and failed to influence strongly the thinking of the Church. Methodism's outstanding systematic theologian of the period was Henry C. Sheldon,‡ whose *History of Christian Doctrine,* in two volumes, was published in 1886. His *System of Christian Doctrine* did not appear until 1903, after the close of this period.

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* If one claims as standards Wesley's Notes and Sermons, "The Doctrinal Tracts," and the liturgies of the 1808 *Discipline* one has to admit, the writer says, that "no Methodist preacher of to-day believes, or ever did believe all that is taught in those writings. Nor was there ever a time in the history of our Church when every thing contained in them was believed."—J. Pullman, "Methodism and Heresy," *Methodist Quarterly Review,* LXI (April, 1879), 355.

There was no lack of examples of intemperate dogmatism in the sermons and writings of Methodist preachers. The ultra-conservative position was represented, for example, in the preaching and writings of L. W. Munhall, Local Preacher and long-time evangelist, who had a considerable following among laymen and ministers. There was also evidence of an inherent conservatism of a milder sort which found expression in some of the Episcopal Addresses, and in articles by writers who contended that Methodism needed "no revision of her creed." New doctrines, these writers said, may seem tempting but they offer a poor substitute for the well-tested truths which the Church has traditionally proclaimed. "The old wine is better." [107] Others, such as Daniel Curry, stedfastly contended for progress in the Church's thinking.

> The present age is confessedly a time of change in the form of Christian thought, and of modifications of doctrinal conceptions. The formularies of doctrine which have come down to us from the past, although they were so precious to those by whom they were once cherished, no longer satisfactorily express the theological conceptions of the best minds of Christendom.[108]

The *Methodist Review* also stated editorially in 1885 that modifications "of very wide extent and far-reaching influence" were taking place in "the forms and externals of Christian doctrines" and expressed the opinion that although they were perilous they would "probably prove beneficial in the final outcome." [109]

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* Miner Raymond (1811-97) was born in New York City and educated at the Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass., where, following his graduation, he became a teacher. In 1838 he was admitted on trial in the New England Conference. For sixteen years (1848-64) he was principal of the academy and in 1864 became professor of systematic theology at Garrett Biblical Institute, where he continued to teach until his eighty-fourth year.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1898, pp. 449 f.

† Randolph S. Foster (1820-1903) was born in Williamsburg, Ohio. He graduated from Augusta College and at the age of seventeen was admitted on trial in the Ohio Conference (1837). In 1850 he transferred to the New York Conference. For a brief period, 1857-60, he was president of Northwestern University. Again in the pastorate for several years, in 1869 he became professor of systematic theology in Drew Theological Seminary, and later president (1870-72). The 1872 General Conference elected him Bishop. After twenty-four years in the episcopacy he was retired in 1896. He was regarded as one of the most effective preachers of Methodism. Of his various books, *Christian Purity* and *Beyond the Grave* were most widely popular.—*Ibid.,* Spring, 1903, p. 108.

‡ Henry C. Sheldon (1845-1928), born in Martinsburg, N. Y., received his collegiate education at Yale University, A.B., 1867; A.M., 1870. He was received into the Maine Conference on trial in 1873 and appointed to Brunswick. In 1875 he became professor of historical theology in Boston University School of Theology, and in 1895 professor of systematic theology. "It was he," wrote Albert G. Knudson, "who made the transition from the older to the newer type of Methodist theology, and by virtue of that fact he marks an epoch in the history of theological thought in our Church." He was a prolific writer, his thirteen works including—in addition to the two mentioned above—*History of the Christian Church* (5 vols., 1894); *History of Unbelief in the Nineteenth Century* (1907); *New Testament Theology* (1911); *Theosophy and New Thought* (1916); and *The Essentials of Christianity* (1922).—Albert C. Knudson, memoir, *Journal, Maine Conference,* 1929, pp. 131-33.

Methodism maintained during this period on the whole a fair balance between the ultra-conservative and the radical positions in theology. Advocates of new and changed points of view were regarded in general with tolerance. Many of them were welcomed in the pulpits of large and prominent churches. There were few heresy trials and fewer adverse verdicts. One widely publicized trial was that of Hiram W. Thomas of the Rock River Conference. At the Conference session of 1878 he was charged with teachings "at variance with the doctrines of Methodism" and was asked by formal resolution either to give assurance that such teachings would not be repeated or to retire from the ministry. At the 1880 session a similar resolution was presented and adopted by a vote of 110 to 65. By request of the Conference Thomas—who for twenty-five years, according to his statement, had "been trying to persuade . . . [men] to turn from sin to righteousness"—presented a written defense of his views. He said, in part:

> I have affirmed my belief in the doctrines of the Atonement, and in the inspiration of the scriptures. I have given you the form in which I hold these doctrines, and the explanations that to me seem most rational and scriptural. I have said I could not accept the 'verbal theory' of inspiration, ... I have said that I held to the 'moral' and not to the 'penal' theory of the Atonement . . . . I have said that I could not accept the doctrine of a hell of material fire; . . . . I have said that I believe in the eternal stability and righteousness of God's moral government, and that all sin will be properly punished; I have said also that if souls sinned forever, they must suffer forever. . . . but that I must believe in the 'eternal goodness'—that the mercy of God will last forever; that punishment will not be in wrath but in love; that God will in no world cast away the penitent, ...
>
> * * * *
>
> We are in a transitional period, and the world cannot, as I think, be held to faith by trying to tie it down to all the thinking of the past. There must be room for honest thought; and with it a proper tolerance in differences of opinion.
>
> . . . I want to see Methodism the most prudently tolerant in matters of personal liberty in thought, and I want to see it a great singing, praying power, filled with the love of God and man, and moving on the life of the world.
>
> * * * *
>
> You must, therefore, excuse me, brethren, for declining to accede to your request to leave the church.[110]

The paper was referred to a committee which reported its opinion that "Dr. Thomas is essentially out of harmony with the doctrines of the . . . Church." Charges were formulated against him of (1) disseminating doctrines contrary to the "Articles of Religion and established standards of doctrine," in that he denied the "inspiration and authority of portions of the canonical

Scriptures . . . ," and (2) in denying the doctrine of atonement; also (3) in teaching a probation after death for those who die in sin, thereby "antagonizing the standards" of Methodism "in relation to the endless punishment of the wicked." [111] In 1881 the case was referred to a Select Number who acquitted the accused by a vote of ten to five on the first specification, and convicted nine to six on the second and third specifications. The Judicial Conference, to which Thomas appealed, declined to entertain his appeal.* The *Christian Advocate* upheld the decision of expulsion in a lengthy editorial by J. M. Buckley.[112]

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

The publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 and his *Descent of Man* in 1871 constituted a landmark in the division between an old order of thought and a new. A. J. Balfour's characterization of the nineteenth century is not an overstatement:

> No century has seen so great a change in our intellectual apprehension of the world in which we live. . . . Our whole point of view has altered. The mental framework in which we arrange the separate facts in the world of men and of things is quite a new framework. The spectacle of the universe presents itself now in a wholly changed perspective. We do not see more but we see differently.[113]

The full significance of the evolutionary theory, with its implications for the traditional belief in the Genesis account as a literal description of Creation, was not at first realized by churchmen. The more alert intellectuals were immediately challenged by it but the preoccupation of most people with the war and its interference with the normal activities of everyday life were such that the new hypothesis attracted little attention. But with the close of the war conditions quickly changed. As books by Huxley, Spencer, Fiske, and other scientific writers were widely circulated and as it became known that many of the colleges had taken over the new ideas and were propagating them among their students the evangelical Churches were thoroughly aroused. Evolution was rabidly denounced from hundreds of pulpits as "an attack upon Christianity," as making "the Bible an unbearable fiction," and as contributing to the spread of "the rankest kind of atheism." Even its more mild-spoken opponents maintained that Darwin's thesis could never be reconciled with the Christian religion.

Widespread popular alarm of religious people was tempered by the fact that in some of the colleges evolution was not immediately accepted as scientifically demonstrated, even in the departments of natural science. America had no scientist of higher standing than Jean L. R. Agassiz, professor of zoology and geology in Harvard University, who throughout his life stedfastly rejected the theory of evolution and maintained his belief in independent creation. On the whole, however, scientists—among them some who interpreted scientific findings as effectively negating the teachings of religion—increased both in their certitude and in popular influence during the late sixties and throughout the seventies, thereby contributing to the spread of agnosticism.

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* H. W. Thomas later founded in Chicago the People's Church.

While the first reaction of the Churches was principally that of denunciation and denial this attitude was soon followed by attempts to reconcile the Genesis account of creation with the postulates of evolution. The earliest attempt at reconciliation, made almost immediately after the publication of the *Origin of Species,* was that of Asa Gray of Harvard, eminent botanist, who in a series of essays in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1860 argued that Darwinism did not exclude the doctrine of design in creation, and that the religious doctrine of Omnipotent fiat was not in conflict with the theory of development. His ideas were popularized and widely circulated by George Frederick Wright, minister and geologist of Oberlin.

Most widely influential in effecting reconciliation between religion and science was John Fiske, who over a period of twenty-five years, in numerous tracts and books, developed the idea that, far from undermining Christian faith, evolution validated and illumined it, making clear that the perfecting of man was the chief object of Divine Power in the multifarious creative activities of the universe.

To the process of reconciliation of what were first assumed to be irreconcilable points of view Methodist ministers and laymen made no slight contribution. In 1876 John H. Vincent scheduled at Chautauqua an extended "Scientific Conference." During the discussion on one of the three days of the Conference the position was maintained that "harmony between geology and revelation may be found in geological deductions of the first chapter of Genesis," and that while "revelation . . . is the true guide, . . . in some instances science greatly enlarges our views of the Scripture record."[114] In the July, 1876, *Methodist Quarterly Review* Alexander Winchell, Methodist layman, reviewed *The Theistic Conception of the World,* by B. F. Cocker, which he asserted presents "a conception of the world, as *framed and sustained by profoundest scientific investigation,* and shows us that it implies God." He referred to "the wide paralysis of faith and hope caused by the pernicious influence of . . . [an] uneducated crusade against science, and . . . sullen contempt for religion."[115]

The appearance on the Chautauqua platform of Henry Drummond, Scotch professor and ardent Christian evangelist, as an exponent of evolution, brought reassurance to the minds of many lay people of the Churches. At first Dwight L. Moody, who introduced Drummond to American audiences, was severely criticized by conservative church members for enlisting the cooperation of an avowed evolutionist in revival tours but the latter's success as an evangelist disarmed the critics and many came to see in him a convincing demonstration of the compatibility of evolution with fervent evangelical faith.

At no time during the period was the Methodist Episcopal Church seriously disturbed by the conflict between science and religion. The *Descent of Man* was reviewed in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* shortly after its publication. The review characterized the author's spirit as reverent and found in it no necessary contradiction to Hebraic history.[116] At the close of the half century William North Rice, a member of the New York East Conference who for fifty-one years (1867-1918) was professor of geology in Wesleyan University, wrote:

> multitudes of men and women find that the acceptance of scientific teachings in no wise disturbs their personal religious life. . . . men are practically ceasing . . . to feel their Christian faith disturbed by the scientific discoveries which marked the middle of the nineteenth century.[117]

Andrew C. Armstrong, professor of philosophy in Ohio Wesleyan University, also felt that the closing decades of the century, as compared with the middle years, were characterized by a "recoil from doubt," and that to this development the sciences had made a positive contribution, "the most remarkable phenomenon of recent years." [118]

It is probable that Dr. Rice's statement accurately expressed the attitude of the majority of the better-educated ministers and lay people of the Church. Many found no special difficulty in reinterpreting Genesis in general accord with evolutionary views and others took the position that the Bible was not intended to present scientific truth. For neither group was the reconciliation of science and religion difficult. But for many uneducated members of the Church, unaccustomed to thinking in scientific terms, in the habit of interpreting the Bible literally, the earlier difficulty still remained.

HIGHER CRITICISM

The disquiet in the Churches caused by the promulgation of the theory of evolution was coincident in time with the popularization of results of historical criticism of the Bible, a development destined to create more concern and more intense feeling than the hypothesis regarding the origin of man. In Europe scholars trained in the historical study of documents had for long been engaged in exact critical examination of the Biblical texts but the results of their study had not been widely brought to public attention. The publication in England in 1860 of a volume entitled *Essays and Reviews* by seven Anglican scholars created a violent storm of indignation and angry protest,* repercussions of which were immediately heard on the American side of the Atlantic. The essays were temperate and reverent in tone but the conclusions which they advanced were of a nature to confound utterly the minds of those whose faith depended upon a literalistic interpretation of Scripture. Within a year the book was in its fifth edition and many of its statements were being publicized not only in religious journals but in newspapers in both Great Britain and the United States. The kind of statements which caused general consternation and alarm may be readily identified. Rowland Williams, for example, wrote:

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* In 1864 *Essays and Reviews* was condemned by the Convocation of Canterbury. Rowland Williams was brought to trial before an ecclesiastical court and found guilty of heretical beliefs but the verdict was later set aside by the highest court of appeal. Because of his views the convocation of Oxford voted against the endowment of Jowett's chair of Greek. William Robertson Smith because of similar views was removed from his professorship in Aberdeen, but later was given a chair at Cambridge.—James T. Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931,* pp. 243 ff.; B. Harvie Branscomb, "The Study and Interpretation of the Bible," in Samuel McCrea Cavert and Henry Pitney Van Dusen, Eds., *The Church Through Half a Century, Essays in Honor of William Adams Brown,* pp. 166 f.

> It is not the importance severally, but the continual recurrence of . . . difficulties, which bears with ever-growing induction upon the question, whether the Pentateuch is of one age and hand, . . . or whether the whole literature grew like a tree rooted in the varying thoughts of successive generations, and whether traces of editorship, if not of composition, between the ages of Solomon and Hezekiah, are manifest to whoever will recognise them.[119]

C. W. Goodwin, writing on the "Mosaic Cosmogony," said of the narrative of the Creation:

> No one contends that it can be used as a basis of astronomical or geological teaching, and those who profess to see in it an accordance with facts, only do this *sub modo,* and by processes which despoil it of its consistency and grandeur, both which may be preserved if we recognise in it, not an authentic utterance of Divine knowledge, but a human utterance, which it has pleased Providence to use in a special way for the education of mankind.[120]

More than any other the essay of Benjamin Jowett, professor of Greek at Oxford University, "On the Interpretation of Scripture," drew hostile criticism in religious circles. In essence the article said:

> The Book itself, which links together the beginning and the end of the human race, will not have a less inestimable value because the Spirit has taken the place of the letter. Its discrepancies of fact, when we become familiar with them, will seem of little consequence in comparison with the truths which it unfolds. That these truths, . . . have been preserved for ever in a book, is one of the many blessings which the Jewish and Christian revelations have conferred on the world—a blessing not the less real, because it is not necessary to attribute it to miraculous causes.[121]

Essays and Reviews received almost immediate attention in Methodist periodicals. In January, 1861, the *Methodist Quarterly Review* in an unsigned article declared that "after these successive assaults are completed there are left but a tattered fragment of our old Bible, and but a shadowy phantasm of our old religion." Paley's *Evidences of Christianity,* the writer confidently asserted, "will survive whole aeons of literary bubbles like these essays." [122] A few weeks later the *Christian Advocate,* of which Edward Thomson was then editor, carried on its editorial page a brief article equally condemnatory.

"While . . . [the] unanimous judgment of condemnation . . . [signed by all the Bishops of the Church of England]," it said, "is encouraging, it is a discouraging reflection that it is but a censure, and that the traitors cannot be displaced from the positions which they dishonor." [123]

Attack against the higher critics was accompanied by magazine articles and elaborate volumes intended to buttress the traditional belief in the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. Numerous preachers—many of whom did not take the trouble to inform themselves concerning the methods and findings of Biblical scholars—pronounced unsparing judgment against all those who had set themselves, so they declared, to undermine the foundations of Christianity. Some of the leaders of the Church joined in the general outcry, among others Bishop McCabe. "Do these men," he asked, "wish to destroy the Bible? to break its hold upon the hearts and consciences of men?"

> Then let them be looking round for some other sacred book to take its place; some book whose ethical teachings will lift nations into power and grandeur, for no nation ever became great and enduring without the help of the Holy Bible.[124]

Others expressed themselves with no less certitude but with less of emotional overtone. Gilbert Haven wrote: The "verbal inspiration" of the Bible "is of the same family with every other received and essential doctrine of Christianity." It is "as sovereign in its sphere of thought, as the atonement is in its, or the incarnation." He would admit of no exception. If the Scripture is "The Book of God," he insisted, it must be "his in its minutest word, his in its perfect totality." [125]

From the beginning of the controversy a wide range of opinion existed within the Church. Two years before the publication of *Essays and Reviews,* Daniel Curry,* widely recognized as one of the foremost leaders of the Church, writing on the "Inspiration of the Scriptures," characterized the doctrine of verbal inspiration as "mechanical and non-rational," and concluded:

> The necessity of reviewing the whole subject is conceded, and men whose orthodoxy is beyond suspicion, and whose piety and learning give much authority to their opinions, are ready to declare, that while their confidence in the Bible as a record of the Divine counsels is undiminished, they find it impossible to defend their opinions by the arguments most relied on, or to adopt the theories of inspiration hitherto chiefly in vogue.[126]

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* Daniel Curry (1809-87) was born near Peekskill, N. Y. He was graduated from Wesleyan University and in January, 1841, received on trial in the Georgia Conference. For twenty-one years, exclusive of an interim of two years (1855-57) as president of Indiana Asbury University, he was in the pastorate—four years in Georgia and seventeen years in New York and Connecticut. In May, 1864, he was elected editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal;* in 1876 editor of the *Ladies' Repository* (later the *National Respository*). During 1881-83 he was once more in the pastorate. In May, 1884, General Conference again elected him as editor, this time of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* and Book Editor, an office which he still held when the final summons came. His was "that Scotch-Irish ancestry," says Daniel A. Goodsell, "which lives long, works hard, fights well, reasons closely, loves intensely, dislikes strongly, and has underneath the firm rock of religious conviction. Methodism owes much, in both continents, to this strain, and owes nothing stronger or braver than Daniel Curry."—D. A. Goodsell, "In Memoriam . . . ," *Methodist Review,* LXIX (November, 1887), 809-24; editorial, *Christian Advocate,* LXII (1887), 34 (Aug. 25), p. [545.]

While wide divergence in point of view continued within the Church throughout the period and beyond, as the decades passed it was evident that an increasing number of representative churchmen recognized the validity of the process of scholarly critical examination of the Biblical text and also that religion had more to gain than to lose in such study. In 1895 a writer in the *Methodist Review* said: "This is an era of 'biblical criticism,' the justification of which is, that divine truth in the written form, as we have it, is a proper subject for investigation." The results of such criticism, he said, need not be feared, "since a belief founded on rational inquiry will be more permanent than that superstitious reverence for truth which has too much characterized the past, and even the religious world itself." [127] In 1896 Henry A. Buttz, president of Drew Theological Seminary, generally considered to be conservative, recognized positive values that had accrued to the Church and to religion from Biblical criticism. While carefully guarding his statement by saying that "the most advanced biblical criticism . . . has not reached a state in which the Church can wisely or safely, in her organized capacity, consider its conclusions with a view to modify her traditional beliefs," he asserted:

> That some advances have been made in our knowledge of the Bible; that lexicographical, archaeological, and literary investigations have removed obscurities and given a fresh impulse to those who seek to understand the "sacred deposit" God has committed to the care of his Church, will be readily admitted by those who have kept themselves abreast of the critical investigations of our times.[128]

Adherence on the part of many ministers and missionaries to a literalistic interpretation of the Bible and the assumption that one level of inspiration pervades the whole from Genesis to Revelation not only retarded the growth of the Church during the latter part of the period among people of college education but also was an obstacle to missionary success. In the Orient not a few students of keen, discriminating mind were not slow to detect unchristian elements in Old Testament narratives.

The Methodist Church suffered less from inner conflict over higher criticism than some of the other evangelical denominations. In a few Annual Conferences strong feeling was aroused but the Church at large was saved the rancor that seriously disturbed the peace of other communions.* The principle of the right of individual judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures was too strong in the Church to permit condemnation of the exercise of the same right in questions of historical criticism.†

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* When in 1891 Charles A. Briggs was appointed to the chair of Biblical theology in Union Theological Seminary more than seventy presbyteries protested the appointment and in 1893 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church suspended him from the Presbyterian ministry. As a result the seminary severed its relationship to the Church. Henry Preserved Smith, who had defended Briggs' views, was removed from his professorship in Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, and also suspended from the ministry.—B. H. Branscomb, p. 174, and S. M. Cavert, "William Adams Brown: Servant of the Church of Christ," pp. 12 f. in S. M. Cavert and H. P. Van Dusen, Eds., *op. cit.*

† The test of the right of private judgment in critical study of the Bible in the Methodist Episcopal Church came later in the case of Hinckley G. Mitchell. For account of this see Vol. IV.

INCREASING EMPHASIS ON SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

In American Methodism there had always been those who felt that the Gospel of Christ was more truly manifested in a ministry to the poor, in sharing the burdens of the underprivileged and the unfortunate, and in caring for the sick than in the formal exercises of religion.* Personal social ministries such as had characterized the work of the Circuit Riders earlier in the century were continued during this period, supplemented by various forms of service which accompanied the growth of institutional philanthropy in American society. The 1864 General Conference authorized the appointment by the Bishops of chaplains of hospitals, and missionaries "to neglected portions of our cities." By action of the General Conference of 1868 authority was given the Bishops to appoint for not more than three years Temperance Agents and chaplains to reformatory, sanitary, and charitable institutions.[129] Provision was gradually made under the auspices of the Church for care of the aged in Old People's Homes, by 1884 five having been established; one each in New York (1850), Philadelphia (1865), and Baltimore (1868); the fourth also at Baltimore, a home for aged Negroes, established in 1870; and the fifth, for Negroes, at New Orleans in 1881. The first orphans' home was the German Methodist Orphan Asylum, opened in 1864 at Berea, Ohio. Later in the same year the Central Wesleyan Orphan Home was established at Warrenton, Missouri. In 1868 the Woman's Home Missionary Society founded a home for orphaned Chinese children in San Francisco. In 1871 the Minard Home for female orphans was established at Morristown, New Jersey; in 1879 the Methodist Episcopal Orphanage at Philadelphia, and in 1881 Saint Christopher's Home at Dobbs Ferry, New York.[130] Altogether, by 1895 the Church had ten homes for orphaned children.

In the *Christian Advocate* for January 27, 1881, an editorial appeared which began: "The time has come when the Methodist Episcopal Church should turn her attention to providing charitable foundations," and asked: "is it not time that somewhere we built a hospital or an asylum?"[131] The editorial brought an immediate response from George I. Seney in an offer of sixteen lots in Brooklyn as a site and $200,000. in cash toward the "erection of a hospital, . . . open to Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, heathen and infidel on the same terms." The Methodist Episcopal Hospital in Brooklyn was opened on December 15, 1887. The Methodist Episcopal Hospital in Philadelphia and the Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, D.C., were established in 1882, the latter by the Woman's Home Missionary Society; and the Wesley Hospital in Chicago in 1888.[132] By 1895 a total of thirteen hospitals had been established under Church auspices.

The limited social perspective of the Circuit Riders of earlier decades also characterized the Methodist preachers of the middle years of the century.

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* Cf. Vol. II, 2-9.

Accounted for in part by preoccupation with the problem of slavery the social concern of the Church appreciably diminished. Under the influence of increasing wealth, the glamour of business success, and growing middle-class-consciousness, Methodism, in common with other evangelical Churches, presented an almost unbroken front in defense of the *status quo*. Traditions of religious, political, and economic individualism had become so inwrought in the thinking of churchmen, as with the entrepreneurs of business and commerce and the tycoons of the rapidly growing industrialism and corporatism, that to challenge them was almost universally denounced as heresy. Both ministers and laymen determinedly held that all was well and no reform was needed.

The times called for just such warnings as were sounded in England by Robertson of Brighton: "Rarely have we [the clergy] dared to demand of the powers that be, justice; of the wealthy man and the titled, duties." "Shame on us!" he continued,

> we have not denounced the wrongs done to weakness: and yet for one text in the Bible which requires submission and patience from the poor, you will find a hundred which denounce the vices of the rich . . . and woe to us in the great day of God, if we have been the sycophants of the rich, instead of the Redressers of the poor man's wrongs . . . .[133]

But no such voice as that of Robertson was raised in a Methodist pulpit in America. In the small-town and rural congregations which constituted the large majority of Methodist churches the injustices and exploitative oppressions of industrialism were for the most part unrealized. The preachers in the churches in industrial centers seemed to be blinded or disposed to ignore the methods by which the few were amassing wealth and to urge the poor to endure their ills with patience in hope of heavenly reward.

With the late seventies and the early eighties a marked change was observable. The violations of Christian ethics in commercial and industrial practices had become so numerous and so glaring that they could no longer be ignored; the alarming increase in the slum population of the rapidly growing cities created consternation in the minds of public-spirited citizens; the disaffection of the laboring class with religion and increasing bitterness against the Churches and ministers caused an increasing number of thoughtful churchmen to question the content of the Churches' message and the effectiveness of their methods.

More than by any other causes organized religion was driven by the impact of labor conflict and by the recurrent depressions, affecting both labor and the middle class, to concern itself with economic and social conditions. The concept of social justice was formulated as a Christian ideal, and began to be insistently urged from Protestant pulpits. Preachers began to be more frank and outspoken in condemnation of social sins. Social settlements began to be established in overcrowded industrial sections along with city missions.[134]

In 1877 at the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church a special committee of the House of Bishops reported a resolution stating that "the work given to the Church in America, in guiding and directing the social movements of the age, is a work of permanent importance." [135] From this time on, until the close of the century, foremost among the advocates of social Christianity were representatives of the Episcopal Church.[*] The first organization formed to promote the study and discussion of social problems from a Christian point of view was the (Episcopal) Christian Social Union organized in 1891, inspired by the organization of the same name within the Church of England.[†] Four years earlier a number of clergy in New York founded "The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor," a social action group. For seventeen years Bishop Frederic D. Huntington of Central New York was its president. It enrolled forty-seven Bishops as honorary vice presidents. The organization concerned itself with promoting remedial labor legislation, arbitrating strikes, and agitating against sweatshops and slum settlements.[136]

Next in order of interest and activity were representatives of the Congregational Church, of whom the most influential were Josiah Strong, and Washington Gladden, who became pastor of the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, in 1882. A half million copies of Strong's *Our Country* were circulated within twenty years. Typical of the courageous pulpit declarations of Washington Gladden was his statement:

> The doctrine which bases all the relations of employer and employed upon self-interest is a doctrine of the pit; it has been bringing hell to earth in large installments for a good many years.[137]

The Brotherhood of the Kingdom, of which the early members were all Baptists, formed in 1892, developed on a broad interdenominational basis. A development of far-reaching significance was the introduction of social studies into the curricula of theological schools. The first instance was that of Andover Seminary when in 1879 William Jewett Tucker began a thoroughgoing course in social ethics. Starting in 1886 Francis G. Peabody held the chair of Christian morals at the Harvard Divinity School. At the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1893 Graham Taylor was appointed to the first professorship of Christian sociology in the country, a chair which was "wholly devoted to the social interpretation of religion." [138]

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[*] Noteworthy Episcopal writers included R. Heber Newton, *The Morals of Trade* (New York, 1876); Dudley Ward Rhodes, *Creed and Greed* (Cincinnati, 1879); J. H. Rylance, *Lectures on Social Questions* (New York, 1880); Henry C. Potter, *Sermons of the City* (New York, 1881); Julius H. Ward, *The Church in Modern Society* (Boston, 1889); Richard T. Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity* (Rev. ed. New York, 1889); Philo W. Sprague, *Christian Socialism, What and Why?* (New York, 1891); Frederic D. Huntington, *Strikes, the Right and the Wrong* (New York, 1891); George Hodges, *The Heresy of Cain* (New York, 1894); William D. P. Bliss, *A Handbook of Socialism* (New York, 1895); W. S. Rainsford, *The Church's Opportunity in the City Today* (Boston, 1895).

[†] The leadership of the Episcopal Church in the social Christianity movement in the United States was undoubtedly influenced in large measure by the activity of the Christian Socialists in Great Britain led by Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, William Morris, John R. Seeley, and others.

It might have been expected, considering the prominence of social teaching and practice in the Wesleyan heritage, that Methodism would have produced leading exponents of the renewed social emphasis. But such was not the case. The predominant note among Methodist preachers and writers was one of defense of existing institutions and practices and protest against social change. Among the really outstanding interpreters of social Christianity preceding 1895 not a single Methodist minister was to be found. No organization for social agitation or action was formed by Methodists during the period. Borden P. Bowne, who on questions touching science and religion and the higher criticism strongly reinforced liberal points of view, was "in essential agreement with the most conservative, defensive wing of the new social movement." Social ills, he held, frequently were the fault of individuals, not of society, and the hope of effective reform rested in inculcation of the traditional virtues of prudence, thrift, honesty, and justice—virtues needed by the poor quite as much as the rich.[139]

But social ferment was at work within Methodism. The social problems which were challenging some of the best minds in American Protestantism were beginning to trouble the Methodists, both leaders of the Church and men in the rank and file of the ministry. One of the first statements on the principles of social Christianity from the pen of a Methodist writer was an article entitled "Relations of Politics and Christianity" by Bostwick Hawley of the Troy Conference which appeared in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* in 1879. Again, in 1886, the same periodical printed two unprecedented articles under the title, "Christianity's Next Problem." The author said:

> The accumulations of gigantic fortunes by craft and cunning, by fraud and theft . . . the ruthless seizure and control of the highways of continental traffic, the rape of the world's mineral wealth, the fruits of invention and discovery made instruments of oppression and ministers of greed—these are indeed terrible illustrations of the power, the tyranny, and the cruelty of avarice, as well as of its antagonism to Christianity.[140]

The way must be opened, the author contended, for legislation "for the benefit of humanity rather than for the feeding of avarice."

Another article of noteworthy social significance was written by C. M. Morse in 1891. He developed at considerable length the thesis that regeneration, or conversion, would never in itself bring about the reform of society. " 'Wicked men' " and " 'regenerated' men," he declared, in about equal numbers "monopolize the land, . . . own the money, . . . engage in speculation, . . . [and] profit by corporate power, trusts, and monopoly of every kind." It never enters the mind of the regenerated that the change from "a sinful to a religious life carries with it any obligation to investigate social questions" and work for reform.[141]

In 1892 for the first time the Bishops in their Episcopal Address called attention to such social evils as "the rapid accumulation of enormous wealth in the hands of a few successful speculators" and "the grinding and soulless arrogance of monopolies, working impoverishment to the masses." What they deplored, however, was not so much the social injustice involved as the tendency to excite hatred and to arouse animosities "which will be more and more difficult to repress, and which, if not arrested, will breed riot and revolution." As remedies no suggestions were offered other than reminding the rich of their perils and responsibilities, exhorting the poor to endure their sufferings with patience, and educating in principles which will inspire a right spirit in the reciprocal relations of the rich and the poor.[142]

By 1895 a beginning had been made in the interpretation of the social meanings of the Christian Gospel. A few ministers of the Methodist Church had been awakened and were preaching religion in social terms. The response of a small minority of laymen was encouraging but to the vast majority of the members of the churches the term social Christianity still had a strange sound and little meaning. If Methodism in this period had adhered to the social teaching and practice of its Wesleyan heritage its message under the new conditions which prevailed would have been revitalized and it could have gathered into its fold by persistent, earnest effort a very much larger number of English, Welsh, and German immigrant working people who had a background of Christian social conviction who would have strengthened the Church at one of its weakest points.

Changing Forms of Evangelism

Many of the leaders of Methodism who recognized the need for revitalization of the spirit and life of the Church continued to hope and pray for a nationwide religious revival. What is needed "above all things," the Bishops said in their Episcopal Address of 1856, "is such humble, active prayer and faith, as will secure a general outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon all the preachers and their congregations." [143]

In 1857-58 the hoped-for revival came in an unexpected way, sweeping across the nation in a remarkable manner, different from anything known before. It seemed to have come without advance notice or preparation, beginning in the midday prayer meetings of a small group of businessmen held under the auspices of the New York City Y.M.C.A. The meetings, begun in September, 1856, in the Dutch Reformed church had been in progress for almost a year when the panic of 1857 struck, paralyzing business and driving thousands of firms into bankruptcy. Soon the handful of attendants increased to forty, then to a hundred, and finally overflowed the facilities of the building. Other meetings were begun, soon numbering twenty; finally one hundred and fifty. From New York the spiritual impulse spread to Philadelphia, Albany, and Boston, and from these centers to cities, towns, and villages throughout the country. Prominent citizens of their own accord volunteered as leaders, telling of their religious experience, and encouraging others to do the same.

> The revival was not carried forward by flaming evangelists. No sermons were preached except at the regular Sunday services. Prayer-meetings and lay efforts were the chief agencies, and the exercises were of the most simple and direct character.[144]

Here was a distinctly new form of revivalism, or more properly, of evangelism. Meetings were informal, centering more in prayer than in preaching, and—as spontaneity was emphasized—all but conducted themselves. The assistance of ministers was enlisted but leadership was principally in the hands of laymen. The dogmatic emphasis of earlier revivals was lacking and exhortations and prayers were related more definitely to the expressed fears, doubts, and frustrations of persons. Names of those asking to be prayed for were announced, and prayers specifically offered up for them.

The movement went forward for a year as an irrepressible spiritual tide, without regard to dividing lines of the denominations. In twelve months, it was estimated, a million communicants were added to the membership of the Churches and countless laymen awakened from spiritual lethargy and stirred to activity in various forms of Christian service. The membership increase of the Methodist Episcopal Church was 136,036.[145]

LAY EVANGELISTIC MOVEMENTS

This new form of evangelism brought the layman into his own as he had not been since the beginnings of Christianity. The Y.M.C.A.* was wholly an organization of laymen. Its officers, leaders, and members were all of the laity. In it young men of the evangelical Churches found opportunity for expression of their religious convictions and purposes in forms of evangelism not offered them in the local churches with which they were affiliated.

The program of the Association centered in evangelistic activities. Its members went forth to preach on street corners, on docks, and in firehouses; to aid in conducting rescue missions and in the distribution of tracts and Bibles. The only object of the Y.M.C.A., said *The Watchman* in 1883, is to lead "young men to know Christ," while in 1895 the Y's Springfield Convention declared that "winning men to personal faith in Jesus" must always remain the chief concern.[146]

The Association interpreted evangelism in broad terms. It became increasingly conscious of the evils of urbanization and of the worst by-products of industrialization, and sought to alleviate them. A chief concern was for the young men from small towns and rural areas who were sucked into the vortex of the great cities—homeless, lonely, and tempted by the cities' glamour with its accompaniments of alcoholism, vice, delinquency, and crime. During the later decades of the period activity in direct personal evangelism tended to lessen, and attention to center increasingly in providing attractively furnished buildings, with dormitories, offering social activities, game rooms, swimming pools, lecture courses, and libraries, thus ministering to the moral and spiritual welfare of the increasing multitudes of young men congregated in the cities.[147]

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* The first two Young Men's Christian Associations in America were formed in Boston and Montreal in 1851. Between 1851 and 1855 Associations were organized in New York, Washington, Baltimore, Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and numerous other cities—by the end of 1854 forty-nine associations. The mortality rate following the first wave of organization was high, but the 1857-58 revival stimulated reorganization and renewed growth.—C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y. M. C. A. in North America,* pp. 16 f., 22 f.

Despite the interest of Association leaders in social welfare the Y's activities embraced chiefly middle-class men. In its leadership and to a large extent in its membership it was a middle-class organization. In the seventies a movement different in form developed which aimed specifically at reaching the laboring class, more particularly the unemployed and the "down and out." In 1865 William Booth (1829-1912) founded in East London the mission later called the Christian Mission, and in 1878 the Salvation Army. His passion for open-air preaching, according to his account, led to his separation from the Methodist New Connexion. In 1880 he extended his operations to the United States. As no other religious organization the Army by its spectacular methods, its direct personal appeals, and its combination of spiritual and material relief, succeeded in reaching and saving large numbers of the poverty-stricken, the drunken, and the criminal, whom the Churches could not reach.

Following the Civil War a lay evangelistic movement closely allied to the Y.M.C.A. developed under the leadership of Dwight L. Moody.* His city campaigns in Chicago, Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, and other large cities were immensely successful in attracting and converting men who were unreached by the Churches. His simple, direct, literalistic Biblical sermons, together with his dynamic personality, attracted multitudes to whom the scholarly messages of college-trained ministers had little appeal. He placed slight emphasis on sectarian dogmas, emphasizing rather the love of God for men and man's dire need for divine grace and constant help. He was greatly aided by the collaboration of Ira D. Sankey, a Methodist layman of Newcastle, Pennsylvania, whose singing of hymns† and leadership in congregational song was unusually effective.[148]

Following the 1857-58 revival students in widely separated institutions became conscious of religious needs which they felt might be met more effectively through organizations of their own than through formal services sponsored and conducted by the authorities. Two of the earliest organized student groups were formed at the University of Michigan and the University of Virginia. Their organizations were patterned after that of the Y.M.C.A. Other societies arose spontaneously, some of which sought affiliation with the national Y.M.C.A., though the leaders of the Association had not planned to project the movement into the colleges. Between 1856 and 1877 campus groups in Methodist and other colleges—in all, nearly seventy—organized Y.M.C.A.'s. Most of these early student associations held weekly, in a few cases daily, devotional meetings. In addition to the all-student general meetings, at some colleges small circles were formed in boardinghouses and dormitories for Bible study and prayer.[149] These student-initiated Associations within a few years came to play so large a part in student life that they could no longer be ignored by the general Association and in September, 1877, the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. created a college secretaryship for the promotion of an intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. movement. College campaigns of evangelism were conducted on many campuses under the leadership of Moody, Henry Drummond, S. M. Sayford, and others, which resulted within ten years in leading thousands of students into a vital religious experience. Bible study courses prepared especially for college students were published and widely circulated.[150]

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* Dwight L. Moody (1837-99) was born in East Northfield, Mass. On account of the death of his father he early became dependent on his own resources and had slight opportunity for schooling. At eighteen he was converted and immediately entered upon an exceptionally earnest Christian life. He became a shoe salesman in Chicago in 1856 and in 1858 rented a large public hall over a city market in which he soon had a mission night school and a Sunday school attended by some five hundred boys and girls from the streets. In 1863 this was organized as the Illinois Street (later Chicago Avenue) Church. Soon after the close of the Civil War he entered upon an immensely widened evangelistic career. His realization of need for trained Christian workers led him to establish the Northfield Seminary for girls in 1879, and in 1881 the nearby Mt. Hermon School for boys. In 1889 he founded the Bible Institute in Chicago. His sermons were widely circulated in English, and in German, Swedish, and Danish translations.—William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody,* pp. 19 ff., *passim.*

† The Moody and Sankey *Gospel Hymns* were a mixed good. Their emotional appeal, their contribution of a sense of security to men and women baffled and frustrated by the hardships of life, and

STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT

A missionary evangelism movement, closely interrelated with college Y.M. and Y.W. evangelism and with the Moody influence, had its rise in the summer of 1886. At Moody's invitation 251 college men, representing eighty-seven colleges of the United States and Canada, all of whom were members of the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A., assembled at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, for a period of intensive Bible study. Foreign missions was not one of Moody's chief concerns but among the 251 students present were twenty-one who were "seriously thinking of becoming foreign missionaries." * Through the influence of this missionary nucleus the Mount Hermon Conference became a missionary Pentecost. By its close on August 1 the number of volunteers for foreign missions had reached one hundred and the Student Volunteer Movement had come alive.

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their assurance of God's love and care made them an all but indispensable aid in the evangelist's city campaigns. Nevertheless, together with the long list of revival songbooks which followed in their train, they cheapened religion and lowered the quality of the music used in churches for more than two generations.

* The "Society of the Brethren," organized at Williams College in 1808 (Vol. I, 165, 165*n*) had kindled a flame that was still alive, although at times it had burned low. The Society had maintained a continuous existence at Andover Theological Seminary, and had influenced the organization of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance and the formation of the Princeton Foreign Missionary Society in 1883. The Princeton delegates were among the most active in missionary recruiting at Mount Hermon. —Robert P. Wilder, *The Great Commission,* ch. I, *passim.*

During 1886-87 Robert P. Wilder and John N. Forman, as representatives of the movement, visited 176 colleges and theological seminaries to make missionary addresses and present the student volunteer pledge. By the close of their year's labor volunteers had increased from 100 to 2,200. In 1888-89 the movement was formally organized as the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. By the close of 1892 the organization had enlisted in its service, in various capacities, Robert P. Wilder, John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, D. Willard Lyon, and J. Campbell White, each of whom was to have a large part in shaping and carrying forward the world Christian missionary enterprise of the first third of the twentieth century. It had popularized throughout the Christian world the slogan *"the evangelization of the world in this generation"**; had enlisted in its membership a total of 7,500 volunteers of whom 510 had sailed for foreign fields, 100 or more had been accepted by missionary societies for service, and 2,900 were in institutions of learning in various stages of preparation. The seriousness of the problem which for three-quarters of a century had troubled the missionary societies of the evangelical Churches—how to secure an adequate supply of qualified missionary volunteers—had been greatly lessened.[151]

DECLINE OF TRADITIONAL REVIVALISM

In certain quarters a critical attitude toward revivals developed in the Church, explained in part by the influence of Horace Bushnell, liberal Congregational leader, who recognized in the revival movement both significant merit and serious defect:

> The merit is that it displaced an era of great formality, and brought in the demand of a truly supernatural experience. The defect is, that it has cast a type of religious individualism, intense beyond any former example. It makes nothing of the family, and the church, and the organic powers God has constituted as vehicles of grace. It takes every man as if he had existed *alone;* presumes that he is unreconciled to God until he has undergone some sudden and explosive experience in adult years, or after the age of reason; demands that experience, and only when it is reached, allows the subject to be an heir of life.[152]

Many ministers who did not fully share Bushnell's critical judgment nevertheless found the revival technique less effective than it had been in earlier years. It was more difficult to secure the attendance of the unconverted and those who came were not so readily persuaded as formerly to yield to evangelistic appeals. Some preachers felt that they did not possess the combination of gifts necessary to make them successful revivalistic preachers and when their churches considered it desirable to "hold a revival" secured the aid of professional evangelists. Several memorials were presented to the 1884 General Conference asking for the recognition of evangelists as a special order of the ministry and the official designation of certain preachers as Conference or churchwide evangelists. Some pastors, however, decried the use of "traveling revivalists," declaring that with few exceptions their work was not abiding, nor the final results of much value. They criticised the religious songbooks which they used, filled with "jingle and a certain kind of melody" but lacking the spirit and power of the standard hymns of the Church. They felt, as one said, that the pastor who called "upon the Lord instead of upon a revivalist" would probably gather a harvest "with more abiding results." [153]

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* Some Methodist leaders were critical of the movement's statement of aim. "Of what value," James Mudge asked, ". . . is the urgent appeal, . . . that we aim constantly and solely at the evangelization of the world in the present generation? . . . If it is understood . . . from the emphasis which is put upon the word *evangelize* as set over against *convert,* to mean that our chief business is to hurry from place to place—. . . not stopping 'even to repeat the rejected message,' . . .—then it is a bad motto, and can only result in harm to the cause it essays to help."—"Shall Evangelization or Conversion be Our Aim?" *Gospel in All Lands,* March, 1892, pp. 119 f.

Daniel Curry in 1886 discovered a growing recognition that revivals, in the sense of "special efforts and incitements toward religious quickening," were necessary to the maintenance of the Church's spiritual interest and power.

> A living church is perennially a revival church, and yet special seasons of revival are needful alike for bringing the unsaved to Christ and for maintaining the required religious tone of the members of the church, and of the associate body as a whole.

Curry called attention to the fact that it was by "the earnest proclamation of the doctrine of justification by faith *alone*" that Luther and his co-workers "broke the death-spell" in the Church of the Middle Ages, and urged the plain preaching of "the great vital truths of Christianity" as the most effective means of promoting revivals.[154]

The character of Camp Meetings gradually changed during this period. The conditions which had originally given rise to them no longer existed. With most sections of the country much more densely settled, and with larger church buildings available, the need for and effectiveness of Camp Meetings had lessened. The metamorphosis of the well-known Berger Camp Meeting about twenty miles southeast of Chicago, as described by Paul F. Douglass, was typical of the changes in scores of Camp Meetings in the East and the Midwest. He says:

> The tents gradually disappeared. The organization bought more woodland. Individual families began to build substantial cottages. A tabernacle seating twelve to fifteen hundred was erected and dignified with a wooden floor, comfortable benches, a large platform, electric lights, and even screens which protected the worshipers from mosquitoes and flies. The camp meeting gradually died away and with it the appeal for conversions. With the growth of the Epworth League Institute, the old-fashioned meeting nearly vanished. Its memory has been kept alive by well-attended meetings on Saturdays and Sundays with preaching and rousing song services on Sunday afternoon.[155]

Some Camp Meetings retained the revivalistic tradition and methods, particularly those held under the auspices of the National Camp Meeting Association. The Manheim (Pennsylvania) Camp Meeting in 1868 was said to have had 25,000 people in attendance, including 300 ministers.[156] A much larger number combined evangelistic services with addresses on missions, Christian education, temperance, and Sunday-school work by representatives of these interests.* Special meetings for young people and for children were held, and various other features popular in character were introduced which drew large weekend crowds.

Objections began to be made by ministers to programs which tended to draw people away from the regular Sunday services of the churches. A resolution introduced at the 1880 General Conference and referred to the Committee on the State of the Church declared that the holding of Camp Meetings on Sunday was regarded by many "as a great and growing evil, tending to Sabbath desecration," and asked that the committee "give special attention to the subject," and voice the sentiment of the Conference regarding it. A second similar resolution was referred to the same committee.[157]

As the proportion of college and seminary graduates increased in the Methodist ministry and the number of college-educated lay men and women likewise grew, manifestations of extreme emotional stress were more and more seldom witnessed in revivals, whether at Camp Meetings or in revivalistic meetings in the churches. To some this seemed to offer indubitable evidence of loss of spiritual power. To the extent that the better-educated preachers made the mistake of thinking of religious experience as preeminently a matter of learning and ignored the element of feeling, a loss of moral and spiritual power undoubtedly occurred. Religion without an element of emotion is something less than Christian. But by no means all college and seminary graduates fell into this error.

To a larger number of churchmen the loss thus incurred was more than counterbalanced by increased interest in the study of the Bible, especially among students and young people in the churches; an increased emphasis upon the example and application of the teachings of Christ in daily life; and a more ardent missionary enthusiasm as evidenced by a largely increased number of volunteers for life service in foreign fields, all of which were outgrowths of the newer types of evangelism and the new Christian movement in the colleges.

A Developing Sunday-School Movement

In December, 1848, John McClintock, then editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review,* wrote to Stephen Olin:

> Who can write me such an article as ought to be made on the duty of the Church toward her baptized children? Do help me out with this—it makes the

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* George Hughes, Methodist minister and a leader in the National Camp Meeting Movement, charged that "the ordinary camp-meetings" were very barren "in spiritual results"; that they had become commercialized; and that often "the scene bore close analogy to Bunyan's picture of Vanity Fair." —*Op. cit.,* p. 26.

> blood run quick in my veins to write the sentence, I feel so strongly on the subject. And so I have felt for long—a sense of almost personal guilt . . . we Methodists are leaving [them] almost untouched.

In a letter written in October of the same year he had said that he deemed pernicious the practice

> of baptizing infants and then treating them as if they were heathen, until the breath of a revival comes over to convert them, instead of holding them as initiated into the Church, as our standards do, and training them up for her service and God's.[158]

CHILD NURTURE

At this time Horace Bushnell's epoch-making *Christian Nurture* had been in print for a year. In his October, 1848, letter McClintock had said, "I have just received Bushnell's 'Christian Nurture,'* and really I must go great part of the way with him." His letters to Olin, however, make it evident that his theological position was based not upon Bushnell's work but on the teaching of the Methodist Church. Unfortunately, while the standards of Methodism implied much that Bushnell so effectively taught they did not make explicit the child's relation to the Kingdom of God. The *Discipline,* also, although it stated that the "baptism of young children is to be retained in the Church," contained, previous to 1856, no statement which theologically justified infant baptism. As in the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches many Methodists regarded children, even though baptized in infancy, as living in bondage to sin, and requiring conversion in order to be saved.† In revival meetings it was a common custom to urge little children, even as hardened adult sinners, to repent, seek forgiveness, and trust in Christ for salvation.

The thought of the Church at large concerning the spiritual status of the child was confused, a confusion which was in part rooted in differences, even contradictions, among Wesleyan authorities on systematic theology.‡ The practice of infant baptism was general among Methodists. The Church's ritual of baptism presupposed regeneration: only the regenerate are entitled to receive baptism. Is it then to be understood that infants are born regenerate? John Miley, who began teaching theology in Drew Seminary in 1873, thought not: "Our own writers are divided on this question. While some maintain the affirmative, we cannot think it in accord with the Scriptures or the doctrines of our Church." Yet he sanctioned the baptism of young children, reasoning in this way:

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* Horace Bushnell (1802-76) was born in Litchfield, Conn. Graduated at Yale in 1827, he first took up the study of law, but in 1831 decided to become a minister and entered the theological department of Yale College. In 1833 he was ordained pastor of North Congregational Church, Hartford, Conn., continuing until 1859 when ill health compelled his resignation. Thereafter he was almost continuously occupied in writing. His theological works represented a revolt against Calvinistic orthodoxy. Unsuccessful attempts were made to bring him to trial. Of his works *Christian Nurture* was one of the most widely influential, effectively turning "the current of Christian thought toward the young," and laying a substantial foundation for the religious education of children and youth of the latter half of the nineteenth century in the evangelical churches.—Theodore T. Munger, *Horace Bushnell, Preacher and Theologian, passim.*

† In May, 1867, J. M. Gregory in the *Sunday School Teacher,* declaring the first aim of the Sunday school to be the conversion of the pupils, states that the steps to this are: "1st. To bring the pupil to a knowledge and sense of his need as a fallen being with a sinful soul—a guilty transgressor of a divine law and of a Father's commandment; and 2nd, to develop in his understanding and impress upon his heart the character and work of Christ—the suffering, saving love of Jesus; the complete ability and willingness of this Saviour to redeem, purify, and bless him—in short, to lay the foundations of an intelligent faith, and to awaken the emotions of an all-controlling love and trust."—*Sunday School Teacher,* II (1867), 5 (May), 129 f., as quoted in Addie Grace Wardle, *History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church,* p. 109.

‡ Daniel D. Whedon: "Between Wesley and Clarke there were some differences. There are some differences between Wesley and Watson; and between Wesley and Pope; and between Pope and Watson. And, if we mistake not, some different shades and phases exist between British and American Methodism . . . ."—*Statements: Theological and Critical,* p. 302. The entire statement ("Infant Salvation," pp. 298-330) should be read.

> Infants are born into the covenant of redemption, and are all in some measure recipients of its grace. If they live to an accountable age this grace meets them at its threshold and, unless rejected, becomes their salvation; if they die in the infant state it unconditionally regenerates and saves them. On the ground of such facts they may properly be reckoned members of the kingdom of God and entitled to Christian baptism.[159]

This view differed from that of Daniel D. Whedon, who—interpreting Fletcher of Madeley—wrote: The infant not only inherits "justification from Christ, but he also inherits the regenerative baptism of the Spirit, entitling him not only to baptism and a place in the Church below, but also, dying in infancy, to a place in the Church above." [160]

F. G. Hibbard, whose book, *The Religion of Childhood,* was published in 1864, held, in substance, that all children are in a state of favor with God, who graciously imparts to them a genuine spiritual quickening. The real question with regard to the child is not therefore whether he will be converted to God but rather, will he through sinning depart from God. He cannot become a child of wrath except by his own evil choice by which he surrenders his original heavenly citizenship.[161]

The inextricable intermixture in the minds of many ministers and missionaries of the traditional doctrines of depravity and necessity of child conversion, and the concept of child nurture is illustrated by the statement of William Taylor, made in 1890:

> The little children of Africa are no more heathens than our own children. In common with ours they inherit from our common fallen father and mother a deeply depraved nature . . . ; but every child of the human family inherits from the second Adam the free gift of eternal life under an acquitted relation to God. . . . The ounce of prevention applied during the happy period of a child's initial justified relation to God is better in ultimate probabilities than a hundred pounds of cure. . . .
>
> We get the children saved before they are seven years old, and they . . . become the most convincing witnesses we can get to enlighten and lead the adult heathen.[162]

Previous to 1856 the *Discipline* had no statement on the relation of baptized children to the Church. Pastors were advised to pay "special attention to the children, speak to them personally, and kindly, on experimental and practical godliness" and, if baptized, to instruct them in the nature and obligations of their baptism. Children might be admitted to Class meetings and Love Feasts and those who were "truly serious" and who manifested "a desire to flee the wrath to come" should be "advised to join society as probationers." [163] The 1856 General Conference made a significant contribution to clarity of thought and consistency of practice in the Church when it supplied an entirely new section on the relation of baptized children to the Church. The section as adopted contained explicit answers to these questions: "Are all young children entitled to Baptism?" "What is the relation of baptized children to the Church?" "What shall be done for the baptized children of our Church?" To the first and second questions the section answered:

> We hold that all children, by virtue of the unconditional benefits of the atonement, are members of the kingdom of God, and, therefore, graciously entitled to baptism; . . . .
>
> We regard all children who have been baptized, as placed in visible covenant relation to God, and under the special care and supervision of the Church.[164]

In answer to the third question directions were given for religious nurture and instruction of children preparatory to reception into full membership.

In the discussion which preceded the adoption of the section a delegate expressed a fear that "the declaration that the child was in a state of grace would be construed, by those who had not been trained in Methodist theology, as denying the doctrine of hereditary depravity," but his amendment, aimed to prevent this impression, was promptly voted down. George Peck inquired "if it was proposed to make the ritual harmonize" with the new section. In stating that "all men are conceived and born in sin, and that our Saviour Christ saith, None can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost," the ritual, he said, assumed that "the infant was in a state of wrath, and needed the forgiveness of sins." He contended that the proposed new section and the statement in the ritual represented two separate theories, but also on this no action was taken.

A. M. Osbon of the New York Conference was opposed to all of the plans under consideration as contrary to "the whole former practice of the Church." It had not been the custom to receive persons into full connection "without a profession of personal faith, followed by pardon, witnessed by the Holy Spirit, and renewed" and he feared the plans were "dangerous innovations." But no one rose to support Osbon's position and after John P. Durbin and one or two others had spoken in favor of the proposd section affirmative action was taken.[165]

The directions for the religious nurture and instruction of children neither stated nor implied that it was necessary for the child to undergo the traditional experience of conversion before he could be accounted a Christian and admitted into full membership in the Church. From about this time there was a gradually lessening insistence on the revivalistic type of child conversion and freer acknowledgment that the child of a Christian home and community may naturally develop Christian character and experience or, in Bushnell's words, "grow up as a Christian and never know himself as being otherwise." The attitude of the majority of ministers and lay parents is well expressed in a letter by Edward Thomson to his son on January 24, 1863, in which he states his gratitude to God at the news that the boy had united with the Church:

> With your mother I agree that your case is all the more hopeful because you have taken this step not under the influence of any excitement, but calmly and deliberately. We should enter upon the service of God from principle.
>
> You have long been in the habit of praying, and I have no doubt God has heard your prayers and regenerated your heart. The proofs of regeneration which are most satisfactory are to be found in the life and spirit. . . . we know when the grace of God is in the heart by the graces or virtues of the Spirit; and these are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, etc.[166]

The need on the child's part for individual commitment was not lessened under the newer view. It was still recognized that becoming a Christian in the full sense of the word involves a spiritual awakening, gradual or sudden; a deliberate and rational choice; and a quickened consciousness of God's indwelling presence and aid.

The gradual clarification of thought in the Church concerning the spiritual status of children and the increasing realization of the importance of Christian nurture synchronized with a steadily developing interest in improved methods of teaching religion and the growth of the Sunday-school movement.

IMPROVEMENT IN METHODS AND CURRICULA

The ability and aggressive spirit of Daniel P. Kidder,* who in 1844 became "Editor of Sunday School Books and Tracts" and, by election of the Sunday School Union, its Corresponding Secretary, soon registered in an increasing interest in Sunday-school work throughout the Church. The *Sunday School Advocate,* the one official Sunday-school periodical of the denomination, increased in circulation from 10,000 to 50,000 copies within eight months. In one year the number of Sunday schools, as reported to the Union, increased from 5,005 to 6,111; the number of officers and teachers from 47,252 to 61,090; and the enrollment from 268,775 to 320,630. While the income of the Sunday School Union from 1840 to 1845 had been only $685.22, receipts from May, 1845, to December, 1847, were $6,797.45.[167]

Kidder foresaw the probability of largely increased emigration from Europe and believed that the Sunday school could be made an effective agency for the evangelization of both the native and the immigrant population. He was as much interested in improvement of methods of teaching as in increase of the number of Sunday schools.[168] He noted that normal schools were being established for the express purpose of training teachers for the common schools and declared that he considered it time "to ask whether a system of Normal Sabbath-school instruction . . . [might] not be established." He also asked:

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* For biographical data concerning Daniel P. Kidder see Vol. II, 414*n*. For earlier history of the Sunday School Union see Vol. II, 410-14.

> Why should it be thought a thing extravagant if we were to urge that a great Church like ours ought to have at least one well-located, well-established school for the particular object of specially and thoroughly training persons for the great work of Sunday school teaching?[169]

Kidder shared Wesley's enthusiasm for the circulation of books and tracts. He set himself to extend and enlarge the libraries of the Sunday schools and in a single year increased sales from seventeen and a half million pages to more than seventy-nine million pages. He also conceived the idea of "a five-dollar library, containing fifty volumes at an average price of ten cents each" which contributed greatly to literature circulation. As Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday School Union he attended sessions of Annual Conferences, held institutes and conventions, and visited many local churches at which he preached, gave special addresses, and aided pastors in taking offerings for the Union.[170]

The General Conference of 1852 decreed that the editorship of Sunday-school publications and the secretaryship of the Sunday School Union* should both be "by appointment of the General Conference." [171] The Bishops in their Episcopal Address of 1852 commented on the "encouragingly progressive" increase in Sunday-school enrollment, number of officers and teachers, and books added to the libraries during the preceding five years. They reported 47,327 conversions during the five years in the Sunday schools.[172]

After twelve years as editor and Corresponding Secretary, Kidder accepted the chair of practical theology in Garrett Biblical Institute.† In 1856 Daniel Wise‡ was elected as his successor. As editor of *Zion's Herald* Wise had gained a reputation as an interesting and forceful writer, particularly for children and young people. He was a skillful editor and a voluminous writer but he lacked the administrative initiative of his predecessor. He advocated improvement and extension of Sunday schools, better organization and more thorough religious instruction and training of teachers. The war years, however, were not favorable to progress in any line of church work and the rate of advance of preceding years was not fully maintained.

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* By act of the New York Legislature, Feb. 4, 1852, the Sunday School Union was incorporated. The charter was amended by the Legislature on April 11, 1874. For constitution as amended see *Year-Book of the Sunday-School Union, and of the Tract Society . . . ,* 1874, pp. 20 f.

†Thirteen years after Kidder's retirement from the Sunday School Union John H. Vincent, then its Corresponding Secretary, wrote to him: "No Sunday school worker on the continent has such a record as yourself. I am brought face to face with your work every day in the Union. Its foundations, broad and deep were laid by yourself, and to you is due the preeminence which our Union enjoys to-day. I think and speak of this fact often."—As quoted in G. E. Strobridge, *Biography of the Rev. Daniel Parish Kidder, D.D., LL.D.,* p. 216.

‡ Daniel Wise (1813-98), born in England, emigrated to the United States in 1833. After serving for several years as a Local Preacher, in 1840 he was received on trial in the New England Conference. Until 1844, in addition to his pastoral duties, he edited and published the *Sunday School Messenger.* In 1852 he became editor of *Zion's Herald,* leaving the editorship four years later when elected editor and Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday School Union.—*Year-book, New England Southern Conference,* 1899, pp. 92-94.

On the retirement of Wise in 1868 John H. Vincent,* who had been made General Agent of the Sunday School Union in 1866, was elected editor of Sunday-school publications and Corresponding Secretary.[173] As a pastor of the Rock River Conference he had made a reputation as a religious educator by his advocacy of the application to Sunday schools of advanced methods used in public school organization and teaching. He had assimilated much of the religious education teaching of Horace Bushnell and many of the views of Robertson of Brighton. Within Methodism he became the leading advocate of infusing religion with intellectual and spiritual culture; of educational evangelism; and of bringing the whole of life under the dominance of Christian ideals.

Vincent desired to lift the Sunday school to the level of the Church, to supplement the Church by making its compass broader, deeper, and all-embracing. He intended to accomplish this by making the Sunday school the Church school for all of its members, with graded instruction for all age levels.[174] The response to Vincent's challenge was immediate. The second issue of the *Sunday School Journal,* following his election as editor, carried "four versions of a lesson," each adapted to a different age group of a fully organized Sunday school. Within a year subscribers increased from 18,000 to 37,000.[175]

In 1868 the Sunday School Union established a Normal Department of which Vincent was superintendent. Its stated purpose was: "To elevate the standard of Sunday-school management and teaching in the church, to furnish facilities for training teachers, and to unite all local normal classes and institutes in a central organization." Normal classes which adopted the prescribed course of study, elected a committee of instruction, and reported officers to the Normal Department of the Union were enrolled as auxiliaries.[176]

In October, 1873, the Sunday School Union approved the project of a Sunday-school Teachers' Assembly to be held in August, 1874, on the Chautauqua Lake (New York) Camp Ground. The plan, as stated by Vincent, was:

> To hold a prolonged institute, or normal class, occupying from ten to fifteen

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* John Heyl Vincent (1832-1920) was born in Tuscaloosa, Ala. He studied for a time at Wesleyan Institute, Newark, N. J., but did not complete a college course. He was received on trial in the New Jersey Conference in 1853, and in full connection in 1855. (*Minutes, New Jersey Conference,* 1853, p. 2; *ibid.,* 1855, p. 2.) In 1856 he transferred to the Rock River Conference, and soon thereafter became active as a leader in Sunday-school work. In 1864 he led in establishing a Union Sunday School Institute for the Northwest. Its organ, the *Northwestern Sunday School Teachers' Quarterly,* he later declared, "met a want and kindled a fire." In 1865 the title was changed to the *Sunday School Teacher.* The General Conference of 1888 elected Vincent to the episcopacy. His episcopal residence, 1888-92, was Buffalo; 1892-1900, Topeka; 1900-1904, Zurich, Switzerland. In 1904 he was retired. Of his several books the best known was *The Modern Sunday School,* 1887.—*Dictionary of American Biography,* XIX, 277 ff.

> days, for the completion of the 'Course of Normal Study' prescribed by the [Normal] Department; to secure the presence of as many pastors, superintendents, other officers and teachers as possible, that a new and general interest may be awakened throughout the Church and the country on the subject of Normal training for Sunday-school work; . . . .[177]

The original suggestion for the improvement of the Camp Meeting by the inclusion of scientific and cultural subjects in the program came from a layman, Lewis Miller of Akron, Ohio. He became the president of the Sunday-school Teachers' Assembly and for many years continued to be a patron and generous supporter of the rapidly developing enterprise. Concerning the first Assembly Vincent wrote:

> The lecturers and teachers were widely known as men and women of superior ability and large experience. Every thing centred in the Sunday school. Never were so many representative Sunday-school people so long together . . . . Never had Sunday-school work been more carefully canvassed, or its methods more fully or admirably illustrated.[178]

Chautauqua developed and expanded rapidly. Within twelve years not less than twenty-one different Chautauqua organizations had been formed, reaching many thousands of people, such as the Chautauqua Teachers' Reading Union, the Chautauqua Book-a-Month Reading Circle, the Chautauqua Society of Fine Arts, and the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. Some thirty-nine Summer Assemblies also were held annually, a number of them on former Camp Meeting grounds, on locations reaching from Maine to Oregon and California. Local C.L.S.C. circles were formed in some fourteen foreign nations, mostly under mission auspices, those in Japan enrolling a thousand members.[179]

From 1845 to 1865, as earlier, various types of teaching materials were issued for use in the Sunday schools. The Sunday School Union made little attempt to standardize lesson courses or to determine what should be used by the schools. Most commonly used were question books based on the Bible. However, in 1842, the Union had recommended that schools not already using them "introduce the Wesleyan Catechisms, or the Scripture Catechisms, into their regular course of instruction." [180] In 1848 the Wesleyan Catechisms were revised by order of the General Conference and issued as a general catechism, and an elementary catechism "in shorter and plainer words, adapted to the capacities of young children." [181] As a part of the opening or closing exercises of some schools the pupils were catechised each Sunday, and in a few schools the Catechism was also used by the teachers in their classes. The *Discipline* also made it the duty of the pastor to

> publicly catechise the children in the Sunday school, and at special meetings appointed for that purpose. It shall also be the duty of each preacher . . . [in

his report to] each Quarterly Conference, to state to what extent he has publicly or privately catechised the children of his charge.[182]

That the chief responsibility for catechetical instruction rested upon the pastor is indicated by Vincent's statement in his 1877 report that the pastor "should be aided by the Sunday school in teaching the Catechism of the church to the young people." [183]

In 1865, at an interdenominational Sunday School Institute in Chicago, Vincent proposed the question, "Is it practicable to introduce a uniform system of lessons into all our schools?" The following year he prepared and published in the *Sunday-School Teacher,* which he edited, a course of uniform lessons for Chicago Sunday schools entitled "Two Years with Jesus: A New System of Sunday-school Study." [184] Others, both in the United States and in England, were considering the same idea, but Vincent's series may fairly be said to have been the forerunner of the International Uniform Lesson System. He saw decided advantages in a system of uniform lessons for the whole school and all schools but he did not perceive the educational fallacy of using identical subject matter with little children and adults. He wrote: "The benefits of the uniform system cannot be secured, unless we adapt the lessons to the varied capacities of the pupils." [185] What Vincent seems not to have realized was that varying the teaching aids and methods for use with the four age groups into which he suggested the Sunday schools be divided was not in reality providing graded lessons, since the teaching core (the Scripture text) was the same for all.

Sentiment for a uniform system developed rapidly. The first year's outline of a seven-year series was released for publication in 1873 * by the International Lesson Committee, of which Vincent had been elected chairman, an office which he held through 1872-96. The International Uniform Lesson Series was widely announced and all Methodist pastors were urged to use special efforts to make the new plan a success.[186]

While the adoption of the International Uniform Lesson Series marked an advance over the methods of Bible teaching in vogue during preceding decades, the prestige which it gained through its advocacy by Vincent and other Sunday-school leaders, and its interdenominational sponsorship, delayed for many years the development of fully graded lessons adapted to the capacities and needs of the several age groups of children and adolescents.

During Vincent's administration the Sunday School Union became a missionary agency of considerable importance. The General Conference of 1868 made it the duty of the pastor to see that every Methodist Sunday school was organized into a missionary society.[187] In 1870 the Corresponding Secretary visited the Annual Conferences recently organized in the southern states, and churches in several cities to give addresses at preachers' meetings and in gatherings of Sunday-school officers and teachers. Institutes were held also at unversities, colleges, and secondary schools. The Sunday School Union and the Tract Society united in the publication of *Good Tidings,* a modest weekly periodical, which was distributed free to Sunday schools in the South. In 1892 the average weekly circulation was 39,253 copies.[188] Very early in its history contributions for the publication of teaching materials had been made to foreign missions, as also for the establishment and support of Sunday schools in Mission Conferences in the United States. In the 1868-72 quadrennium grants for these purposes were largely increased in number and in amount. Altogether more than 5,000 grants-in-aid were made to seventy-five Annual Conferences in Europe, Liberia, and U.S.A., amounting to $55,784.51. Donations to the amount of $1,309.56 were also made to Sunday-school work in "prisons, soldiers' homes, asylums, alms-houses, and among the freedmen of the South." [189]

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* Adoption of plans for a Uniform Lesson series was delayed by publishers' interest in maintaining their own lesson publications. A uniform system was finally agreed to and issued for 1872. The National Sunday School Convention, held in Indianapolis, April 16-19, 1872, established a committee to outline a seven-year series of "Bible Lessons," to "embrace a general study of the whole Bible," alternating between the Old and New Testaments; elected the committee; and recommended adoption of the series "by the Sunday-schools of the whole country."—Simeon Gilbert, *The Lesson System,* p. 38, *et passim.*

The first German language Methodist Sunday school in the United States was organized in Cincinnati in 1837.* By 1872 German Sunday schools numbered several hundred and the General Conference of that year authorized the appointment of an editor for German Sunday-school publications. Henry Liebhart† was elected to the position and rendered highly efficient service.

As successor to Vincent the 1888 General Conference elected Jesse L. Hurlbut, who for ten years had been associated with him as assistant editor. He was destined by nature and choice, by culture and spirit to be a teacher, and his dominant concern was the preparation of study courses in the Bible and materials and plans for the normal training of Sunday-school teachers. He was the author of many books, all of them related to some phase of religious education. He continued in office until 1900.

During the half century, Sunday schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church increased in number from 5,005 to 30,259; officers and teachers from 47,252 to 352,627; and pupils from 268,775 to 2,585,178. In foreign fields schools had increased from 14 to 3,536 and enrollment from 523 to 160,737.[190] At no time during the period was the income of the Sunday School Union sufficient to make possible a vigorous churchwide extension program.

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* See Vol. I, 276.

† Henry Liebhart (1832-95), born in Karlsruhe, Germany, and educated in German schools, emigrated to America in 1854. In 1855 he was converted and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1859 he was received on trial in the New York Conference. (*Minutes, New York Conference,* 1859, p. 7.) In 1865 he became assistant editor of *Der Christliche Apologete,* where he demonstrated unusual editorial ability. In 1884 he was elected German Assistant Secretary of the Sunday School Union, and in 1888 Assistant Secretary also of the Tract Society. He edited not only Sunday-school literature but also the family magazine *Haus und Herd* and a family library, and books on missions, Biblical history, and music. He was an able editor, "a brilliant conversationalist, a powerful pulpiteer, and prolific author."—Paul F. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism, Biography of an Immigrant Soul,* pp. 225 ff.

Receipts increased from $685.22 for the five years 1840-45 to only $23,888.72 in 1895.[191]

Throughout the period the Sunday school was the most important organized agency of Methodism in promoting the extension and membership growth of the Church. In hundreds of local communities a beginning was made by forming a Sunday school which within a short time led to the organization of a local Methodist Society. The Sunday School Union reported to the 1892 General Conference:

> Through its benevolent work at home and abroad the Sunday School Union is greatly promoting the growth of the Church. In the large cities it is aiding mission schools, through which the immigrant population is reached; and in the 'new West' and the 'new South' where towns are springing up as by magic, it is founding Sunday schools which open the way for the founding of churches.[192]

As the Camp Meeting and local revivals became less effective in reaching non-Christian adults an increasing proportion of accessions to church membership came from the Sunday school. In 1846, 2,603 conversions were reported by Sunday schools; in 1870, 48,276; and in 1895, 132,607.[193]

In cities many mission Sunday schools engaged in varied types of social service. Under the leadership of Bishop Vincent as president the Kindergarten of the Church Association, formed in 1893, promoted the establishment of kindergartens in city churches, which served the double purpose of providing wholesome activities for children from the crowded streets and tenements, and of helping to relieve pressure on the first grade of congested public schools. Some mission Sunday schools not only maintained kindergartens but also boys' and girls' clubs, sewing classes, and fresh-air outings.

Rise of the Youth Movement

The new interest in the Christian nurture of children which found expression in the movement for better Sunday schools was also manifested in increased concern for more systematic and effective religious instruction and training of youth. Francis E. Clark, the New England Congregational pastor generally agreed to have been the founder of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, said concerning its genesis in 1881:

> It may be fair to say that it originated with no one in particular, but with many in general. Ten thousand pastors in ten thousand churches . . . felt the need of some systematic and efficient method of Christian nurture. Hundreds were experimenting along different lines, but all these lines converged at one center, a heartfelt desire to train the children and youth for God.[194]

John H. Twombly of the New England Conference was one of the pioneers in agitation for youth organization within the Methodist Episcopal Church. He formed a local young people's society in his church and memorialized the

1864 General Conference to approve the organization of young people's societies in the churches "for their social, intellectual, and moral improvement." [195] Years later he again urged the matter before a Methodist convention held in Boston on March 3, 1887. At a second convention, convened on October 26, 1887, in First Church, Boston, the Young People's Christian League was organized. A principal object was to bring together in a single organization the various local societies, guilds, bands, and lyceums that had been formed in different localities throughout the Church. About a hundred churches were represented by some three hundred and fifty young people. At the first annual meeting of the League at Tremont Street Church, Boston, October 17, 1888, 175 local societies were reported with 8,000 members.[196]

Of other Methodist youth organizations formed during the twenty-five years following 1864 four attained more than local prominence. In the Fifty-first Street Church, Philadelphia, Thomas B. Neely organized a Church Lyceum, the chief activity of which was "the systematic reading of approved books." Soon Lyceums were formed in other Philadelphia churches and at the 1872 General Conference a memorial was presented asking for official recognition. Although favorably received, no action was taken. The memorial again came to General Conference in 1876 and recognition was granted. The Lyceum won considerable support in the Church at large and was influential in increasing the reading of Christian literature by Methodist young people.[197]

John H. Vincent was not satisfied with the Lyceum as a young people's organization. He felt that it did not meet the needs of youth and proposed a society with broader aims that would provide for a "symmetrical spiritual and intellectual culture." A society was organized to be known as the Oxford League, the aim of which was the "reproduction of the Oxford Club of 1729-37." As restated, the purpose included the study of the Bible, deepening of the religious life, reading of the Christian classics, and promotion of practical Christian service. The League received wide endorsement and several hundred local chapters were formed. Gradually many of the Lyceum groups were absorbed by the League.[198]

At the Des Plaines Camp Meeting, near Chicago, in August, 1883, under the influence of the preaching of Dr. and Mrs. Asbury Lowrey on entire sanctification the Young People's Methodist Alliance was organized for the promotion of holiness among young people. By July, 1889, there were 410 local societies and nearly 17,000 members.[199] In Michigan in November, 1887, a group of ministers organized the Young People's Society of Detroit Conference, the name of which in December, 1888, was changed to the Methodist Young People's Union. Objectives were the social and religious culture of the youth of the Conference. At the North Ohio Conference session in September, 1888, a resolution was passed calling for "a great connectional young people's organization" to be formed by the consolidation of all existing societies. Later in the year the North Ohio Conference Methodist Episcopal

Alliance was organized and local groups formed in all Districts of the Conference.[200]

At this stage it had become evident that such multiplicity of young people's societies in the Church tended to confusion and disunity and that effort should be made to harmonize and unify the youth program of the Church. A conference on unification was proposed by the Young People's Methodist Alliance. On the invitation of B. F. Dimmick, pastor of Central Church, Cleveland, the conference was held on May 14-15, 1889, participated in by thirty-one representatives of all groups except the Lyceum. At the end of two days' prayer, earnest discussion, and conference, a basis of union was agreed upon and unanimous decision reached to organize the Epworth League, to be governed by a Board of Control which, it was later determined by General Conference, should consist of fifteen members appointed by the Bishops, one of whom should be a Bishop who should be president of the Epworth League and of the Board of Control, and of one member from each General Conference District. [201]

At the first meeting of the Board of Control, held in Chicago on February 6-7, 1890, organization was completed. The local constitution as finally approved by the General Conference declared the object of the Epworth League to be:

> to promote intelligent and loyal piety in the young members and friends of the Church; to aid them in the attainment of purity of heart and in constant growth in grace, and to train them in works of mercy and help.

Active members were constituted by election of the local chapter and subscription to the pledge:

> I will earnestly seek for myself, and do what I can to help others attain, the highest New Testament standard of experience and life. I will abstain from all those forms of worldly amusement forbidden by the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and I will attend, so far as possible, the religious meetings of the Chapter and the Church, and take some active part in them.

The program provided that the work of the League should be carried on through four departments: (1) Department of Spiritual Work; (2) Department of World Evangelism; (3) Department of Mercy and Help; (4) Department of Literary and Social Work. Under each department specific areas of activity were suggested. The program of activities as a whole was much more comprehensive than that of any of the earlier organizations,* and was well adapted to the interests and needs of young people.[202]

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* Frank O. Erb: "The formation of the [Epworth] League was a criticism of the inadequacy of the Christian Endeavor ideal of religion and of the methods to be employed in developing the religious life. . . . There is an utter absence of all explicit reference to brotherly helpfulness, which Jesus declared to be a full half of true religion. The Epworth League was organized on an all-round conception of life, including not alone the devotional, but the literary, recreational, and philanthropic elements as well."—*The Development of the Young People's Movement,* p. 76.

The 1892 General Conference recognized the Epworth League as the official young people's society of the Church, and approved its general constitution with revisions. The constitution provided that the Executive Secretary should be elected by the Board of Control. For this office the board selected Edwin A. Schell of the New York Conference.[203]

The growth of the new organization was phenomenal. Within five years 13,500 Epworth League chapters were organized, in which more than 900,000 members were enrolled.[204] The organ of the League, *The Epworth Herald,** whose first issue appeared in June, 1890, closed its third year with more than 75,000 subscribers, said at that time to have been "the largest circulation of any denominational weekly in the world."

It cannot be said that the founding of these several youth organizations and their merging into the Epworth League in itself constituted in any real sense a youth movement. In each case the initiative was taken entirely by adults. It was a movement of and by adults for young people and as such provided a means by which a youth movement might be developed. Some of the officers of the constituent societies were young ministers; many of them were men of middle age or beyond. The time when the elders in the Church were ready to share responsibility for leadership with youth had not yet come. But the Epworth League did give young people a place in the life and activities of the Church such as had never before been accorded them and it provided a channel through which their religious enthusiasm, energy, and zeal found expression.

The Board of Education

However interested in education early American Methodism may have been,† its earlier efforts cannot be compared with the wholehearted commitment of the Methodist Episcopal Church to a churchwide educational program from 1845 on. In their 1860 address the Bishops suggested that the General Conference constitute a "General Educational Board" for the Church and the Committee on Education recommended that this be done, but no action was taken by the Conference.[205] In 1868, as an outgrowth of the Centenary Celebration the General Conference created "The Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The Centenary offerings amounted to some eight million dollars, of which by far the larger part was devoted to local objects. However, two permanent funds were set up—the

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* In the years preceding the organization of the Epworth League several papers for the youth of the Church were in circulation. One especially, *Our Youth,* served as the Church's paper for young people, and was, naturally enough, adopted as the temporary official organ of the Epworth League upon its organization. Also in existence were the *Young People's Herald,* a monthly periodical issued since November, 1885, under the auspices of the Young People's Methodist Alliance. In 1889 a monthly periodical was initiated by the Methodist Young People's Union. When the League received from the Book Committee in February, 1890, authority to issue its own official publication it chose to merge these three independent magazines into one, which became the *Epworth Herald.*—John Helmers, "History of the Epworth League," unpublished thesis, M.A., pp. 8, 21, 60.

† On the early Methodist attitude toward education consult Vol. II, 400-414. For the worldwide program of education see Vol. VI.

"General Education Fund" in amount of $9,155., and the "Sunday School Children's Fund," $56,674. Primarily for the purpose of administering and augmenting these funds a board of twelve "trustees" was constituted*: two Bishops, four ministers, and six laymen to be elected by General Conference. Headquarters were in New York. The Conference made no provision for executive leadership but in December, 1869, the board elected, as Corresponding Secretary, C. C. North, a prominent layman of New York City, who continued to serve in that capacity until 1872.[206]

The Board of Education was chartered by the Legislature of New York in 1869. In 1872 General Conference authorized a full-time executive and elected as Corresponding Secretary Erastus O. Haven.† In 1874, because of the prevailing depression he accepted election as chancellor of Syracuse University, but continued to give attention "to the more pressing duties of the educational secretaryship without compensation." [207] At the suggestion of the board the General Conference of 1876 did not elect a Corresponding Secretary.

The interests centering in the establishment, maintenance, and endowment of an educational institution were chiefly local and sectional. The task of creating a sense of churchwide responsibility and of incorporating the many individual colleges and universities into a connectional system encountered many practical difficulties. Not until the eighties, under the administration of Daniel P. Kidder, did the board begin to operate effectively on a denominational scale.

In March, 1881, Kidder began his service as Corresponding Secretary. His interest in education had been lifelong. In 1858, as a member of the faculty of Garrett Biblical Institute, he had taken a leading part in the organization of the Ministerial Education Society of the Northwest. He became a director, accepted the corresponding secretaryship, prepared printed promotional materials, and in its behalf addressed several Annual Conferences.[208]

The 1872 General Conference "recommended that the second Sunday in June be every-where observed as 'Children's Day'; and . . . a collection be taken in the Sunday school" for the Sunday-school Children's Fund. During the first decade general indifference to the observance of Children's Day prevailed throughout the Church, attributed by the board to "the inertia and lethargy of editors, preachers, superintendents, and people." Following his election to the secretaryship Kidder prepared the first official program for the observance of the day. For lack of such a program there had been no general understanding of the purpose of the day's observance. Year by year the programs, widely circulated, emphasized the objects of Children's Day, explained the mission of the board, and greatly helped to create interest throughout the Church. By 1885 receipts for the Children's Day Fund had largely increased, and the day had become generally observed by the churches in the United States, and to some extent also in Germany, Switzerland, Mexico, India, Japan, and Liberia.[209]

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* The duty of the Board shall be to receive and securely invest the principal of the Centenary Educational Fund, and to appropriate the interest only, from time to time, . . . [to certain designated purposes]." Future contributions were to be held in trust to aid needy young people in securing an education or for other purposes designated by the donors. It was also made the duty of the board to receive, invest, and augment the "Sunday-School Children's Fund," appropriating the interest to assist "Sunday-School scholars in obtaining a more advanced education."—*G. C. Journal,* 1868, p. 321.

† Erastus O. Haven (1820-81) was born in Boston, Mass., of old New England stock. At the age of eleven he became imbued with the idea of becoming a minister. At twenty-two he graduated from Wesleyan University and at twenty-six became president and professor of natural sciences in Amenia Seminary. In 1848 he was received on trial in the New York Conference and for five years (1848-53) served in the pastorate in New York City. He was professor of Latin in the University of Michigan in 1853 and the next year was made professor of English language, literature, and history. For seven years (1856-63) he was editor of *Zion's Herald.* In the latter year he was elected president of the University of Michigan, which he resigned in 1869 to become president of Northwestern University. The 1880 General Conference elected him to the episcopacy. From 1858 to 1863 he was a member of the Massachusetts State Board of Education.—Theodore L. Flood and John W. Hamilton, Eds., *Lives of Methodist Bishops,* pp. 501-08.

The original plan of organization, approved by the 1868 General Conference, provided for Annual Conference Educational Societies, auxiliary to the Board of Education, but during the early years few societies were organized. Societies, if incorporated, were permitted to appropriate or lend funds received by them. The board's report for 1883 included an incomplete list of auxiliary societies, with dates of their organization, funds distributed, and students assisted.[210] The board and its auxiliaries furnished aid in 1882 to 374 students in amount exceeding $20,000. From the beginning of their activities, they had distributed more than $261,000., to 1,824 students.

Beginning with 1884 the importance of "a greater sense of unity and integral power" in the Church's educational system was stressed, and after this year little mention was made in the board's reports of Conference auxiliaries. [211]

In 1887 the board chose as Secretary Daniel A. Goodsell of the New York East Conference. In the following year he was elected to the episcopacy. The General Conference again made the Corresponding Secretary a General Conference officer and elected Charles H. Payne.

During the period 1873-95 the board made 6,593 loans to students to aid in their education, amounting to $603,579. Of this amount in 1895 $62,760. had been repaid.[212]

The Board of Education was an important ally of the Missionary Society, especially in rendering assistance in the education of missionaries. In its report for 1889 the board stated:

> Besides this work, the Board is sending funds direct to nearly all the schools of our foreign missions, to aid in raising up an educated native ministry. The last year it has thus aided a goodly number of young men in Japan, China, India, Italy, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Mexico. It will thus be seen that no work of the Church and no contributions to any of all its worthy causes help more directly or more efficiently to carry forward the Church's missionary enterprise, than do the work and funds of the Board of Education.[213]

The 1892 General Conference considerably enlarged the scope of the board's work, and more clearly defined its relation to the educational institutions and interests of the Church. The colleges and universities of the Church were federated and brought under the supervisory care of the board. A University Senate was created, whose members were appointed by the Bishops, charged with the responsibility of determining "the minimum equivalent of academic work in our Church institutions for graduation to the Baccalaureate degree." Only those institutions which met the requirements were to be "designated as colleges in the official lists of the educational institutions of the Church." The report of the board to the 1896 General Conference stated:

> Since . . . [1893] the Board has been diligently engaged in applying the standard formulated by the University Senate to all the colleges of Methodism, and gratefully informs the Church at large that the colleges have, with entire unanimity, cheerfully and thankfully accepted the prescribed requirements, and nearly all of them have already shaped their courses in accordance with the new standard.[214]

The Tract Society

Reminders of Wesley's zeal for publication and circulation of tracts again and again pricked the conscience of the Church. In 1845 Bishops Soule, Hedding, Waugh, and Janes addressed an appeal to the Annual Conferences in behalf of wider and more efficient distribution of tracts:

> Some seem to have supposed, because we have not had since the year 1836 a formal organization of a Tract Society, with its collecting agents, its treasury, etc., that . . . they are excused from making any special efforts to sustain the cause among us.[215]

The appeal proposed that an auxiliary society for the distribution of tracts be formed in each church. Three hundred and fifty-two "excellent tracts" were said to be available. The General Conference at successive sessions gave emphatic instructions to the Book Agents to reduce the prices of religious books so that "specially cheap books, adapted for wide popular circulation and effect," might be made available.[216] While these measures were not without influence the advance was not satisfactory to Daniel P. Kidder, as "Editor of Sunday-school Books and Tracts," and others, and a vigorous appeal was made to the 1852 General Conference to establish a tract society for the Church. The Conference responded favorably and on November 10, 1852, the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized with a board of managers and an executive.* Abel Stevens was elected Corresponding Secretary. During the first year he gave a large part of his time to Annual Conference visitation. Auxiliaries were formed in all but two Conferences in the United States and thirteen Conference agents were appointed.[217]

In 1854 Stevens resigned as Corresponding Secretary and Jesse T. Peck was elected as his successor, continuing in office until 1856. During the quadrennium 1852-56 tract distribution was prosecuted more aggressively than for many years. The 1856 General Conference determined not to elect a Corresponding Secretary of the Tract Society, assigning the duties of the office to James Floy, editor of the *National Magazine.* In 1860 Tract Society publications by General Conference action were placed "under the supervision of the editor of Sunday-school books," Daniel Wise. He continued in the office for three quadrenniums. During these years responsibility for tract distribution increasingly devolved upon the pastors of the Church, with less use made of hired colporteurs.[218]

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* An act of incorporation of the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was passed by the New York Legislature on April 15, 1854.—*Annual Report of the Tract Society . . .* , 1854, pp. 7 f.

The 1872 General Conference combined the Tract Society with the Sunday School Union, thus returning it to the same status as in 1844. John H. Vincent was elected editor for the two organizations. At the same time the Conference recommended more special and thorough supervision of "the preparation, publication, and systematic distribution of our tract literature."[219] Vincent soon discovered, as Kidder had found twenty-five years earlier, that the combination of jobs imposed more responsibilities than he could efficiently care for and asked for aid. In June, 1872, James M. Freeman[*] of the Newark Conference was employed by the Book Agents as assistant editor. At the close of his first quadrennium, Vincent reported that he had rendered invaluable service in revising the tract list and in editing new tracts. From quadrennium to quadrennium a large number of new tracts were issued: 1868-72, 235; 1880-84, 272; 1884-88, 477.[220]

It seemed impossible for the General Conference to follow a consistent policy as regards responsibility for publication and distribution of tracts and in 1880 the Tract Society was again separately organized. But in 1888, when Jesse L. Hurlbut succeeded Vincent as Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday School Union the General Conference also elected him to the secretaryship of the Tract Society. He was re-elected in 1892.

Tract Society income reached its highest point for the period in the quadrennium 1892-96, $83,230. During these four years the Society printed 5,485,000 copies of tracts, and made cash grants to overseas missions amounting to $31,489.[221] This was a comparatively small contribution at a time when the annual budget of the Missionary Society was approximately a million dollars, but when it is considered that no part of the missionary appropriation was then available for literature production and that the Tract Society grant made possible the printing of millions of pages in more than a score of vernaculars it assumes great importance. In the area of domestic missions also the Society rendered significant service. Through pastors and missionaries tracts were distributed to immigrants in a dozen languages—German, Swedish, Danish, Finnish, French, Italian, Spanish, Bohemian, Polish, Hebrew, Chinese, Japanese. Grants were also made to foreign language publication agencies, such as the Swedish Book Concern, the Norwegian Publishing Society, and the Pacific Japanese Mission.[222]

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[*] James M. Freeman (1827-1900), as assistant editor, had various duties other than his tract work. During his first quadrennium in the office, as reported by Vincent, he "visited 30 Annual Conferences, 30 conventions, institutes, and normal classes, and traveled 32,500 miles," as well as carrying important responsibility for foreign correspondence and for editorial work. He also served for several years as Recording Secretary of the Tract Society.—*G. C. Journal,* 1876, p. 596; *Minutes, Newark Conference,* 1900, pp. 83 f.

The Methodist Book Concern*

Among the institutions of the Methodist Episcopal Church there are few, if any, whose educational influence has been more far-reaching than that of the Book Concern. The primary object of the founders was not to establish a money-making commercial institution but to create and distribute a Christian literature to meet the needs of the Church and the nation. Its founders conceived its first and most important objective as "the promotion of Christian education; . . . the spread of Christianity by the publication, sale, and distribution of moral and religious literature."[223]

The first book published was John Wesley's *Christian's Pattern,* abridged from Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ.* It was followed by the Hymn Book, The Methodist *Discipline, Saints' Everlasting Rest,* Wesley's *Primitive Physic,* and the *Arminian Magazine.* Gradually the scope of the publication list was broadened until it came to include volumes of sermons, books on the Bible, theology, general and church history, preaching, moral philosophy and, eventually, a still wider range of religious subjects. To a limited extent books in the field of general literature also were included.

From the beginning a preponderant element in the publication program were tracts, pamphlets, and books for the Christian teaching of children and youth. Every Sunday school was expected to have a library well stocked with books for children, young people, and adults. In its first annual report (1828) the Sunday School Union stated:

> Already they (that is, the Methodist Book Concern) have published for the use of our schools 111 editions of 33 different and appropriate books, besides Sunday-school hymn books, Bibles, Testaments, and Scripture Questions. It is estimated that 773,000 books have been printed for the use of our Sabbath schools since our organization, besides 154,000 numbers of the Child's Magazine, and several hundred thousand tickets for rewards and other purposes.[224]

The teaching literature of the Methodist Episcopal Church, following the division of 1845, included the *Youth's Magazine,* in which a systematic course of Bible lessons and supplemental materials for religious instruction was printed; the *Sunday School Advocate* which supplied both teaching material and story paper features; the *Sunday School Journal,* established in 1860; and the *Senior Quarterly,* begun in 1862.

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* The Methodist Book Concern was founded in 1789, two years after the establishment of the United States government. John Dickins was appointed as the first Book Steward with headquarters in Philadelphia. After nine years' zealous, self-sacrificing labor Dickins was carried off by yellow fever. Ezekiel Cooper, much against his will, was commandeered (1799) to succeed him. In 1804 the business was transferred to New York and in the course of twenty-one years occupied rented quarters in five different locations. Not until 1820, when Nathan Bangs was made Publishing Agent, did the Book Concern begin to prosper in a large way. In this same year a branch was established in Cincinnati and in 1839 was separately chartered as the Western Methodist Book Concern. The two corporations remained separate until 1912.

The financial strength of the Book Concern made it possible to establish Church papers when postal services were so inadequate that regional journals were a necessity if the people were to be supplied with weekly periodicals. In 1845 the *Christian Advocate,* Methodism's first official weekly, was in its nineteenth year. Already four other weeklies had been established: the *Western Christian Advocate* in 1834 at Cincinnati; the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate* (semi-official) in 1833; the *Christliche Apologete* in 1839 at Cincinnati; and the *Northern Christian Advocate* in 1844 at Auburn, New York. In 1852, within three years of the discovery of gold in California, the *California Christian Advocate* was authorized by General Conference. This same year the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* was begun in Chicago. Others were founded in rapid succession: the *Central Christian Advocate* in 1856 at St. Louis; the *Pacific Christian Advocate,* at Portland, first issued independently but made official in 1856; the *Methodist Advocate Journal,* Atlanta (later Athens, Tenn.), taken over by General Conference in 1868; and the *Southwestern Christian Advocate,* New Orleans, organ of the work among Negroes.[225]

The religious and educational influence of this remarkable family of weekly periodicals was far-reaching and pervasive, extending beyond the circle of church members into the life of many thousands of communities. The aggregate circulation of the periodicals as early as 1866 was in excess of one million copies and increased with the growth of population. Subscribers were scattered not only over the East but throughout the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, the new states and territories of the far West, and the entire length of the Pacific coast. The subject matter of the *Advocates* was by no means limited to religion, the *Christian Advocate,* particularly, covering a wide range of general subjects. From the first its running head read: "Devoted to Religion, Morality, Science, Domestic Economy and General Intelligence."

The *Methodist Quarterly Review,* the lineal descendant of the *Methodist Magazine*—American Methodism's first periodical—was a scholarly, critical journal of high rank. While its appeal was to a more limited group of readers it rendered a valuable service to the better-educated ministers and laymen of the Church. The *Ladies' Repository,* published at Cincinnati, beginning in 1840, regarded for many years as the leading women's magazine of the nation, exerted a significant cultural influence both within and without Methodism. It reached at one time a circulation of 40,000 copies. A mistake was made by the General Conference of 1876 in attempting to adapt it to a still wider public under the title of the *National Repository.* Its circulation quickly declined and in 1880 it was discontinued. The German language monthly *Haus und Herd,* which began publication in January, 1873, circulated widely among German Methodists and rendered a valuable service in interpreting American social and cultural ideals.* The influence of the Methodist Book Concern, declared Abel Stevens in 1886,

> in the diffusion of popular literature and the creation of a taste for reading among the great masses of the denomination, has been incalculable. . . . If Methodism had made no other contribution to the progress of knowledge and civilization in the New World than that of this powerful institution, this alone would suffice to vindicate its claim to the respect of the enlightened world.[226]

The colleges and theological seminaries would have been straitened in their interpretation of the Bible and of Methodism had it not been for the comprehensive list of journals, biographies, Bible commentaries, theological works, and histories of Methodism made available to them by the Methodist Book Concern. In this particular, as in the other ways that have been mentioned, its educational service to the Church was inestimable.

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* Other monthlies which had only an ephemeral existence were the *National Magazine,* for general popular circulation, begun in January, 1853, and discontinued in June, 1859; and *Golden Hours,* an illustrated young people's magazine, begun in 1869 and discontinued in 1880.

III

The Church Faces Its Missionary Task

1845-95

"ARE OUR PREACHERS as ready to pioneer the Western wilderness as were the men of other years? Is there as much of the spirit of self-sacrifice among them now as formerly?" With such questions as these the Missionary Society challenged the Church as it faced the task imposed by the Great Immigration. "Formerly," said the Corresponding Secretary in the *Thirtieth Annual Report* (1848-49), the home missions program

> included destitute places in the older States and settlements, and extended to the borders of a few of the Western and South-western States; now it reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Only a few years ago, the Rocky Mountains formed a barrier that might not be passed, except by trappers and explorers; now, thousands of families pass over them with little or no apprehension. . . . Our foreign emigration, too, is almost incredible. It has been calculated that not less than a thousand a day will enter our ports the current year. By far the greater number of these will, probably, seek their adopted homes in the Valley of the Mississippi, or beyond the Rocky Mountains. . . .
>
> This development of facts will show, that the field for missionary enterprise in the West is almost without limits. Its population is increasing with unexampled rapidity, and in the course of a very few years will contain a hundred millions of inhabitants. How these multitudes of immortal spirits are to be supplied with the Word of God, . . . is a question over which the Church cannot slumber without criminality. It is a question, the solution of which admits of no delay.[1]

To this challenge the Bishops in their address of 1852 added their exhortation:

> Let the Church see in these crowds of immortal souls the measure of its duty. Not only does Christianity loudly call to continued and increased action in behalf of their religious interests, but patriotism admonishes the thoughtful to lose no time in bringing to bear on them the most effectual element to make them good citizens, by making them good Christians.[2]

Insistent calls came as well from isolated missionaries and from settlers anxious for churches and schools in new communities. From the Wabasha

Mission, Wisconsin Conference, including a region on both sides of the Mississippi, 150 miles from south to north on the west side and from La Crosse thirty miles north on the east side, a lone missionary wrote to the *Christian Advocate* in the spring of 1854:

> The country is filling up with people very fast. Some two or three hundred pass up the river on steamboats every day, and probably as many more by land. These emigrants scatter over Minnesota and Northwest Wisconsin, and from present appearances at least 10,000 emigrants will have gone into these districts by the close of the season; and I judge that several hundred of these are members, or have been, of our church, and should be cared for by our Missionary Society. But a population of from 10,000 to 20,000, scattered over a district of country three hundred by one hundred and fifty miles, requires more than double the missionary force we are now able to put into it. . . . New settlements are now being formed from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles west of the Mississippi, and at all points between that and the river. These call for more men to harvest the field now ripe before us.[3]

While the need for domestic missions rested more heavily upon the mind of the Church the cause of the foreign field was not without strong advocates. Its challenge was voiced more effectively by Stephen Olin than by any other. Again and again he lifted his voice to criticize the little that was being done by Methodism as compared with other denominations, and to plead for consideration of the religious needs of the non-Christian world. In 1843 he declared:

> There is something fearfully ominous in the recent history of our Church: distancing all others in progress, and nearly doubling any other in numbers . . . and yet, in this most missionary age, contributing scarcely ten cents a member for all missionary purposes, foreign and domestic, . . . doing almost nothing in the great work of converting the heathen, and, after having abandoned a part of that work already, faltering and taking counsel if it be not advisable to give up the rest . . . .[4]

Responsibility for the conditions he described, Olin felt, rested upon the ministry of the Church among whom there had been "a great decline in the true missionary spirit." The redemption "of the heathen world," he asserted, had "never been brought home to the heart and conscience of the Church," nor was this now being done.

> One seldom hears, either in the pulpit or the prayer-meeting, a full, fervent supplication for the salvation of perishing nations . . . . Once in a year, perhaps, on a set occasion, a sermon is preached on the subject of missions, and the preacher, a little conscience-smitten, or ashamed to go to conference without something to show, gathers up the slender offerings of the people, who make them in a yet colder spirit.[5]

For eight years a few missionary-minded leaders had been insistently urging the establishment of a China mission.* In 1835 the Missionary Lyceum of

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* See Vol. I, 301.

Wesleyan University, through a committee consisting of B. F. Tefft, Daniel P. Kidder, and Erastus Wentworth, issued an appeal to the Church to "begin and continue to do something for China," which as a field for missions offered opportunity in "probably more particulars, and to a greater extent, than any other nation upon the globe." [6]

But during the thirties and early forties the Church did little more than mark time in its missionary program. The economic depression of 1837-41 * had severely reduced the income of the Missionary Society, necessitating reduction of appropriations. Preoccupation of the denomination with the issues of slavery and abolition lessened concern for other important interests, including the missionary cause. Division of the Church brought complications and caused temporary reduction of income. In the later years of the decade the failing health of the Corresponding Secretary was reflected in less aggressive missionary leadership.

In a review of the *Twenty-seventh Annual Report* Stephen Olin called attention to the fact that the Church's mission in South America had been "abandoned"; that the Oregon Mission had "been reduced to three or four missionaries"; and that of the fifteen missionaries in Liberia nearly all were "inhabitants of the country, and engaged within the colony," only two or three making attempt "to reach the native population." If one of the foreign missionaries of the Church was preaching "the Gospel in any other than the English language," or if one had translated the Bible "to aid in the diffusion of Gospel light," he declared, he was "not aware of it." Furthermore,

> Every evangelical Church in the land has gratefully recognized its obligations to co-operate with its Savior in asserting his empire over the heathen, still perishing, though purchased with his blood. . . . We are already near the close of the first fifty years of this missionary century, of this age of missionary sacrifices and successes; and yet the Methodist Episcopal Church, second to none in numbers and resources, has yet to send its first missionary to the heathen world across the sea, has still to form its plans and settle preliminaries, ... Thousands, we believe, there are among us fully alive to the reproach and the guilt of this interminable delay. . . . We protest . . . the time has come when the Church *must* act.[7]

The Church Organizes for Action

One difficulty was that the Church as a whole was not effectively related to the missionary program—particularly to the initiation and maintenance of missions in foreign fields. Each Annual Conference was essentially a missionary society in relation to its own area but its sense of responsibility did not extend beyond its boundaries. The Annual Conferences, other than the New York Conference, had no bond of connection with the Missionary Society. Its original constitution as approved by the General Conference of 1820 provided that each Annual Conference should have "the privilege of appointing one vice president from its own body," but this limited provision was not taken advantage of. While the Society repeatedly emphasized that responsibility for establishing and maintaining missions inhered in the Annual Conferences no steps were taken during the early decades toward making the Society's organization organically representative of the Conferences.

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* *Ibid.*, pp. 298 f.

ANNUAL CONFERENCES RELATED TO MISSIONARY PROGRAM

The General Conference of 1844 enacted legislation intended to remedy this defect by making provision for a new group designated as the General Missionary Committee, an interlocking organization with the Missionary Society. The authorization read:

> The Annual Conferences shall be divided into as many mission districts as there are effective Superintendents*; and there shall be a committee, consisting of one from each mission district, to be appointed by the Bishops, and to be called the *General Missionary Committee.*[8]

The committee was empowered, acting "jointly with the Board of Managers, the Corresponding Secretary, and the Treasurer," to fix the amount of the annual appropriations, and "the division of said amount between foreign and domestic missions"; in conjunction with the Bishop presiding in the New York Conference and the Board of Managers to "determine what fields shall be occupied or continued as foreign missions, and the number of persons to be employed on said missions" and also to "estimate the sums necessary for the support of each mission, subject to the approval of the presiding Bishop." In addition it was authorized to "determine the amount for which each bishop shall draw for the domestic missions of those Conferences over which he shall preside, and he shall not draw on the Treasurer for more than said amount."[9]

This legislation accomplished two things, both important. First, it placed responsibility for determining the mission fields of the Church and the amounts apportioned to the missions—both domestic and foreign—in a group directly representative of the whole Church, along with the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, thus relating all of the Annual Conferences to policy making and program planning.† It gave missions, Abel Stevens said, "a more comprehensive . . . national, character." Even more significant, it gave missions a churchwide character, making the total missionary program a concern of the entire Church. In creating the General Committee the legislation lessened the powers previously exercised independently by the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, and Bishops, and the Annual Conferences. No longer could the Board of Managers alone determine the total missionary appropriation and its division between foreign and domestic missions. No longer could a Bishop with approval of an Annual Conference establish a new mission, appoint to it as many missionaries as he chose, and draw on the Board for the support which the missionary committee of the Conference judged necessary. No longer could an Annual Conference, without consultation with the Society, establish as many missions within its borders as were thought to be desirable and fix the amount to be appropriated to them.*

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* The number of Mission Districts changed from quadrennium to quadrennium up to 1872 as the number of Bishops changed. Thereafter quadrennially the number was set in the constitution: twelve, 1872-84; thirteen, 1884-88; fourteen, 1888-96.

† Minor changes affecting the General Committee were made by the General Conferences of 1848, 1852, 1856, and 1864. In 1868 the General Conference stipulated that the Board of Managers might designate as members a number from the Board equal to the number of Mission Districts, and required that the Bishops be notified to attend the meetings of the General Committee to advise in all matters before it. The revised constitution of 1872 provided that all Bishops should be members of the General Committee; and that representatives of the Mission Districts should be elected by General Conference on nomination by the delegates of the Annual Conferences within each District.

During the first few years the General Committee seemed not to take its responsibility seriously. Meetings were brief and no detailed consideration was given to the needs of the respective missions. At the 1850 meeting the committee was in session for only two days, in the afternoon of the second day adjourning "to report . . . appropriations to the Board of Managers for their concurrence." [10]

The procedure followed in 1852 in determining the appropriations, as described by Durbin in the *Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Missionary Society,* was first to take up the foreign missions in order, ascertain the requirements of each, and set down the necessary total. Then to consider the missions to the Germans in the United States and the amount necessary for each Conference. Next to take up the missions to the foreign populations other than German and ascertain the amount for each. Then the Indian missions were similarly reviewed. Finally, the domestic English language missions were studied and the amount required by each Annual Conference in order to maintain its own missions was decided upon. The appropriations for the maintenance of existing work having been thus determined the question was raised, *"Shall we extend our missionary work abroad?"* In the discussion which followed, the committee, the Bishops, and Board of Managers agreed that the general sentiment of the Church favored the extension of the foreign missions and the opening of new missions could and would be financially sustained.[11]

Within a few years decided advance was shown. At the 1860 annual meeting of the General Missionary Committee,† for example, six Bishops, six representatives of Mission Districts, and six members of the Board were in session for four days. Dr. John P. Durbin, as Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, presented in detail the needs and prospects of each of the foreign missions, laying before the committee the schedules of appropriations which had been prepared by the respective subcommittees of the Board on the several fields. Next, the representatives of Mission Districts set forth in detail their missionary needs. Appropriations to each foreign mission field, to the German language missions in the United States and foreign language missions other than German, Indian missions, and to each Annual Conference for missions within its bounds were then taken up, given consideration, and voted.[12]

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* See Vol. I, 286 f.

† An original provision that the committee should meet annually in New York City was later changed to provide for meetings in different cities, and in the same city not more than once in four years. It became the custom for the committee to convene each year for most of a week in some one of the larger cities of the nation, with deliberative sessions during forenoons, sub-committee meetings in the afternoons, and public meetings in the evenings addressed by prominent leaders of the Church. —Abel Stevens, *Supplementary History of American Methodism . . . ,* pp. 61 f.

As the years passed the committee gradually assumed increased responsibility in determining not only appropriations but also matters of policy and of administration. A review of the *Minutes* for the later years shows an increasing number of matters referred by the Board of Managers to the committee for decision.

GENERAL CONFERENCE ASSUMES CONTROL

While the creation of the General Missionary Committee was a long step in the direction of tying in the Church as a whole to the missionary program, the General Conference was not yet satisfied. Although it elected the Corresponding Secretary quadrennially, it was not otherwise related to missionary program administration. The Society was required by its constitution to make a quadrennial report "of its transactions . . . and the state of its funds" but was not in any other way amenable to the General Conference. The constitution as revised in 1868 provided that the Society should carry on its work "under such rules and regulations as the General Conference . . . may from time to time prescribe." [13] But this action, the 1872 General Conference felt, did not go far enough. Its Committee on Benevolent Societies* pointed out that so long as the whole management of the Society was vested in a Board elected by the members, "scattered widely in all parts of the country," the majority of whom could not participate in the election of Board members, possibility existed of change of management and control of the Society's resources by local combinations. Besides, the committee felt that the

> General Conference, as the supreme legislative authority of the Church, and having in charge all its great interests for the diffusion of Christian civilization, should have a controlling power in all the missionary operations carried on in the name and behalf of the Church.[14]

It therefore recommended that the charter be so amended as to provide for the election of the Board of Managers by the General Conference. On June 1, the recommendation having been approved, the members of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, and of the other benevolent societies of the Church, and Mission District members of the General Missionary Committee, were elected by the Conference—the first time in the history of the Church that this had been done. Finally, in 1876 the Committee on Missions prepared and General Conference adopted a revised and extended Disciplinary statement on missions.[15]

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* This committee was appointed to consider the relations of all the benevolent societies to the General Conference, and to report "whether any action is necessary, and if so what, to place them under the full control of the General Conference." The General Conference directed the Bishops to take "such measures as they may deem proper to secure by law such form of organization of the various benevolent corporations of the Methodist Episcopal Church as will place all under the full control of the General Conference."—*G. C. Journal*, 1872, pp. 295 f., 298.

THE MISSIONARY CAUSE IS ONE

The Missionary Society, in the words of its constitution, originally had been "established for the express purpose of enabling the several annual Conferences more effectually to extend their missionary labours throughout the United States and elsewhere." * This statement placed emphasis upon domestic missions as the first obligation of the Church. Stephen Olin characterized it as exhibiting an "inherent partiality for home missions." [16]

At the time of organization it was not so much an expression of partiality as it was the recognition of opportunities and needs immediately at hand so compelling as to exhaust "available resources of means and men." † By 1845 the situation was different. Methodism had vastly increased in resources of personnel and money. Yet in the eastern Conferences local Societies abundantly able to assume complete self-control continued to look to the missionary treasury for assistance and, as Olin declared,

> an application for aid . . . by any rising or waning society of five-and-twenty members, is likely to be urged upon the Board with an advocacy earnest enough to drown the Macedonian cry of the five hundred millions of heathen . . . .‡

Olin was convinced that the only way to avoid overemphasis on domestic missions was to establish a separate board for foreign missions, "responsible to God and the Church for the zealous, faithful prosecution of that one work, leaving to the present society the field which it has cultivated so long and so well." [17] Some of the partisans of domestic missions also preferred a separate board. When the Conference of 1848 met, James Porter offered a resolution calling for a distinct home missionary society. The Committee on

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* This statement of purpose remained unchanged, except for minor alterations, until 1868, when it was changed to read: "The name of this association shall be 'The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.' Its objects are charitable and religious; designed to diffuse more generally the blessings of education and Christianity, and to promote and support missionary schools and Christian missions throughout the United States and Territories, and also in foreign countries, under such rules and regulations as the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church may from time to time prescribe."—*Fiftieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1868), p. 14.

† See Vol. I, 304.

‡ The condition was somewhat similar to that prevailing in England as described by G. G. Findlay: "Being one department amongst many in a crowded agenda, [the claims of foreign missions] . . . suffer in Church assemblies from a competition, half-unconscious, perhaps; but unceasing and sometimes jealous. It must endure the delays and cautions imposed by domestic necessities, which are visible, clamorous, and close at hand. It has an inveterate and powerful enemy in the corporate selfishness characteristic of every public body that is not filled with the spirit of Jesus Christ. The balance of duty and the right perspective and proportion in the Church's vision of the world's need are hard to attain; their maintenance requires a largeness of heart and mind, a power to 'see afar off,' scarcely to be looked for in the average Church member and at the ordinary level of Christian public opinion, which in the main determines the resolutions of conferences and assemblies."—G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,* I, 62.

Missions, to whom the resolution was referred, reported that a few only of the Annual Conferences had expressed a desire for the change and that several had "manifested a strong opposition." They therefore deemed "the establishment of two distinct missionary organizations . . . inexpedient * at present." [18]

Six times during the half century 1845-95 memorials praying for the organization of separate boards of domestic and foreign missions were considered by committees and reported upon adversely. Each time the General Conference approved the action of the committee. Nevertheless, agitation continued, participated in by zealous advocates of both interests. In their report for 1880 the Secretaries assured the partisans of domestic work that "Home missions, as from the beginning, are still esteemed . . . as unsurpassed in importance by the claims of the foreign field" and called attention to the fact that, estimating upon the basis of the 1879 disbursements of the Church Extension Society, the Freedmen's Aid Society, and the Sunday School and Tract Societies, the Church would contribute in 1880 for domestic missions an aggregate of approximately $412,170. as over against the expenditure of $279,622. for foreign missions.[19]

As the General Conference of 1892 drew near discussion of the subject of division again became intensified. M'Kendree Shaw of the Central New York Conference, feeling sure that "petitions will be sent in from almost all of the fields of our world-wide missions asking for this change," in an article in the *Gospel in All Lands,* in the name of the pastors of the Church entered a strong demurrer, arguing against increased overhead expense, an additional collection, and more labor for the pastors, "without any great advantage . . . to the cause of Christianity." [20] Bishop Thoburn, on the other hand, pleaded for reorganization:

> For twenty-five years past the conviction has been steadily though slowly growing among those of our people who are interested in missionary matters that the amalgamation of home and foreign missions under one Board was a mistake at the outset, and that it must become, in the very nature of the case, a still more serious mistake with every passing year.[21]

In the interest of both domestic and foreign missions he urged two Societies. The General Committee held that the missionary cause was essentially one and refused by a vote of 24 to 18 to recommend division to the General Conference. They also declined by a vote of 24 to 16 to recommend that the Society be divided into two departments with separate collections for home and foreign missions.

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* The Committee on Missions did, however, recommend that any Annual Conference be given liberty, by two-thirds vote of its members, to organize a Conference missionary society for support of domestic missions "already established, or to be established within its own limits," provided that "such organizations shall not interfere with the collections for the Missionary Society . . . as required by the Discipline." The recommendation was adopted by General Conference but under the restrictions imposed the permissive action did not commend itself to the Annual Conferences.—"Journal of the General Conference, 1848," p. 92, in *G. C. Journals,* III.

ORGANIZATION FOR ADMINISTRATION

The legislation of 1844, which created the General Missionary Committee and defined its powers, left the administration of all missions—other than those domestic missions under the immediate jurisdiction of Annual Conferences—entirely in the hands of the Missionary Society.[*] Administrative supervision was exercised, however, not by the Society as a whole but by the Board of Managers,[†] a smaller group elected annually by the Society. As revised by the 1856 General Conference the constitution vested in the Board the entire "management and disposition of the affairs and property" of the Society, as broad and indefinite a statement of powers and functions as could have been phrased.[22]

The constitution of the Missionary Society provided that the Corresponding Secretary, the chief executive officer, should be elected by the General Conference. The Bishops, in case of vacancy in the interim between General Conferences, were empowered to appoint a Secretary. Officers of the Society, other than the Corresponding Secretary, were elected annually by the Board of Managers. They consisted of the President, who tradition decreed should be the senior Bishop; an unstipulated number of Vice Presidents, including all remaining Bishops, in order of seniority; Recording Secretary; and Treasurer. The President[‡] was the presiding officer, both of the Society and of the Board. In his absence the senior Vice President presided. Other than this, the Vice Presidents[§] had no stated functions, the office being solely honorary. From the organization of the Society the invariable custom was to elect the Senior Book Agent at New York as Treasurer and the Book Agent at Cincinnati as Assistant Treasurer[#] in order to afford the Society the accounting facilities of the Book Concern.

An increasingly important function in the Missionary Society's activities was exercised by the standing committees of the Board. Standing committees for foreign missions in 1845 were: South America, Oregon, and Africa. Other standing committees of that year were: Domestic Missions, Finance, Estimating, Legacies, Publishing, and Auditing.[23] As new foreign missions were established other regional committees were added: China, India, Europe, Japan and Korea. A primary responsibility of each regional committee was the estimating of funds required annually for the maintenance of the mission and reporting the estimate to the Board, which in turn recommended an appropriation to the General Missionary Committee. Some of the committees gave much more detailed consideration to the problems and needs of the respective mission fields for which they were responsible than did others.*

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[*] For statement on the organization of the Missionary Society and administration, 1819-44, see Vol. I, 205 ff., 210 f., 280-317.

[†] Up to 1856 the Board of Managers was a loosely constituted group. Between 1844 and 1856 thirty-two managers, all laymen, were elected annually. But in addition the constitution specified that all ordained ministers of the Church, "whether traveling or local, being members of . . . [the] Society," were "*ex officio* members of the Board of Managers." For the great majority this was a merely nominal relationship, only a few ministers living in or near the city of New York exercising the right of attendance on and participation in the meetings of the Board. In 1856 this provision was deleted. Election of the Board of Managers by members of the Society was discontinued in 1872, when their election became a function of General Conference. The constitution of 1856 provided that the Board should consist of thirty-two laymen and as many ministers, not exceeding thirty-two, as should be "determined at each annual meeting." In 1872, to conform to a new charter granted in 1869 by the Legislature of New York, the constitution fixed the number of ministerial members definitely at thirty-two.—"Journal of the General Conference, 1856," p. 302, in *G. C. Journals,* III; *G. C. Journal,* 1872, pp. 343 f.; *Thirty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1856-57), p. 11; *ibid., 54th* (1872), p. 20.

[‡] Presidents of the Board were: 1845-52, Elijah Hedding; 1852-59, Beverly Waugh; 1859-75, Thomas A. Morris; 1875-77, Edmund S. Janes; 1877-83, Levi Scott; 1883-85, Matthew Simpson; 1885-96, Thomas Bowman.

[§] Beginning with 1853 the list of Vice Presidents included a number of ministers and laymen.

[#] From 1845 to 1854, George Lane, who had already served in the office for five terms, was Treasurer; 1854-73, Thomas Carlton; 1873-80, Reuben Nelson; 1880-89, John M. Phillips; 1889-96, Sandford Hunt. The Assistant Treasurers were: 1845-61, Leroy Swormstedt; 1861-68, Adam Poe; 1868-81, Luke Hitchcock; 1881-85, John M. Walden; 1885-96, Earl Cranston.

THE MISSIONARY SECRETARIAT

Responsibility for administration of the Church's program of missions centered in the Corresponding Secretary, as the chief executive of the Missionary Society. What the Church needed at this crucial juncture was not alone a strong and skillful administrator but also an effective missionary advocate—one able to recall the Church to the missionary passion of its early decades—and a leader of broad vision and intrepid courage and faith. All of these leadership qualities were possessed in generous measure by John Price Durbin,† elected Corresponding Secretary in 1850.

On March 20 of that year, Charles Pitman,‡ who for nine years had served as Corresponding Secretary, announced to the Board of Managers his resignation, owing to illness. The Board recommended to the Bishops the appointment of Dr. Durbin. Nine years before, on the resignation of Nathan Bangs, the Board had nominated him as Secretary but the New York Conference§ had chosen instead to elect Dr. Pitman. Now again the managers turned to Dr. Durbin. The Bishops acted promptly and on April 15 he was introduced at a regular meeting of the Board as the new Corresponding Secretary. His salary was fixed at $1,550. "in addition to the use of the dwelling house."[24] It is to be doubted whether in the entire Church another could have been found so peculiarly fitted to meet the needs of the situation.

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* In 1850, for example, the South America Committee held but one meeting and gave consideration only to one question: reply to be made to certain specific inquiries raised by D. D. Lore, missionary in Buenos Aires. ("Minutes of the Committee on South America, M. S.," 1850-67, unpaged ms.) The China Committee in the same year held seven meetings in which numerous administrative matters were given consideration.—"Minutes of the China Committee, M. S.," 1846-68, unpaged ms.

† John Price Durbin (1800-76), of Methodist ancestry, was born in Bourbon County, Ky. Following a conversion experience in his eighteenth year he united with the Church and within a week was licensed to preach. Soon thereafter he was appointed to supply a Circuit. He was received on trial in the Ohio Conference in 1820. Appointed to Hamilton Station in 1821, he entered Miami University, at Oxford, twelve miles distant. In 1824, appointed as assistant pastor at Cincinnati, he continued his studies in Cincinnati College, receiving the degree of M.A. In 1826 he was elected professor of languages in Augusta College, and in 1831 chaplain of the United States Senate. By the General Conference of 1832 he was made editor of the *Christian Advocate*. From 1834 to 1845 he was president of Dickinson College. In the latter year he returned to the pastorate, serving Union and Trinity Churches in Philadelphia. When elected Corresponding Secretary he was Presiding Elder of the North Philadelphia District.—Matthew Simpson, Ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism*, pp. 318 f.; see also John A. Roche, *The Life of John Price Durbin, D.D., LL.D., with an Analysis of his Homiletical Skill and Sacred Oratory*.

‡ For biographical data concerning Charles Pitman, see Vol. I, 313*n*.

§ Up to 1844 the power to fill a vacancy in the office of Corresponding Secretary resided in the New York Conference. In that year, by amendment of the constitution of the Society, the power was transferred to the Bishops.

He was generally recognized as one of the great preachers of Methodism. The announcement that he was to preach at a given time would, anywhere in the United States, crowd the largest available place of assembly. Concerning him Bishop Thomas Bowman wrote:

> During a period of nearly forty years I heard him speak in public under greatly varying conditions. I heard him in the country village, in the large towns and cities, at the camp-meeting, at the Conference, and at great public anniversaries; and I never heard him when he did not give me valuable instruction, move my emotional nature, and leave a lasting impress on my heart.
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> I never heard a speaker who thrilled me as did Dr. Durbin, or left upon my mind . . . so many clear, solid, and abiding impressions.[25]

George R. Crooks likens Durbin to Matthew Simpson, saying that both would choose as sermon subjects "the great themes of Christianity." This custom Durbin followed as long as he continued to preach, but from the time of his election as Corresponding Secretary he stood before the Church as its chief advocate of Christian missions, pleading, persuading, inspiring Methodism to measure up to its supreme obligation, that of carrying the Gospel to the ends of the earth.

Durbin's strength as an administrator had been thoroughly tested in his eleven years as president of Dickinson College. The administrative experience and skill acquired during these years he brought to the secretaryship of the Missionary Society. Almost immediately after his induction the Society became imbued with new life and entered upon a greatly broadened and strengthened program.

Durbin, no less than Thomas Coke, envisioned the world as the subject of redemption. His zeal for the expansion of domestic missions equaled that of the most ambitious leaders of Methodism. But he could not conceive of the Church's Mission as limited to America. As soon as he was installed in office he began to insist on the obligation of the Church to extend its foreign missionary program. He rewrote the Disciplinary statement on missions and largely through his influence the new, comprehensive chapter on "Support of Missions" was adopted by General Conference. His emphasis was upon the Church's living up to its Christian obligation and every member's contributing to missions in proportion as the Lord had prospered him. From the beginning of his administration nothing more was heard of the "cent-a-week-plan" which the Board in 1846 and Secretary Pitman as recently as 1847 had declared "the very best that can be devised." In October, 1853, he was able to report "a greatly increased interest" in missions in the Annual Conferences which he had attended and an average increase in collections of "about 50 per cent." [26]

At the 1852 General Conference resolutions were approved "in relation to the enlargement or increase of our foreign fields of labor, especially naming

India, Turkey, Italy, and France." At the next meeting of the managers Durbin sought and secured the Board's compliance. On August 17, 1853, a missionary was appointed to Norway, where work had been initiated by two Norwegian sailors, and in 1854 the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society made an appropriation for a missionary to Sweden. Work in Denmark was begun in 1857. In 1866 Durbin visited these missions—counseling the missionaries concerning their programs—the first visit of a Missionary Secretary to a foreign mission field.[27]

To the monthly meetings of the Board of Managers and to the committees on the several mission fields he brought a remarkable grasp of details and accurate knowledge of cases to be considered. John A. Roche, his biographer, states:

> His reports to the Board were so clear and just as to allow little discussion, as they carried with them the force of a logical statement and of an inevitable conclusion. In the Board were business men and ministers accustomed to independent thought and expression, but it was difficult to make an issue with the secretary.[28]

Of a like tenor is Abel Stevens' testimony: "A capacity for details, practical skill, promptness, energy that never tires, . . . these . . . [are] the elements of his strength . . . ." [29] A successor in office, John M. Reid, declared that in the business affairs of the office he was "thorough, systematic, painstaking, and conscientious . . . . It was as if the great Head of the Church had made him for this very post . . . ." [30]

Four times the General Conference re-elected John P. Durbin as Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society until, finally, in 1872, because of increasing physical infirmities, he felt compelled to decline re-election. The Conference, "in behalf of the whole Church," recorded its "deep sense of the very eminent service" he had rendered "to the cause of Christ," and the Board at its meeting on June 18 adopted by unanimous vote a resolution of appreciation of his long and distinguished service, stating in part:

> While to other great and good men is due the credit of the origin and early support of our Society, . . . [we] know that his advent to the Secretaryship marked an epoch in its career. . . . Through his singleness of devotion, his judicious counsels, his comprehensive ideas and eloquent advocacy—his faith in God, in the Church, and in humanity; it has risen in great measure to its present grand proportions, and stands side by side with the foremost evangelizing agencies of Europe and America.[31]

Since the division of 1844 the entire administrative responsibility of the Missionary Society had been borne by the Corresponding Secretary.* Durbin conditioned his acceptance of the secretaryship on the election of an assistant, and David Terry* was elected as "assistant to the Corresponding Secretary." † In 1860 provision was also made for an Assistant Corresponding Secretary to "reside in the West, and labor to promote the general interests of the Society under the direction of the Board at New York." [32] For this position William L. Harris‡ was chosen. As Secretary of the General Conference of 1856 and of 1860 he was well known to the delegates. Nominated by members of the Ohio Conference delegation as a man of exceptional administrative ability, he was elected on the first ballot. He possessed, in fact, a wide range of qualifications for the position. He had an acquisitive mind, retentive memory, sound judgment, and immense capacity for work. As Assistant Secretary he was methodical, thorough, and accurate in handling the administrative details of the office. His service in presenting the missionary cause to the Annual Conferences was invaluable.

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* During the quadrennium 1840-44 there had been three co-ordinate Corresponding Secretaries. (See Vol. I, 312.) The 1844 General Conference in revising the constitution made provision for only one Corresponding Secretary (*Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1843-44], Appendix, p. 59; "Journal of the General Conference, 1844," p. 129, in *G. C. Journals,* III). No change was made by the General Conferences of 1848, 1852, and 1856.

During the quadrennium 1860-64 it was necessary for Harris to devote so much of his time to work in the office at New York that little opportunity remained for field service in the West and the western Conferences renewed their demand for secretarial service. The 1864 General Conference thereupon decided that two Assistant Secretaries were needed, the first Assistant to reside in New York, the second "in the West, at such place as the Board of Managers shall direct." Again the Ohio Conference brought forward one of its favorite sons as candidate, and Joseph M. Trimble§ was elected. But his tenure was brief. In 1868 when the question of election of a second Assistant Secretary came before the General Conference, discussion revealed wide divergence of opinion on the need of maintaining two Assistant Secretaries and on where the second should reside. Some favored Ohio, others a location "as far west as the Mississippi River," and still others the Pacific coast. After two futile ballots for second Assistant, the election was indefinitely postponed.[33] The decision was an unfortunate one. Durbin was in his sixty-eighth year and in declining health. During the preceding quadrennium the program of both domestic and foreign missions had been vastly extended but, before the 1868-72 quadrennium was well under way, receipts had begun to decrease and a serious debt to accumulate. Attempt to stem the tide and at the same time to maintain the morale of the greatly increased missionary personnel at home and abroad fell upon one man—the Assistant Secretary. As a result, the Church was not fully awakened to the peril of the situation, the decline in income continued, and vacancies in personnel in both home and foreign fields remained unfilled.[34]

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* David Terry (1808-83), born on Long Island, N. Y., was converted at sixteen years of age, imbued with the conviction "that he should have to preach." After several years as a Local Preacher, in 1831 he was received on trial in the New York Conference and appointed to the Durham Circuit. He was the means of inspiring Francis Burns to volunteer for the Liberia Mission. Finding it necessary for financial reasons to locate in 1835, he entered the employ of the House of Refuge in New York City and later, at less than half the salary, became a city missionary. By his initiative the Bethel Ship was purchased as a center for the seamen's mission. He served as Assistant to the Corresponding Secretary from 1850 to 1857. In the latter year he was made Recording Secretary, serving in that capacity for twenty-four years, 1857-80. Again in 1881-82 he was Assistant to the Corresponding Secretary, and in the latter year he was made Recording Secretary Emeritus.—*Christian Advocate,* LVIII (1883), 16 (April 19), 251.

† David Terry was succeeded as Recording Secretary by James N. FitzGerald (1881-89) and he in turn by Stephen L. Baldwin (1889-1902).

‡ William Logan Harris (1817-87) was born in Troy, Ohio. He studied in Norwalk Academy and in 1837 was admitted on trial in the Michigan Conference. His early appointments included: 1837-38, Dover (Ohio) Circuit; 1838-39, Wooster Circuit; 1839-40, Mansfield Charge; 1844-45, Delaware; 1845-46, Preparatory Department, Ohio Wesleyan University; 1846-47, Toledo; 1847-48, Norwalk; 1848-51, principal, Baldwin Institute (Berea); 1852-60, professor of chemistry and natural history, Ohio Wesleyan. He was Secretary of the General Conference for five quadrenniums. Of him J. M. Buckley said: He "possessed many of the characteristics of a statesman," and he "left the stamp of his personality ineffaceably upon the jurisprudence and the administrative and legislative departments of the church."—J. M. Buckley. *A History of Methodism in the United States,* II, 260; see also Theodore L. Flood and John W. Hamilton, Eds., *Lives of Methodist Bishops,* pp. 769 f.; *Dictionary of American Biography,* VIII, 327 f.; J. M. Buckley, "Bishop William Logan Harris," *Methodist Review,* LXX (January, 1888), 9 ff.

§ Joseph M. Trimble (1807-91), son of Allen Trimble, governor of Ohio (1821-30), was born in Woodford County, Ky. Graduated from Ohio University (Athens), he was received on trial in the Ohio Conference in 1828 contrary to the the wishes of his father, and appointed in 1829 to Muskingum Circuit, later serving as Presiding Elder of several Ohio Conference Districts. Twelve times he was elected to General Conference. For thirty-one years (1834-65) he was secretary of the Ohio Conference; for sixteen years a trustee of Ohio University at Athens; one of the founders of Ohio Wesleyan University, and for twenty years president of its board of trustees; for thirty-two years a member of the General Missionary Committee. At the time of his death he was regarded as the most widely known Methodist minister in the state of Ohio.—*Minutes, Ohio Conference,* 1891, pp. 75 f.; M. Simpson, Ed., *op. cit.,* pp. 870 f.; E. T. Nelson, Ed., *Fifty Years of History of the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio,* pp. 10, 14, 28, 256; *Christian Advocate,* LXVI (1891), 20 (May 14), 320; *ibid.,* 31 (July 30), 504.

In 1872 the General Conference, on recommendation of the Committee on Missions, made provision for three co-ordinate Corresponding Secretaries and described their duties more explicitly. They were made responsible not only for "conducting the correspondence of the Society" and promoting the interests of the missionary cause but also for "furnishing the Church with missionary intelligence" and "supervising the missionary work of the Church." On the second ballot three Secretaries were elected: Robert L. Dashiell, Thomas M. Eddy, and John M. Reid.[35]

Robert L. Dashiell * had attained prominence in the East as a popular preacher and his years as a college president had given him valuable administrative experience. He entered upon his work as Corresponding Secretary with enthusiasm and for eight years labored arduously for the promotion of missions. His colleague John M. Reid testified to his "almost irresistible power to enlist others" in service to the missionary cause and to his ability to command the time, the influence, and the money of men of means.

Thomas M. Eddy† had become widely known as editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* and later as pastor of prominent churches in the East. His ability as a preacher and writer made him an effective advocate of missions. His election to the missionary secretaryship was received with approbation by the entire Church. With indomitable energy he undertook the secretarial task, traveling throughout the bounds of the Church, delivering addresses before Annual Conferences, preachers' meetings, popular assemblies, Camp Meetings, and local congregations; and spending the interim between speaking engagements in intensive office work. His sudden death at fifty-two years of age was deeply lamented throughout the Church.

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* Robert L. Dashiell (1826-80) was born in Salisbury, Md. In 1846 he graduated from Dickinson College, and in 1848 was received on trial in the Baltimore Conference. His first appointment was to the West River Circuit. In 1868 he was elected president of Dickinson College, continuing until 1872, the year of his election as Corresponding Secretary.—M. Simpson, Ed., *op. cit.*, p. 276; *Christian Advocate*, LV (1880), 22 (May 27), 345; *Sixty-second Ann. Rep.*, M. S. (1880), p. 31.

† Thomas M. Eddy (1823-74) was born near Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1842 he was received on trial in the Indiana Conference, continuing in the pastorate in that Conference until 1853. Subsequent appointments were: 1854-55, agent of the American Bible Society; 1855-56, Presiding Elder of the Indianapolis District; 1856-68, editor, *Northwestern Christian Advocate;* 1869-72, Charles Street (later, Mount Vernon Place) Church, Baltimore; 1872, Metropolitan Church, Washington, D. C.—*Minutes, Baltimore Conference*, 1875, pp. 32 ff.; *Christian Advocate*, XLIX (1874), 42 (Oct. 15), 332 f.; *ibid.*, 43 (Oct. 22), 338 f.

At the time of his election as Corresponding Secretary John M. Reid * was editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate,* having succeeded Eddy in the editorship in 1868. Like Dashiell, he had also been a college administrator—president of Genesee College (Lima, New York), 1858-64. A man of diverse gifts, a persuasive though not a brilliant preacher, a scholarly writer, a capable executive, although somewhat overly inclined to conservatism, Reid proved to be a tower of strength during a trying period in the life of the Missionary Society. Not least among his noteworthy services to the Church was the writing—during years of heavy administrative responsibility—of *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,*[36] which for many years was the standard history of missions of American Methodism.†

Following the death of T. M. Eddy, for the remainder of the quadrennium the administrative responsibility of the Missionary Society was carried by two Secretaries. Whether from motives of economy—the Society being heavily in debt—or for other reasons not apparent from the record, the General Conference of 1876 altered the constitution, specifying two Secretaries only, and Dashiell and Reid were re-elected.[37] In 1880, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Secretary Dashiell, Charles H. Fowler‡ was chosen. His election came to him, it has been said, as a welcome relief from the work of an editor, for which he was not highly qualified. His gifts were not primarily journalistic, his greater powers being those of the orator, the planner, and the executive. Early in his ministry he had revealed his interest and faith in Christian missions in a sermon on "The Divinity of the Missionary Idea"—an interest which never flagged during his years as Secretary and later as Vice President (1884-1904) and President (1904-08) of the Missionary Society. During his brief term of four years as Corresponding Secretary his addresses did much to revitalize the interest and missionary outlook of the Church. His addresses at mission meetings and conferences with missionaries and native workers on plans, policies, and methods, in the course of his episcopal visits to the foreign fields, were inspiring and valuable.

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* John M. Reid (1820-96) was born in New York City of Irish immigrant parentage. At nineteen he graduated from the University of the City of New York (N. Y. U.). He then studied (1839-41) in Union Theological Seminary, thereafter teaching for three years in the Mechanics Institute School, at the same time engaging in religious work in prisons and asylums and among sailors and dock workers. In 1844 he was admitted on trial in the New York Conference and appointed to Wolcottville. For fourteen years he continued in the pastorate, his appointments including Middletown, Conn. (1851-52); Seventh Street Church, New York City (1853-54); and Bridgeport, Conn. (1857). At the General Conference of 1864 he was elected editor of the *Western Christian Advocate.* For thirty-two years (1856-88) he was a member of all quadrennial sessions of the General Conference. In 1874 he declined election as Bishop of the Methodist Church in Canada.—*Minutes, Michigan Conference,* 1896, pp. 87 ff.; *Christian Advocate,* LXXI (1896), 21 (May 21), 336; *ibid.,* 30 (July 23), 492; *Dictionary of American Biography,* XV, 478 f.

† The resolution authorizing "the preparation . . . of a Complete History of our Missions, by, or under the direction of the Corresponding Secretaries, or either of them," was passed by the Board of Managers on Dec. 18, 1877. The resolution included a directive specifying that the work "should be issued by the Book Agents at the lowest net price." The history had been in process previous to this action. On Sept. 18, 1877, the Board had requested the appointment of J. T. Gracey to assist in its preparation "under the title of Assistant Recording Secretary of the Missionary Society . . . ."—*Minutes, B.M.,* VII, 532, 551 f.

‡ Charles Henry Fowler (1837-1908) was born in Burford, Ontario, Canada. In his childhood his parents moved to a farm near Newark, Ill. He graduated in 1859 from Genesee College, Lima, N. Y., where "he majored in mathematics, oratory, and mischief, ranking high in each." He was valedictorian of the class of 1861 of Garrett Biblical Institute and the same year was received on trial in the Rock River Conference and appointed to Jefferson Street Church, Chicago. He continued in the pastorate for twelve years. In 1873 he was elected president of Northwestern University and in 1876 editor of the *Christian Advocate.* His highest ambition was attained in 1884 when the General Conference made him Bishop. His collected addresses were published in four volumes: *Missions and World Movements* (1903); *Missionary Addresses* (1906); *Addresses on Notable Occasions* (1908); and *Patriotic Orations* (1910).—*Annual Report, Board of Foreign Missions,* 1908, pp. 7 f.; Charles J. Little, "Charles Henry Fowler, 1837-1908." *Methodist Review.* XCIII (March-April, 1911), 175 ff., 183 f.; *Dictionary of American Biography,* VI, 562; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1861, pp. 205, 211.

The election of Fowler as Bishop in 1884 again created a vacancy in the secretaryship and, in addition to Reid, the General Conference elected Charles C. McCabe* ("Chaplain McCabe"), the most picturesque of all Methodist Missionary Secretaries. He was on terms of understanding fellowship with all sorts of men; in fact he was, in a good sense, what Mark Twain remarks of one of his characters, "all sorts of a man himself." His sympathy with the unfortunate and afflicted knew no bounds; his capture and incarceration in Libby Prison resulted from his disregard for personal safety in ministering to the wounded and the dying on the Winchester battlefield (June 16, 1863). He had little regard for ecclesiastical legalisms which he deemed unreasonable, such as the requirement of the Ohio Conference that a preacher must not marry until he had been a Conference member for two years. He often remarked that he "married first and read the rule afterwards, for he was afraid some one would carry Beccie off if he waited." He was more a voracious reader than a scholar, although in his younger years he had scholarly ambitions.† He was a ready speaker and a good singer. He had personal magnetism, overflowing optimism, abounding good humor, the courage of initiative, and ability in leadership. He was an activist, much more in his element out in the field journeying from one Conference to another and from church to church, giving missionary addresses, lecturing, and pleading for money, than in the Board office engaged with committee meetings, correspondence, and desk work. Soon after his election as Corresponding Secretary he sounded the slogan, "A million for missions" from collections only, and successfully led the Church in reaching the goal. Methodism possessed no more widely popular leader and it was no surprise when in 1896 he was elected a Bishop.[38]

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* Charles Cardwell McCabe (1836-1906) was born in Athens, Ohio, of English-Irish parents who were devout Methodists. From childhood he appeared destined for the ministry and at eighteen entered the preparatory department of Ohio Wesleyan University. At Ironton, Ohio, where for two years he was principal of the high school, he married Rebecca Peters. In 1860 he was received on trial in the Ohio Conference. He was chiefly instrumental in recruiting the 122nd Regiment of the Ohio Volunteer Infantry, of which he was appointed chaplain on Oct. 8, 1862. After recovering from the effects of four months' incarceration in Libby Prison, he entered the service of the Christian Commission (1864-65). During a brief period as financial agent of Ohio Wesleyan he raised $87,000. for the university. His ability in money-raising led to his appointment as Assistant Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Church Extension (1872-84). In December, 1902, he was elected chancellor of American University.—Frank Milton Bristol, *The Life of Chaplain McCabe, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, passim;* see also *Christian Advocate,* LXXXI (1906), 52 (Dec. 27), 2027 ff.; *Dictionary of American Biography,* XI, 557 f.

† In Libby Prison he organized a "college" with classes in numerous subjects, including Latin, Greek, geometry, and natural philosophy. His letters to his wife, written in prison, contain such passages as these: "I am making a careful and critical study of the Bible"; "I am studying French and Butler's Analogy"; "I commit to memory and make a commentary upon a Psalm each day"; "I . . . have procured a German grammar and will enter upon its study to-day."—F. M. Bristol, *op. cit.,* p. 55.

In 1888 John M. Reid, after sixteen years as Corresponding Secretary—next to that of John P. Durbin the longest tenure up to that time in the secretaryship—declined re-election and was given the title of Secretary Emeritus. For the second time since 1845 the General Conference decided that three co-ordinate Secretaries were needed. In addition to McCabe, Jonas O. Peck * and Adna B. Leonard were elected. Dr. Peck, during his tenure of six years—terminated by his death in 1894—served with noteworthy effectiveness, particularly in representing the Missionary Society at the Annual Conferences.[39]

Adna B. Leonard,† elected Corresponding Secretary "in his fifty-first year without other special qualification than might be assumed in any capable pastor and able 'platform man' . . . lived to confound all the prophets of failure." For one thing, unlike many of the men elected to official position in the Church he had no other ambition than to serve faithfully in the office for which the General Conference had chosen him. For twenty-four years, two years longer than the tenure of John P. Durbin, his guiding motto was "this one thing I do." Always "his boundless activity was released . . . for the cause and never for himself." His principal characteristics as an administrator were indefatigable industry, thorough investigation, and persistency in advocating the plans and policies in which he believed.[40]

During the early decades of the Missionary Society a personal acquaintance with the overseas mission fields was not considered an essential qualification of Corresponding Secretaries. But Durbin's visit to Europe in 1866 and Dashiell's "visit of inspection" to Mexico in 1877-78 were of such value to the Society and to the missions that they established a precedent regularly followed thereafter. In 1881 Secretary Reid visited the missions in Europe.

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* Jonas O. Peck (1836-94) was born at Groton, Vt. At twenty-four he was admitted on trial in the New England Conference and appointed to North Amherst. His intellectual vigor, religious earnestness, and oratorical power soon brought him into prominence as a preacher and during twenty-eight years in the pastorate he served some of the largest churches in Methodism. He was notably successful as an evangelist, during his three years as pastor of Hanson Place Church, Brooklyn, receiving 925 persons into membership.—*Seventy-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1894), p. 20; editorial, *Christian Advocate,* LXIX (1894), 21 (May 24), 325; *Minutes, New England Conference,* 1860, pp. 3, 9; *Minutes, New York East Conference,* 1895, pp. 107 ff.

† Adna Bradway Leonard (1837-1916) was born in Berlin Township, Mahoning County, Ohio, in a pioneer Methodist home which he graphically pictured years afterwards as "knots on the logs, mother at the spinning wheel, father on the cobbler's bench, and the whole family at the family altar." As he was about to enter Mount Union College, Ohio, he was persuaded by an impatient Presiding Elder to take a preaching appointment. He was received on trial in the Pittsburgh Conference in 1860 and appointed to Marlboro Circuit. By perseverance in non-resident study he later won his undergraduate degree from Mount Union. Twenty-eight years were spent in the pastorate, his appointments including several prominent churches in Pittsburgh and in Ohio. For one term he was Presiding Elder of the East Cincinnati District, Cincinnati Conference. In 1885 he was the nominee of the Prohibition Party for governor of Ohio.—*Christian Advocate,* XCI (1916), 17 (April 27), 552 f.; *Annual Report, Board of Foreign Missions,* 1916, pp. 444 ff.; *Minutes, Pittsburgh Conference,* 1860, p. 7.

In his annual report for that year, Leroy M. Vernon, Superintendent of the Italy Mission, said:

> [Dr. J. M. Reid visited] all our principal stations, looking into and familarizing himself . . . with the interests of the work. His services and intercourse with our people gave great satisfaction every-where, and all were gratified with the thought that henceforth at the center of missionary operations there will be one, who, from personal observation, knows something at least of our circumstances, our position, and ourselves.[41]

The following year the North India Conference formally invited a visit from "the corresponding secretary . . . who has special charge of India" and the Board authorized Secretary Reid "in the discharge of official duties" to accompany Bishop Foster to India. The Missionary Society *Report* for 1883 stated that the visit "was remarkable, as being the first made by a Methodist Missionary Secretary to any Oriental land, and the information gained . . . has proved most helpful in the administration of India affairs . . . ." [42]

The first secretarial visit to Japan was made by Dr. Leonard, accompanied by Mrs. S. L. Keen, representing the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, in 1893. The China missions also were visited on the same trip. During his long term of service Leonard traveled more extensively throughout the mission fields than any of his predecessors, accumulating an immense fund of firsthand information invaluable in administration of his office as Missionary Secretary.

MISSIONARY INCOME INCREASES

A gradual trend in the direction of increased missionary receipts* became evident in the middle forties and continued year by year, in part accounted for by membership growth. By the closing year of the quadrennium 1848-52 receipts reached $152,482. The rate of increase was further accelerated in the sixties. Extraordinary government expenditures on account of war called for large issues of new currency and the abundance of money in circulation was reflected in larger contributions to all benevolent causes, including missions. Total missionary receipts for 1863 were $429,768.; for 1866, $686,380. For several years following the close of the war missionary income was lower but by 1872 again had climbed to $661,056. By the close of the period, the fiscal year 1894-95, it was $1,174,554.[43]

While the general trend of income was gradually upward throughout the half century, marked fluctuations occurred, chiefly caused by periodic economic depressions. The most serious were those of 1873-78, 1883-85, and 1893-96. During the first, and most extended, of these, wages declined approximately 15 per cent; doctors, dentists, and lawyers reduced their fees about one-half and many churches lowered their ministers' salaries. Within these years the income of the Missionary Society fell from $661,056. in 1872 to $553,159. in 1879. The depression of 1883-85 was much shorter in duration and less acute and affected missionary giving for one year only, receipts declining from $753,669. in the fiscal year 1882-83 to $735,225. in 1883-84. The serious effect of the financially trying period of 1893-96 was not felt until 1896-97 when the Society's income was $88,098.81 less* than the preceding year.[44]

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* As an inevitable effect of division of the Church, involving separation of the southern Conferences, income of the Missionary Society for 1845-46 was lessened. The decrease, however, was not as much as might have been expected. In fact, income from the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church increased.

Increasing receipts made possible an expanding program and larger appropriations to both domestic and foreign missions. For 1845-46 total appropriations were $49,700.; for 1855, $260,000.; 1865, $625,903.; 1875, $821,853.; 1886,† $909,115. (exclusive of appropriation toward liquidation of debt); 1895, $1,071,145.

Division of appropriations between domestic and foreign missions varied from decade to decade.‡ Proportionate division between domestic and foreign missions was affected by the realization that a mission within a home Conference could be more or less readily discontinued while the establishment of an overseas mission in effect involved a committal for a term of years. Caution had been learned through experience with the South America and Oregon Missions, both of which had to be curtailed because of decrease in income during the depression of 1837-41. In the instance of the China Mission the precaution was taken of soliciting subscriptions covering a term of years. At the 1845 anniversary meeting a "good and responsible brother" offered "to be one of a requisite number" to contribute $100. annually for ten years toward support of the China Mission, and several others made similar commitments. As a result of this plan the General Missionary Committee at its annual meeting on May 3, 1847, included China in the list of foreign missions for "the ensuing year." Six thousand dollars was appropriated, increased in 1849 to $7,000.[45]

Under the inspiration of the immensely augmented income§ of the war years the General Missionary Committee appropriated for the year 1865 $625,903.; and for 1866, $1,000,000. In making the latter appropriation the committee failed to take into account a decrease which might follow wartime inflation. The million dollar program of 1866 emptied the swollen treasury.

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* It is of interest to contrast the experience of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in this particular: "The curve of national income and that of missionary revenue, during the century, exhibit no general correspondence; they are governed by wholly different forces. . . . The Society was born at an epoch of unparalleled economic distress; its income mounted up unchecked through 'the hungry thirties' and forties; and Lancashire, suffering then severely from the cotton famine, took the lead in the Missionary Jubilee givings of 1863. On the other hand, the fund has shown the least elasticity during the last generation, in a stretch of years during which the wealth of England swelled beyond all precedent, and the rate of expenditure and style of living, in almost every class of the community, was constantly rising."—G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, I, 186.

† The year 1886 is used instead of 1885 because receipts for the year 1884 were abnormally low on account of the 1883-85 depression.

‡ In 1845-46 the division was slightly less than 57% to domestic missions, 43% to foreign missions, 1855, 71%, 29%; 1865, 45%, 55%; 1875, 53%, 47%; 1885, 50%, 50%; 1895, 45%, 55%.

§ In the early years of the war rapid expansion, either at home or abroad, was impossible because of disturbed conditions, and funds flowed into the treasury more rapidly than they could be expended. By the close of 1864, there was on hand an accumulated surplus of $267,292. and at the close of 1865, $385.694.

Receipts for 1867 were $613,021., or $386,979. less than the appropriation for the preceding year. Many of the new enterprises were of such a nature that appropriations to them could not be reduced without serious consequences. As a result, by the close of 1867 the Missionary Society found itself $32,584. in arrears; by the end of 1868, $84,195. in debt. The deficit, accentuated by the depression beginning in 1873, had mounted by the end of a decade (1876) to $209,388., a sum which seriously endangered the Society's credit.[46]

Up to the close of the period (1895), and beyond, the Society was embarrassed by debt. Again and again the most serious problem confronting the managers was the finding of ways and means of reducing indebtedness sufficiently to protect the Society's credit. The successive peaks reached in depression years were: in 1883, $250,088.; 1888, $304,298.; 1893, $404,701.; and 1895, $498,060.[47] Twice only during the long stretch of twenty-nine years the Board enjoyed a breathing spell of a few months under impression that the burden of indebtedness had been permanently lifted. In 1891 the experience of 1866 was repeated. The Treasurer having reported at the close of the fiscal year income of $1,251,057., an excess over disbursements of $100,198., an amount sufficient to leave a balance in the treasury of $31,277., the General Missionary Committee appropriated $1,225,367. for the next fiscal year (1892), an increase in appropriations of $25,367., which the committee "regarded as sufficiently conservative," but at the close of 1893 the Society was again seriously in arrears and by 1895, as shown above, the debt stood at the highest point of the entire period.[48]

Burdensome as the debt was to the officers of the Society, its full impact was felt not so much by them as by the missionaries. Year after year appeals from the far fields of China, India, and Africa for replacement of furloughed or retired workers or for modest increases to take advantage of opportunities for advance were denied because debt claims had first to be met. The General Missionary Committee, reporting to the 1880 General Conference, stated:

> The Foreign Missions were . . . allowed, for most of the quadrennium, barely enough to sustain the work in hand, but nothing to make advances, a sore trial to our self-denying and energetic brethren in far-off fields.[49]

The mistake made was in not setting aside a substantial portion of income in the abnormally flush years of the war, and later, as an emergency reserve to be drawn upon as needed in periods of depression. If this had been done many thousands of dollars paid out as interest on debt would have been saved, anxieties and problems caused by recurring years of shrinking income obviated, and much more even advance through the decades made possible.

Sources of missionary income, other than collections in the churches, included several that produced substantial amounts. A principal source during early years was payments made by "life members," and by "donors," the former contributing $20. at one time, the latter, $100. Later, other special designations of individual givers were instituted.*

For many years payments by the government for schools conducted by the Church among the Indians were made annually. In the fiscal year 1845-46 the total received by the Missionary Society was $1,825. The amount fluctuated from year to year and from decade to decade on account of changes of policy of the Indian office.[50]

Two other important sources of income were legacies† and annuities. In 1870 the Treasurers reported receipts from legacies (over a ten-month period) to the amount of $12,194.; twenty-five years later (1895), $86,262. Beginning as early as 1845 annuity contributions "subject to interest during the life of contributors" gradually increased until in 1881 they amounted to $52,264. In 1895 outstanding annuity bonds totaled $324,635. For many years lapsed annuities were treated as current income and applied on annual appropriations. Later they were paid into a permanent fund account.[51]

In contrast to innumerable small contributions, ranging from a few cents to several dollars, from time to time some munificent gifts came to the treasury. For years Harold Dollner,‡ a member of the Board of Managers, annually contributed $1,000. to the Society, which he eventually made his residuary legatee. From his estate the treasury received about $100,000. F. L. Ingram, stated to possess "considerable estates" in the Meerut District, Northwest India Conference, for a time made a contribution of $1,000. a year to the work of the Rubbapura Circuit. At a time of special emergency in the missionary program in India Secretary John M. Reid came to its rescue with a gift of $15,000. from his personal funds. A general missionary conference held in Shanghai in 1890 appealed for a thousand missionaries to be sent to China. In response to the appeal Mr. F. H. Rindge and Mrs. M. K. Rindge each contributed $1,000. to be used only for China Methodist missions. Over a series of years substantial contributions were made at intervals by Dr.

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* Names of life members were regularly listed in the *Annual Reports* of the Missionary Society. The 1845-46 *Annual Report* carried the names of some thirty-eight hundred life members and approximately 125 donors. By 1875 the number of life members constituted in that year was 219; the number of "honorary life managers," constituted by the payment of $150. or more at one time, was 1,521; and "patrons," constituted by payment of $500. or more at one time, numbered 356.—*Fifty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1875), pp. 172 ff.

† A legacy received in 1845 was recorded as follows:

> "Mrs. Catherine Garrettson, the bequest of her late husband, the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, the annual support of a single Meth. missionary within the bounds of the New-York Conf., until the millennium [$]2000."—Treasurers' Account, *Twenty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1845-46), p. 49.

‡ Harold Dollner was a native of Denmark. In his youth he became a sailor. Landing on one of his voyages in Boston he wandered into the Mariners' Bethel and was converted under the preaching of Father Taylor. He later went into business in New York, where he accumulated a fortune. He served for years as consul-general of Denmark to the United States. He became a member of the Board of Managers in 1876, continuing through 1886. In addition to his contributions to the Missionary Society he made substantial gifts to the Methodist church in Copenhagen, eventually freeing it entirely from debt.—J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* II, 223 f., 230 f.; J. M. Buckley, *A History of Methodists in the United States,* pp. 656 f.; *Fifty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1875), p. 2; *ibid., 67th* (1885), p. 3.

and Mrs. John F. Goucher, including $5,000. toward the erection of the "Isabella Fisher Hospital" for women in Tientsin; $10,000. for the library and for scholarships in the Methodist Missionary Seminary in Yokohama; $5,000. toward the establishment of the West China Mission and a second contribution of $5,000. toward its maintenance; and $7,000. for the theological department of the Anglo-Chinese College in Foochow.* Mrs. Adeline M. Smith, from the accumulated proceeds of an estate originally valued at $125,000., made donations to the amount of more than $135,000., including a gift of $9,900. toward the founding and support of a Bible Institute in Tokyo, Japan, later named the Philander Smith Biblical Institute; $11,221. to a Memorial Hospital, Nanking, China; and $16,033. to found the Philander Smith Institute, Mussooree, India.[52]

Throughout the period, as earlier, the propriety of designated gifts and of solicitation of funds for particular projects remained a moot question.† From time to time changes were made in the regulations of the Society, and no consistent policy was followed by the Board.[53] The difficulty arose in part from the insistent demand of contributors to designate the specific purpose to which their individual contributions should be applied.‡

Reflecting considerable questioning that had arisen in the Church at large concerning administrative expenses of the several boards and the General Missionary Committee, the 1880 General Conference called for a detailed statement of cost of administration. Missionary Secretary Reid reported almost immediately that the "expenses of the General Missionary Committee" for the preceding year had been only $3,618. Administrative expenditures of the Missionary Society were maintained throughout the period at a remarkably low level.§

A FORWARD MOVEMENT IN CHURCH BUILDING

Missionary Society grants included provision of funds for the sustenance of preachers and their families but not for aid in building churches. There could be no question that urgent need existed for such aid over a wide area. Everywhere within the region to which the Homestead Act of 1862 applied small Methodist Societies had been formed by the Circuit Riders. The cash income of the immigrants for years was extremely limited. In the older Conferences of the East and the Middle West where heavy timber made suitable lumber readily available building costs were within the means of small Societies but in the plains country of the Dakotas, western Kansas and Nebraska, Montana, and Wyoming, the expense of building even a modest frame church was prohibitive. For dwellings the settlers could build comfortable sod houses reasonably ample in size but sod buildings did not meet the need for churches.

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* Other contributions were: $5,000. in 1879 to the Book Concern in Germany for liquidation of its debt; $5,000. for the benefit of the Martin Mission Institute (Germany); endowment for "a system of fifty primary schools," to be connected with the Central High School in Moradabad, India; $5,000. toward the purchase of a site for an "Anglo-Japanese University" at Tokyo; "$800. a year for five years toward the salary of an American professor, and $400. a year for five years to the salary of a Japanese professor"; and $2,000. to aid in opening a mission in Korea.—See *Annual Reports: 61st* (1879), p. 71; *64th* (1882), p. 142; *66th* (1884), p. 204; *Minutes, B. M.,* VIII, 9, 35.

† See Vol. I, 309 f.

‡ So strong was the desire of contributors to choose the projects to which their gifts were applied that in numerous local churches "voluntary missionary societies" were organized which disposed of their funds without reporting to the Missionary Society. In their address to the 1856 General Conference the Bishops called attention "with regret and serious apprehension" to the increase in number of such societies.—"Journal of the General Conference, 1856," pp. 287 f., *G. C. Journals,* III.

§ Secretary McCabe reported in 1887 that of every dollar contributed for missions .927 went into direct missionary appropriations; .023 to the contingent fund for missionary emergencies; .0274 to incidental missionary expenses; .0135 to Board salaries and office expense; .0091 to publication and distribution of missionary literature.—C. C. McCabe, "What Does It Cost?" *Gospel in All Lands,* September, 1887, p. 429.

On the fifth day of its 1864 session the General Conference adopted a resolution instructing the Committee on Missions* to "inquire into the expediency of forming a 'General Church Extension Society,' † with a view of securing more ample Church accommodations," particularly in the Conferences and missions of the new West. The resolution was keyed to a note of urgency, the committee being also instructed to "report at an early day."

On the afternoon of the final day of the General Conference session the report ‡ was adopted.[54] On January 3, 1865, the officers and managers were appointed and on March 13 the Society was incorporated by act of the Pennsylvania Legislature.§ In July the Bishops appointed as Corresponding Secretary Samuel Y. Monroe # of the Newark Conference.[55]

The Corresponding Secretary, Board, and General Committee projected a program on an ambitious scale, beginning operations without sufficiently taking into account possible complications and liabilities, with the result that

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* On the eighth day of the session a similar resolution was adopted, addressed to the Committee on Temporal Economy.—*G. C. Journal,* 1864, p. 130.

† A Chapel Fund Committee had been organized by the Wesleyan Societies of England in 1818 to assist distressed churches and later on to help provide chapels where needed. Within the United States the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist Churches had organized special agencies and raised funds for the latter purpose.—A. J. Kynett, "Church Extension," *Methodist Quarterly Review,* LIV (April, 1872), 271 ff.

‡ In the procedure following the Committee on Missions prepared "A Plan for Church Extension Society," suggesting reference to the Committee on Temporal Economy, which was done. When the report came up for final action two adverse motions were laid on the table and the report was adopted. A committee was designated, Bishop Simpson, chairman, with authority to name a board of officers and managers, and the Bishops were directed, on incorporation of the Board, to appoint a Corresponding Secretary.

§ The constitution, as approved by the General Conference of 1864, vested "the management and disposition of the affairs and property" of the Society in a Board of Managers of twenty-five laymen and not more than that number of ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, all of whom were to be elected at the annual meeting of the Society. It also provided for a General Committee consisting of one member from each of "as many districts as there are effective superintendents," to be appointed by the Bishops "to act jointly with the Board of Managers, the Corresponding Secretary, and the Treasurer, in fixing the amounts which may be donated and loaned . . . [annually], and the division of said amounts among the several Annual Conferences and societies applying for aid." The constitution required that the Corresponding Secretary should be elected by the General Conference and that he should reside in Philadelphia. It also recommended that the Annual Conferences should establish auxiliary Conference Church Extension Societies. (*G. C. Journal,* 1864, Appendix, pp. 492-94.) The constitution, in several particulars, was amended by the General Conference of 1868.—*Ibid.,* 1868, Appendix, pp. 555-59.

Samuel York Monroe (1816-67), born at Mt. Holly, N. J., was received on trial in the New Jersey Conference in 1843, and served with distinction in the pastorate for twenty-two years preceding appointment as Corresponding Secretary. In his brief period as Secretary he "visited and addressed some fifty conferences" upon the subject of church extension, besides preaching "once or twice nearly every Sabbath" and conducting an extensive correspondence.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1867, pp. 38 f.

within two years the Society found itself in a financial crisis* which threatened its continuation.† Difficulties were increased by the sudden death of the Secretary, who "fell or was thrown from the rear platform of a [railway] car, . . . dashed against the rocks, and instantly killed" on February 9, 1867. Three months later the Bishops appointed as his successor Alpha J. Kynett ‡ of the Upper Iowa Conference whose appeals to General Conference had been chiefly responsible for bringing the Society into existence. Kynett's vigorous, judicious administrative measures soon lifted the Society out of its chaotic condition so that the Bishops in their address to the 1868 General Conference were able to say that the Church Extension Society "is now upon a safe foundation." The Conference elected Kynett Corresponding Secretary on the first ballot.[56] This same year Charles C. McCabe was appointed by the Bishops and the Board financial agent and in 1872 Assistant Corresponding Secretary.

In the beginning the extension program was planned on the assumption that the older and well-established Annual Conferences would, out of their abundance, contribute the principal part of the funds needed for church building in the West. Within a few months it became evident that urgent demands for new or improved church edifices would be made by every Conference, in the East as well as in the West. At the first annual meeting of the Society the Corresponding Secretary stated in his report:

> One fact which could not escape notice is, that in order to secure cordial and efficient co-operation of the whole Church, provision must be made to meet necessitous cases existing in all parts of the work, the older as well as the newer.[57]

The ending of the war shortly after the organization of the Society, and the action of the Methodist Episcopal Church soon thereafter in largely extending its operations in the South, deeply impressed the Society with the need for larger church extension work also in the South. The statement of disbursements in its *Second Annual Report* showed appropriations made to the

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* By July, 1867, more than $50,000. of drafts were outstanding against the Society, of which many had been protested; the treasury was without bank credit; and less than $3,500. a month was coming in from the churches. Rigorous measures were resorted to; members of the Board lent their personal credit to redeem drafts that had been hypothecated; unused outstanding drafts were required to be returned; and churches in whose behalf they had been prematurely issued were promised aid only as subsequent receipts would justify. "In this way, by the time the General Conference of 1868 assembled the Society had been relieved of its most serious embarrassments, and the confidence of the Church in good measure restored."—A. J. Kynett, *op. cit.,* LIV (April, 1872), 286 f.

† One proposal made in the 1868 General Conference was the consolidation of church extension with the work of the Missionary Society. The proposition was considered in at least five different committees including the Missionary and Church Extension Committees, Freedmen's Aid, a Committee to Inquire into the Practicability of Reducing the Number of Collections, and a Committee of Conference from the several committees. All five voted against consolidation.

‡ Alpha Jefferson Kynett (1829-99), born in Pennsylvania, migrated with his father's family successively to Trumbull County, Ohio, to Rush County, Ind., and in 1842 to Des Moines County, Iowa. Although he had few educational advantages he early became a public school teacher, was licensed to preach, and in 1851 was appointed to the Dubuque Circuit. The next year he was received on trial in the Iowa Conference and in 1856 became one of the charter members of the Upper Iowa Conference. It has been justly stated that he was "both the originator and builder" of the Church Extension Society. He was also a strong advocate of lay representation for both men and women. He represented the Upper Iowa Conference in nine successive General Conferences. "Nothing of great moment to the church or society escaped him. He was an ecclesiastical statesman."—*Minutes, Upper Iowa Conference,* 1899, pp. 356-59.

Baltimore, East Baltimore, Erie, Newark, New York, New Jersey, New York East, and Philadelphia Conferences in the East, and the Central Ohio, Detroit, Northwest Indiana, and Southeastern Indiana in the Midwest; also that large appropriations had been made to the Kentucky ($9,445.27), Tennessee ($11,760), and Holston ($4,666.14) Conferences.[58]

In fact, so numerous and urgent were the demands made upon the Society by the older Annual Conferences and the new work in the South that its General Committee felt impelled at its second annual session (November 13-18, 1867) to take action permitting any Conference which should decide that it needed within its own bounds a portion of the funds raised for church extension "to use any amount not exceeding fifty per cent of the whole," forwarding only the balance to the Board.[59]

The reports of the Society for the early years furnish striking examples of the beneficence of its work. At Beaufort, South Carolina, a church of two hundred Negroes was organized to which $75. toward cost of a building was granted.

> With the . . . donation they have procured one acre of ground, worth $50., a plain log church with shingled roof, 28x42, sufficient to seat 250 persons, and worth $500. They now have 241 members, 29 probationers, and a Sunday School of 5 officers and teachers, and 95 scholars. . . . They have contributed their grounds and buildings, $475 . . . .

At Corinne, Utah, a grant of $1,000. made possible the building of the first church, other than Mormon, in the territory.

> Encouraged and stimulated by the promise of $1,000., the congregation . . . pledged $1,100. . . . . The next day the amount was carried up to $1,500. With this amount a lot worth $500. was purchased, an architect employed, [and] the contract for building let, ... The church is a plain substantial brick, 26x50 feet, . . . and is worth besides the grounds, $5,000, . . . and they have organized with 20 members, 50 Sunday School children, and have a congregation of 150, regularly increasing. The population . . . is 1,500, and it is estimated will double within a year. . . . The Pastor and his wife organized a seminary with over 60 students of both sexes . . . .
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> [The *Utah Reporter* said of it:] 'The school . . . is quite a faithful daguerreotype of our mixed population—Hebrew, Yankee, English, Mormon and Gentile, native born Californian and Utah children mingled in a pleasing variety, ...'[60]

By January 1, 1872, the Society had received in contributions from churches and individuals $489,303.64 with which 733 local churches had been aided.[61]

In 1872, by General Conference action, the Church Extension Society was superseded by the Board of Church Extension.[62] The legislation provided that the Board should consist of thirty-two ministers and thirty-two laymen, to be elected, together with the Corresponding Secretary, by the General

Conference, and should be subject to the control of the General Conference.*

In the summer of 1879 Assistant Secretary McCabe made "an extensive tour through the North-west" which convinced him that "the proportion of . . . [the] regular collections that could properly be applied" to the region "was utterly inadequate to existing want and opportunity." He was inspired by what he saw to establish a Frontier Fund to meet the special need. His conviction was that in many cases a donation of $250., in some instances supplemented by a loan, would make possible the erection of a church costing from $1,200. upward. He accordingly appealed "for special gifts of $250. each to the aggregate amount of $100,000. with which to procure the erection of four hundred new churches on the frontier." With great earnestness he gave himself to the promotion of the fund. Within three years 141 churches, mostly in the West and Northwest, had been aided. By 1895 not only 400 but a total of 559 churches had been given assistance to the amount of $140,000.[63] On a particular occasion, in his introduction to his Libby Prison lecture, McCabe said:

> Many a time when the pastor of a church would have announced that I would speak on church extension or the missionary cause when we needed money I have said to him, 'Announce that I will lecture on "The Bright Side of Life in Libby Prison."' And then how the people would turn out! I talked to them of Libby Prison and then of church extension. I let them in free and charged them for going out. Many and many a time they paid a thousand dollars to go out, and I have found out from careful investigation that fully one hundred and fifty thousand dollars have gone into churches and parsonages and into the pockets of poor preachers in this way during these forty years and more.[64]

With the election of McCabe as Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society (1884), William A. Spencer† was appointed in 1885 to succeed him as Assistant Corresponding Secretary of Church Extension.

The policy of the Board as to the amount of aid to be extended to a particular church stipulated that no application from a church costing more than ten thousand dollars would be considered unless such church had consulted the Board before commencing to build, and that no church costing over $20,000. should "in any case, receive aid, either by donation or loan from the funds of the Board." This latter rule was not, however, rigidly adhered to, exception being made in several instances.[65] Within a short time after organization the Board changed its policy and extended aid to churches needing assistance independently of their location. A study made in 1879 showed that 501 donations and 110 loans had been made to churches in the Northeast; 664 donations and 253 loans in the Northwest; 967 and 178 respectively in the Southeast; and 266 and 71 respectively in the Southwest. By the close of the period (1895) $5,498,803.25 had been received on the General Fund and the Loan Fund and 9,785 churches had been aided.[66]

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* The legislation also provided that each Annual Conference should "on the nomination of the Presiding Bishop and Presiding Elders, appoint a Conference Board of Church Extension." Another important provision concerned the membership and powers of the General Committee of Church Extension. It was to be composed of the Bishops, the Corresponding Secretary and Assistants, Recording Secretary, and the Treasurer, one member from each of twelve Church Extension Districts elected by General Conference and an equal number appointed by the Board, and empowered to determine: (1) What amount each Conference should be asked "to raise by collections for the uses of the Board during the ensuing year"; (2) "What amount may be donated and loaned within each Conference during the same period"; and (3) "What amount may be applied to general and special purposes."—*G. C. Journal,* 1872, p. 339.

† William Anson Spencer (1840-1901), born in Rock Island, Ill., a graduate of Northwestern University (1861) and of Garrett Biblical Institute (1867), was received on trial in the Central Illinois Conference in 1867. With Bishop Harris he visited many of the missions of the Far East in 1873. Transferring to the Rock River Conference in 1875, he was soon recognized as one of its most able ministers. After seven years as Assistant Secretary, he was elected by the General Conference of 1892 Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Church Extension in association with A. J. Kynett. "In his wide travel, he not only formed a large acquaintance, but became rich in friendships . . . ." It was said of him that "in a marked degree he possessed elementary qualities of friendship—sincerity, cheerfulness, geniality, generosity, constancy." His death at sixty-one was felt as a loss to the entire Church.—*Minutes, Rock River Conference,* 1901, pp. 103 ff.

THE WORK OF WOMEN FOR WOMEN ABROAD

A great forward movement in the missionary program of the Methodist Episcopal Church was inaugurated when in 1869 the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was organized and in 1884 made by the General Conference an official organization of the Church.

The initial impulse for organization came from the mission field. Mrs. Edwin W. Parker* and her husband, who had arrived in India in 1859, had become widely known as effective and influential missionaries. When Mrs. Parker was leaving on her first furlough several missionary wives appealed to her in behalf of the women of India. Tell the people about the conditions under which they live, they said, that women can be reached only by women, that funds are needed to enlist and train native helpers and to publish literature especially for women, and that no financial assistance can be secured from the Missionary Society. Some years later she wrote to William A. Mansell:

> When we reached Boston we were entertained at the Butlers and through them the way was opened to speak to the ladies in Boston. At Lowell and other places I had an opportunity to give the message. The ladies everywhere responded and I gathered quite a sum which I sent to India. After a little I felt that this was not the way to give *permanent* help, and it was hardly right for me to collect and send out money in this irresponsible way. I knew of the 'Ladies [Woman's] Union Missionary Society,' † and the Congregationalist ladies had just organized a So-

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* Lois Stiles (Lee) Parker (1834-1925), of Congregational parentage, was born at St. Johnsbury, Vt. On March 2, 1856, she was married to Edwin W. Parker and with her husband entered Concord Biblical Institute. On Feb. 22, 1859, the husband was commissioned as missionary to India and on Oct. 14 they began their missionary career. Within two years Mrs. Parker had established at their first station a girls' day school, one of the earliest in North India. At a later period "she lived and served at . . . Wesleypore, Moradabad, Lucknow, Shahjahanpur, and Hardoi—a service . . . of sixty-six eventful years. The longest period was in Moradabad with her husband, and the second longest at Hardoi, alone." From 1892 to 1898 she was editor of *Kaukab-i-Hind,* an important vernacular periodical. Her most far-reaching work was the founding of three girls' schools in North India: Bijnor (now Lois Lee Parker Girls' School), the Moradabad Girls' School, and the Hardoi Girls' School (in later years discontinued). Though a duly elected delegate she knocked in vain at the door of the 1896 General Conference but later was accorded the honor of serving in the 1904 and 1908 Conferences.—J. H. Messmore, *The Life of Edwin Wallace Parker, D.D., Missionary Bishop of Southern Asia . . . ,* pp. 33, 38 f., 42, 62; Francis Wesley Warne, *A Tribute to the Triumphant,* pp. 18, 23, 37, 46, 47, 50 f.

† The Woman's Union Missionary Society was organized in New York City in 1860 under the leadership of Mrs. Sarah R. Doremus. It was interdenominational in membership and in missionary personnel, patterned after the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East which was active for many years in England. Within the period 1860-83 the Society sent from America forty-three missionaries, supported fifty-eight others on the field; "sustained or aided 84 schools"; and "supported 174 Bible readers and 278 children." Receipts, 1861-82, were $741,939.19.—Mrs. L. H. Daggett, Ed., *Historical Sketches of Woman's Missionary Societies in America and England,* pp. 194-202.

> ciety for woman's work * so I thought it was time for Methodist ladies to organize a Society to meet the needs of the work in India. So I began to agitate the subject wherever I went—and found a ready response to the idea—but who would *dare* to initiate the movement. We went West to visit my sister and on the way out and back we stopped at several places and I did all I could to interest influential ladies in the movement. Among them was Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing with whom I spent an afternoon. . . . We returned to Boston early in March 1869 with several women pledged to unite in the movement as soon as the ladies in the East would organize.[67]

Dr. William Butler, who with Mrs. Butler† had returned in 1865 from nine years of missionary pioneering in India, was at this time (1869) pastor of Dorchester Street Church, South Boston. On Sunday afternoon, March 14, he preached a missionary sermon. Among his hearers were Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Flanders of the Tremont Street Church. Following the service Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Parker, and Mrs. Flanders talked of the conditions under which women in India lived, the Christian obligation of the women of America to them, and the necessity of women missionaries for their evangelization. Since they desired to proceed in cooperation with the Missionary Society the proposal for a woman's society was at this juncture communicated in a letter‡ to John P. Durbin, the Corresponding Secretary, asking counsel on organization. Under date of March 20, 1869, Dr. Durbin returned the cautious reply that it would be well to "aim at two points: 1. To raise funds for a particular portion of our mission work in India, perhaps also in China. 2. Leave [the selection of missionaries and] the administration of the work to the Board [of Managers] at home, and the Mission, in India." [68]

The women had a more ambitious plan in mind. They invited the ladies of the Boston churches to hear Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Butler at Tremont Street Church on March 23. The day brought a drenching storm and only six, besides the speakers, came.§ But the intrepid eight resolved to form a separate society with executive officers vested with administrative powers. After appointment of a committee on nomination of officers the meeting was adjourned to the following Tuesday. At the organizational meeting on March 30, with an increased attendance from several of the churches of Boston, the constitution was presented, considered article by article, and adopted. The purpose of the Society was stated to be:

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* In January, 1868, the New England Women's Foreign Missionary Society was organized. In March, 1869, it was incorporated by the Massachusetts Legislature as the Woman's Board of Missions, to act in cooperation with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

† Clementina Rowe Butler (1820-1913) was born in Wexford, Ireland, of a Wesleyan family. On Nov. 23, 1854, at Portland, Maine, she married William Butler whom she had known in Ireland. With her husband, she arrived in Calcutta on Sept. 25, 1856, the first Methodist missionary wife from America to go to India. At Bareilly, their first mission station, she immediately made plans for a girls' school, but her efforts were rebuffed. She collaborated with her husband in establishing a girls' orphanage in which she taught. She was active also in the work of the Mission Press. The Butlers returned to the United States in 1865 and in 1872 were sent to Mexico as the first missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the country. Here also she cooperated in founding an orphanage, aided in establishing Methodist schools, and participated in the literature program of the Mission Press. Leaving Mexico in 1879, after a few years the family settled in Newton Center, Mass. (1888), where, until her death, Mrs. Butler was active in the program of the W.F.M.S., particularly the New England Branch. At eighty-six she participated in the Golden Jubilee of the India Mission.—*Christian Advocate,* LXXXVIII (1913), 38 (Sept. 18), 1284; *Woman's Missionary Friend,* XLV (1913), 11 (November), 387 f.; *Fifty-fourth Ann Rep., M. S.* (1872), p. 35; William Butler, *Mexico in Transition from the Power of Political Romanism to Civil and Religious Liberty,* p. 289; A. Stevens, *op. cit.,* pp. 217 ff.; Clementina Butler, *Mrs. William Butler, Two Empires and The Kingdom.*

‡ This letter was written and signed, on behalf of the women, by Edwin W. Parker, who at this organizational stage and during the early years of the Society's work was their loyal friend at court.—J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 48.

§ Those present, in addition to Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Butler, were Mrs. Lewis Flanders, Mrs. Thomas A. Rich, Mrs. William B. Merrill, Mrs. Thomas Kingsbury, Mrs. O. T. Taylor, and Mrs. H. J. Stoddard.—"Memoranda of the Origin of the 'Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,'" in *Heathen Woman's Friend,* XIII (1881), 2 (August), 41 f.

> engaging and uniting the efforts of the women of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in sending out and supporting female missionaries, native Christian teachers, and Bible readers, in foreign lands.[69]

Mrs. Osmon C. Baker was elected President; forty-four Vice Presidents—including wives of the Bishops, and of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Missionary Society—were chosen; and Lois S. Parker, Jennie Fowler Willing, and Mrs. William F. Warren were made Corresponding Secretaries.[70]

From this point events moved rapidly and decisively. Decision was made to publish a periodical in the interest of the Society, and the first issue of the *Heathen Woman's Friend* appeared in May. On May 7 John P. Durbin and William L. Harris met members of the new Society in the Bromfield Street Church, Boston, "for the purpose of coming to a more definite understanding with regard to . . . object and aim" of the new Society. The brethren were apprehensive. The "secretary of the new society recorded that 'Dr. Harris inquired solicitously how the ladies proposed to raise money, stating his fear that their success would interfere with the receipts of the Parent Board.' " Dr. Durbin again proposed that the women raise the money and let the Board administer it.* Both of the Secretaries were ready to grant the "missionary spirit manifested" by the women "worthy of all commendation, but [they] were apprehensive of collisions at home and abroad." Dr. Durbin emphasized the importance of "unity of administration" both at home and on the mission field. Speaking for all the women present Mrs. John H. Twombly asserted: "We women feel that we have organized an independent society. We will be as dutiful children to the church authorities, but through our own organization we may do a work which no other can accomplish." The women felt that ample justification for their position was to be found in the experience of the Woman's Union Missionary Society which was beholden to no men's organization but wholly independent. The Secretaries argued that independence was incompatible with Methodist connectionalism.[71]

Despite the differing points of view the conference resulted in some mutual concessions and a considerable degree of meeting of minds. The Missionary Society Secretaries agreed that an organization which would unite the women of the Methodist Episcopal Church in "increased efforts, to meet the demand for laborers among women in heathen lands" was very much needed and expressed confidence that even though the new organization was not an auxiliary it would "work in harmony with . . . [the general Society], seeking its counsel and approval in all its work." [72]

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* Dr. Durbin posed a hypothetical case which he evidently thought would answer all arguments: "Could you ladies make the necessary arrangements for Miss A. to go to India, to obtain bills of exchange, take care of her on the voyage, provide a home when she arrives? No. Your work is to forward the money for Miss A. to New York. We will credit it to your Society, keep you informed of her needs, take care of her in sickness and in health. I think this to be the purpose of your constitution."—As quoted by Mary Isham, *Valorous Ventures. A Record of Sixty and Six Years of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church,* p. 16.

When it was noised abroad that there were to be two separate missionary organizations in the Church many misgivings were expressed in letters by pastors and long-time lay patrons of the Missionary Society. In an effort to satisfy inquirers and complainants Durbin and Harris wrote a reassuring article for the *Christian Advocate* explanatory of the spirit and purpose of the new organization. They said, in summary:

> 2. This Society will not send out any missionaries who are not approved by the proper authorities of our General Missionary Society.
> 3. The missionaries sent out by the Woman's Missionary Society are to labor under the direction of the Missions or Conferences to which they are sent.
> 4. No public collections are to be taken in aid of the funds of this Society, nor are contributions to be gathered in any way tending to diminish the regular annual contributions of the members of the Church to our General Missionary Treasury.
> 5. The missionary spirit manifested in this movement is worthy of commendation, and if carried out according to the true intent and purpose will be fruitful of much good.

They also stated that "the ladies . . . seemed intent on maintaining and enlarging our general missionary work, and increasing the contributions to our general treasury while giving attention to the special work which they have undertaken." [73]

On June 9, at the call of Mrs. William Butler who with her husband in the meantime had moved from Massachusetts to New Jersey, a small company of New York women formed an auxiliary to the Boston society. Mrs. Butler, who had been elected President, made the first address in its behalf before a large group of women at the Sing Sing (New York) Camp Meeting where those in charge were persuaded to permit the holding of a meeting "for women only." * At this juncture a bit of regional jealousy developed. Some who had been members of the Woman's Union Missionary Society, and others, were unwilling that the new organization should be "secondary to the new Society in Boston." Still others were insistent that it should ally itself with the general Society, a conviction doubtless influenced by the fact that the Female Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a New York City organization, throughout its history was an auxiliary of the general

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* At this meeting contributions were solicited and received. Whereupon John L. Durbin voiced objection, asserting that a public collection had been taken, contrary to the Boston agreement. Mrs. Butler, bringing her Irish wit into play, argued that a meeting from which men were excluded could not rightly be held to be "public."—C. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Society.* Eliza M. F. Taylor (Mrs. George Lansing Taylor), Corresponding Secretary of the New York group, wrote to the *Christian Advocate:*

> Early in the history of this movement . . . it became evident that the sentiment of the greater number of our pastors and the patrons of missionary work was adverse to the existence of two independent missionary societies in our Church. In consequence of this disfavor we found it impossible to obtain the co-operation and contributions necessary to our object. Led by these strong indications from without, and by more careful deliberation within, the New York branch resolved to ally itself as an auxiliary with the Missionary Society . . . which, by unanimous vote, was accordingly done.[74]

The action was taken on October 14. Naturally this turn in affairs caused consternation in Boston threatening, as it did, serious division in the ranks of Methodist women. After fruitless correspondence Mr. and Mrs. Parker proceeded to New York to meet in conference the leaders of the women's group and the Secretaries of the general Society. Mrs. Parker's letter is the most revealing of several accounts:

> We had a long hard day, but all of no use. Not one iota would the New York ladies yield. We started for Boston on the Steamer for Providence—tired, sad, and discouraged. I think Mr. Parker did not sleep at all that night. But the Lord gave him a vision of what was evidently His will and in the morning Mr. Parker had a constitution arranged on the . . . plan for Branches with each Branch to have its *own head quarters.* It took a little time and tact to get the Boston ladies to accept this plan then they submitted it to New York Philadelphia and Chicago.† [Soon] . . . these four Branches were in working order.[75]

The new plan of Branch Societies "proved acceptable to all concerned" and was embodied in a revised constitution approved in Boston on December 27, 1869.‡

The *Heathen Woman's Friend* in announcing the change said:

> A General Executive Committee will . . . be raised, composed of certain officers or delegates from each . . . [Branch Society]. The General Executive Committee will meet annually to arrange a general plan of work, while the Branch Societies will have power, through their Executive Committees, to work out this plan. This arrangement will give the Branch Societies equal right in the administration of the affairs of the Society, and will also give to each Branch a special work, and special missionaries. Thus we hope more fully to interest all Methodist women in our cause.[76]

The "great feature" of the 1870 annual meeting of the Missionary Society, the *Christian Advocate* said editorially, was "the very full discussion" of the proposed constitution which was approved "with great unanimity" and declared to be entitled to the cordial support and cooperation "of our Pastors and people." [77]

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* See Vol. I, 317.

† The Chicago group had been formed in the meantime. The Philadelphia Branch was organized in March, 1870.

‡ This constitution was approved by the Missionary Society on Feb. 15, 1870, and formally adopted by the several Branch Societies, March-April, 1870. The Society and the constitution were approved by the 1872 General Conference.—M. Isham, *op. cit.*, p. 23; *Minutes, B. M.*, VII (Feb. 15, 1870), 172 f.

It did not take the Society long to make an acknowledged place for itself in the economy of the Church. It was formally recognized by the 1872 General Conference. Pastors in their churches and Bishops presiding at the Conferences were generally helpful and cooperative. Bishop Matthew Simpson stated the case aptly in saying, "A house is sad without either half and it is perfect only when both are present; and this Missionary Society is but another illustration of the old declaration that it is not good for man to be alone." Occasionally a sour note intruded, as in Bishop E. R. Ames' objection that it "generally took three-fourths of the income to pay the expenses of a ladies' society," a statement that as applied to this particular case, at least, was soon disproved by the annual financial reports of the W.F.M.S.[78] An equally baseless assertion that "every dollar raised by the Woman's Missionary Society would be a dollar diverted" from the general Society also was quickly discredited. In 1873 the *Heathen Woman's Friend* reported $54,920. raised the preceding year by the W.F.M.S. and for the same period an *increase* in the receipts of the Missionary Society of $52,690. On this the editor commented: "it appears that *for every dollar raised by women for this cause last year the General Society received a new dollar over and above its previous income.*" [79] A similar statement was made at the 1872 anniversary of the Cincinnati Conference Missionary Society by the Treasurer who, according to Stephen L. Baldwin, announced increased receipts of $2,000. "while very large contributions had been made to the Woman's Society," giving evidence that the interest awakened "by the ladies had operated to the benefit of the general missionary cause, and increased the collections in its behalf." At the end of fifteen years of arduous labor the officers of the Society were able proudly to affirm that

> from the beginning to the present date, with the collection and disbursement of more than a million of dollars, and the administration of the development of work abroad, the Society has been able to accomplish all on the basis of unpaid, voluntary labor.[80]

Although from the beginning earnest effort was made by both Societies to maintain fraternal cooperative relations, frequently during the early years tension and some friction developed, as to a certain extent is inevitable wherever two organized groups, each jealous of its own prerogatives, operate within a common area of action and administration, even though the area is that of organized religion. Although the Secretaries soon gave up their original contention that the W.F.M.S. should turn over all their funds to be administered by the Missionary Society they continued to urge that all "surplus" remaining after the appropriations of the fiscal year had been met, should revert to the "parent Society." To this the W.F.M.S. Executive Committee pleasantly but firmly demurred:

> We think . . . [the demand concerning] *Surplus Funds* unfortunate. Much of our success depends upon our being able to say that all our funds are for the work among women. *All the money* we raise is missionary money and can be employed for no other work. The ladies however desire to designate the special work for which their money shall be expended. . . . surely the Miss. Soc. of the M. E. C. will always have, or desire to have as much work among heathen women as Christian women can maintain.[81]

Differences also developed between the Societies on such matters as salaries to be paid women missionaries and procedure to be followed in remitting funds. The first missionaries sent out by the W.F.M.S. were Dr. Clara Swain and Isabella Thoburn. At the meeting of the Board of Managers on April 19, 1870, it was reported that the estimates for salaries had been fixed by the New England Branch, on the recommendation of "the Ladies of the Mission," at $750. each, an amount "50 per cent greater than the allowances made by our own or any other Society for similar service in any foreign Mission field." The Board adopted the following resolution:

> *Resolved,* That the Board cannot approve of the Estimates submitted . . . for the Salaries of Misses Swain and Thoburn respectively viz: $750. each; and that we earnestly recommend the said Society to revise their Estimates and keep them within $600.* per annum . . . .[82]

Again, on July 13, 1871, Assistant Corresponding Secretary William L. Harris wrote to Mrs. Warren of the New England Branch:

> Your scheme of appropriations surprises us. Some of the matters were never submitted to our Board for approval. Some of the appropriations are extravagantly large; being out of all proportions to payments which are made by us, & by other societies. You certainly ought, by the requirements of your own Constitution, to have submitted your estimates to our Board for approval before making your appropriations. We do not, and cannot consent to this method of proceeding.[83]

On their part the W.F.M.S. Finance Committee complained that money remitted through the Missionary Society did not always reach "the destination for which it was intended." Because of this some of the Branch Treasurers, in contravention of agreement with the Board of Foreign Missions, were inclined to send funds direct to the W.F.M.S. treasurers on the field. This practice, however, was frowned upon by the W.F.M.S.'s Executive Committee. In successive years resolutions were passed requiring all Branch Treasurers "to send their remittances through the Missionary Secretaries of the Parent Board."[84] The 1876 General Conference adopted a resolution favoring "a closer connection" between "the Treasuries of the two Societies."

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* The Society kept the estimate at $750., making it read, salary, $600.; incidentals, $150.

In response the W.F.M.S. expressed concern for harmonious relations but declared their "conviction that a change in . . . relations to the General Missionary Society in this respect would be most disastrous."[85]

In 1881 and in 1882 friction developed to such an extent on the field between certain W.F.M.S. missionaries and some of those of the general Missionary Society as to cause serious concern on the part of the Board, the W.F.M.S., and the Bishops.[86] These conditions, as the General Conference of 1884 drew near, undoubtedly contributed to a renewed demand for unified administration through consolidation of the two Societies, which created much anxiety on the part of officers of the W.F.M.S. The *Heathen Woman's Friend* described the situation in an editorial:

> It was well known that our organization and its relation to the church at home and abroad would be thoroughly investigated by the General Conference, and however confident all might feel that the work and its methods would bear the fullest inspection, none could tell what changes . . . might . . . [be considered] necessary and expedient. It was also known that individual members elect of the conference —a few of them men of great influence*—were strongly in favor of depriving us of the liberty of action sanctioned by former General Conferences, and even of consolidating our treasury with that of the parent Society. Papers advocating these things had been printed and circulated in a quiet way for the purpose of influencing the action of the conference.[87]

None of these fears was realized. The Society had influential friends in the Committee on Missions and the report as presented to General Conference on May 28 was taken up for consideration, amended at one point, and promptly adopted. The opening paragraph which made the W.F.M.S. for the first time an official organization of the Church † read:

> For the more successful prosecution of the Missionary work of the Church among women in foreign lands, there shall be an organization known as the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to be governed and regulated by their Constitution, which may be altered or amended by the General Conference as the necessities of the work may require.[88]

General Conference action required that the Society should "work in harmony with, and under supervision of, the authorities of the Missionary Society"; that the "appointment, recall, and remuneration of missionaries, and the designation of their fields of labor, . . . [should] be subject to the approval of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society"; and that "annual appropriations to Mission fields . . . [should] be submitted for revision and approval to the General Missionary Committee." Since 1870 these requirements had been the practice of the Society. Now they became the law of the Church. No longer could it be said that the W.F.M.S. was "an independent Society." [89]

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* One of the "men of great influence" was Charles H. Fowler, during the 1880-84 quadrennium one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Missionary Society. In her letter of Oct. 5, 1907, to William A. Mansell, Lois S. Parker wrote: "When we reached home in May 1883 we found that Dr. Fowler . . . was working to have the W.F.M.S. done way with at the Gen. Conf. of 1884. We heard of it all over the country wherever we went. We found that he was getting delegates . . . where he went as Miss. Secy. to see things as he did. The ladies were troubled in every Branch, and so were we but we went to work to try to save the Society . . . ."—Lois S. Parker to William A. Mansell, in the files of the Division of World Missions of the Board of Missions of The Methodist Church.

† The sections of the constitution contained in Report No. XV were printed (with some changes in punctuation and phrasing) in the *Discipline*, 1884, pp. 160 ff. This edition of the *Discipline* is the first in which mention of the Society occurs.

Also included in the General Conference action were the provisions of Article VIII of the constitution which required that all missionaries sent out by the Society should "labor under the direction of the particular Conferences or missions of the Church in which they may be severally employed"; that they should be "annually appointed by the President of the Conference or Mission" and "subject to the same rules of removal" governing other missionaries. Likewise included was the stipulation that all the work of the Society should be "under the direction of the Conferences or Missions . . . in exactly the same manner as the work of the Missionary Society, . . . the Superintendent or Presiding Elder having the same relation to the work and the person in charge that he would have were it in the charge of any other member of the Conference or Mission."

The hampering restrictions under which the Society had been for years compelled to raise their funds were retained as Section 4 of the Disciplinary statement:

> The funds of the Society shall not be raised by collections or subscriptions taken during any of our Church services, nor in any promiscuous public meeting, nor in any Sunday-school,* but shall be raised by such methods as the Constitution of the Society shall provide, none of which shall interfere with the contributions of our people and Sunday-Schools for the treasury of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and the amount so collected shall be reported by the Preacher in Charge to the Annual Conference, and be entered in a column among the Benevolent Collections in the Annual and General Minutes.[90]

While the legislation made legally binding regulations which severely limited freedom of action it gave the Society an ecclesiastical status which it had not previously enjoyed, strengthened its appeal for support from all the churches, made it easier to enlist the cooperation of pastors, and increased opportunities for extending its work.

The Society as planned was a stroke of organizational and administrative genius. The Society Branches, each with executive and administrative functions, related the organization intimately to the women of the several regions and much more closely to the local church groups than would have been possible through a single central organization. It gave to every member a sense of *belonging* that proved to be a powerful stimulus to interest and activity. Within a brief time thousands of women, out of their limited resources, were giving sacrificially to the support of *their* missionaries, with whom they had a consciousness of personal relatedness, on a scale that put to shame the contributions of their husbands to the cause of missions.

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* This article of the constitution, originally imposed by influence of officers of the Missionary Society and others who feared that general solicitation of contributions in public meetings of congregations would diminish receipts of the missionary treasury, was unreasonably strict. Literally interpreted it might prevent taking collections in any public assembly, even of members of the W.F.M.S. It was modified by an amendment introduced by a prominent lay delegate, G. Wiley Wells of the Southern California Conference: "The provisions of § 4 of this paragraph (¶ 294) shall not be so interpreted as to prevent the women from taking collections in women's meetings convened in the interests of their societies; nor from securing memberships and life memberships in audiences where their work is represented; nor from holding festivals or arranging lectures in the interests of their work." A motion to lay on the table was defeated and the resolution was adopted. (*G. C. Journal,* 1884, p. 286; *Discipline,* 1884, p. 162.) In 1892 the word "regular" was inserted immediately preceding "Church services."—*Discipline,* 1892, p. 182.

The codifying of the constitutional regulations in the *Discipline* improved inter-Society relations and cooperation on the foreign field to such an extent that in their *Seventieth Annual Report* (1888) the Missionary Society Secretaries stated:

> The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has been, in even greater degree than ever before, a powerful adjunct to our work in every foreign field. The high character, the consecrated spirit, and the self-denying labors of its representatives have elicited the highest admiration and commanded the profoundest respect of all who have been witnesses of their work. We rejoice that it was able to report the receipt of over $206,000., and to appropriate over $230,000. for the new year.[91]

The income and field program of the Society steadily expanded until in the *Twenty-sixth Annual Report* (1894-95) the officers were able to announce:

> The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society supports 151 Missionaries, 14 of whom are medical, 750 Bible Readers, assistants and teachers, also 390 Day Schools with about 10,000 pupils, 50 Boarding Schools with about 4,000 pupils, 11 Orphanages with 450 orphans, 10 Training Schools with 200 pupils. It has also 13 Hospitals and Dispensaries and administers to about 60,000 women annually.[92]

Total receipts of the Society, 1869-95, were $3,740,910.27. It had sent to the foreign field 272 missionaries, of whom thirty-nine were medical missionaries.[93]

WOMEN'S WORK FOR WOMEN AT HOME

For years following the abolition of slavery the plight of freedwomen rested heavily on the hearts and consciences of Christian people, both North and South. Much was being done for Negro welfare—especially for the freedmen—but comparatively little for women.

In 1869 Joseph C. Hartzell, a member of Central Illinois Conference, was appointed pastor of Ames Chapel in New Orleans. In 1873 he became Presiding Elder of the New Orleans District. His wife, Jennie Culver Hartzell,* who had previously been prominently identified with Methodist women's church work in Chicago, immediately became interested in the plight of Negro women in the city. "Strangely," she said later in a letter, "has the Lord led me to work among the needy of our colored sisters in Louisiana." As to the manner of the leading a friend relates:

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* Mrs. Joseph C. Hartzell (1844-1916), née Jennie Culver, as a girl became interested in religious work, taking charge of a Sunday school and eventually developing it into one of the largest in Chicago. After graduating from high school she became a public school teacher, at the same time conducting a large night school for Swedish immigrants. Her social service interest led her to enlist in a movement for providing Chicago firemen with individual accident policies. Following her marriage in 1869 to Joseph C. Hartzell she accompanied him to New Orleans and greatly aided him in his work as pastor and Presiding Elder. Years later when Dr. Hartzell became Missionary Bishop of Africa, she accompanied him on four of his episcopal tours and by her insight into human needs and administrative problems gave invaluable aid. She took an active part in the founding of the mission to Mohammedans in Algiers.—Anon,. *Mrs. Jennie Culver Hartzell, In Memoriam, passim.*

> Her first work was in response to a call to visit a dying girl in a disreputable house. A minister had been asked for, but none dared go. Dr. Hartzell was out of town, and she went alone; went again and again for two weeks, and saw the girl happily converted, and willing to die. Once, on coming out of this place, the proprietress of another such house waited on her and asked her to come, the following Sabbath, and speak to her young women as she had talked to this dying girl. She went, and had twenty of those poor women, whom no one seemed to care to save, intently listening to her words, so hungry were they for help and comfort.[94]

Soon Mrs. Hartzell's interest led to her developing women's activities in the fifteen Negro churches in New Orleans and its suburbs. The conditions in the homes of the Negro women of the city, wrote Dr. Hartzell, were distressing:

> She longed to send women missionaries into . . . [their] homes . . . ; hold meetings for mothers and young women, train teachers for Sunday School work, give religious instruction; teach simple home industries, urge attendance upon Church and seek to lead all to Christ as their Saviour.[95]

Meanwhile missionary organizations of the Church were considering these same needs. Mrs. T. L. Tomkinson, in *Twenty Years' History of the Woman's Home Missionary Society,* states that at the W.F.M.S. General Executive Committee meeting in Chicago in 1872 a proposal for work among freedwomen in the United States was discussed. At the next annual meeting, in Cincinnati, 1873, Richard S. Rust, Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, urged the women to delete the word "Foreign" from their organization's name, thereby broadening its scope to include all Methodist missionary work for women. Bishop Wiley, in New England, made the same appeal. The proposal received some support within the Society and in 1875 at the General Executive Committee meeting notice was given of a constitutional amendment which would free the W.F.M.S. to engage in missionary work in the home field. By the next year the plan was declared inadvisable.[96]

However, the circle of stouthearted women who were resolved that an aggressive Methodist movement for work among the freedwomen should be undertaken was gradually widening. In this same year, 1875, on May 12, under the leadership of Mrs. Davis W. Clark, Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing, Mrs. Mary T. Lathrop, and others, a mass meeting of women was held in Baltimore which petitioned the Freedmen's Aid Society to plan for the election of women to its Board of Managers. This petition having been refused as legally untenable, the appeal was later broadened to a recommendation for a "woman's department auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society, under the direction of a lady as Assistant Corresponding Secretary." By the close of 1876 agitation of the subject by women had assumed the form of an organized campaign. The ninth annual meeting of the Freedmen's Aid Society was scheduled to be held in Pittsburgh on December 10-11. On the preceding Sunday women presented their plea in several Methodist pulpits of the city and on Monday afternoon held a women's meeting in South Common Church at which Mrs. Elizabeth L. Rust, wife of the Society's Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Mary Sparkes Wheeler, and Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing were the speakers. The subject received consideration in the Freedmen's Aid Society meeting and a special committee was appointed to prepare a report on the feasibility of the proposal of the women. The committee reported on January 20, 1877, that the legal obstructions to this project were insurmountable.

> In view of the fact that the introduction of females into the Board of Managers by the laws of the State of Ohio under which the Society holds its charter would endanger its title to property, it is not practicable to elect a lady as Assistant Corresponding Secretary . . . .

As a compromise the committee tendered an appointment as Agent of the Freedmen's Aid Society to Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing, "to be employed by and under the direction of the Corresponding Secretary," defining her duties as "publicly presenting the cause, collecting funds, and organizing Auxiliary Societies." Since representation of women upon the Board of Managers, giving them a part in planning the program, was denied, Mrs. Willing declined the appointment. Her refusal was approved by a considerable number of the interested women who in their thinking were not committed to a joint organization, believing that the cause would be better served by a society controlled entirely by the women of the Church.[97]

During intervening years while Missionary Society leaders were debating questions of organizational responsibilities and procedure there were others who were engaged actively in practical forms of mercy and help. At La Teche, near New Orleans, John P. Newman and his wife purchased a plantation of seventeen hundred acres as a site for an orphans' home for Negro children. Under the supervision of Mrs. J. S. Roberts, as matron, the home cared for more than one hundred boys and girls.

On her own responsibility Mrs. Hartzell established a mission school. She says:

> [This was] taught by white missionaries in my employ, . . . at Wesley Chapel in the winter of 1877 and 1878. It was taught by Mrs. [M. A.] Ryder, Mrs. [M. L.] Hathaway, and another lady. I became personally responsible for the regular salaries of the missionaries and for the rent and furnishings of their home.[98]

The following winter, having collected funds from friends in the North, Mrs. Hartzell employed a fourth missionary. The house which had been rented as a home for them served as headquarters for the varied activities.

> The results of the first year's work were: eight sewing schools for girls and women who were taught to cut, to fit and make ordinary garments and instruction in matters of home life were given. Often these schools were turned into prayer meetings. Mother's meetings were largely attended and full of interest. About 150 homes were visited weekly where there was religious instruction and prayer. The poor were helped as means would permit, the sick comforted and the aged cared for. Over 500 girls and women were brought under the care of these missionaries and many were converted.[99]

In the winter of 1879-80 there were thirteen small mission schools in which students of New Orleans University assisted as teachers. There were three common schools for girls and women, and five industrial schools.

Mrs. Hartzell and friends of her work looked forward hopefully to the 1880 General Conference which met in Cincinnati, but much to her disappointment the session closed without action concerning work among Negro freedwomen. After adjournment of the Conference, at the suggestion of Adna B. Leonard, Presiding Elder of the Cincinnati District, a meeting of Cincinnati Methodist women was planned to consider what might be done. On Tuesday, June 8, some fifty women came together in Trinity Methodist Church. Mrs. R. S. Rust, who had a firsthand acquaintance with the work in New Orleans, presided and the principal address—a plea for a woman's home missionary society—was made by Mrs. Hartzell. The importance of including work among white women as well as Negro women in the program of the proposed organization was urged by Mrs. J. L. Whetstone. Other meetings followed at intervals until finally on July 10, 1880, a constitution having been adopted, officers were elected. The purpose of the Society as stated by the constitution read:

> The aim of this Society shall be to enlist and organize the efforts of Christian women in behalf of the needy and destitute women and children of all sections of our country without distinction of race, and to co-operate with the other societies and agencies of the Church in educational and missionary work.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes* as President, and other able officers† associated with her, the Society was soon launched upon its course. The field of service for the Society in the South was summarized by Mrs. Hartzell in this brief statement:

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* Mrs. Rutherford B. (Lucy Webb) Hayes (1831-89) was born in Chillicothe, Ohio. She attended Ohio Wesleyan University and later completed her collegiate education in the Cincinnati Wesleyan College. During the Civil War she shared with her husband the vicissitudes of camp life, ministering to the needs of sick and wounded soldiers and winning their lasting respect and affection. She was a devoted Christian woman, thoroughly in sympathy with the purposes and program of the W.H.M.S., and her national prestige and active interest were a great asset to the Society.—Mrs. John Davis, *Lucy Webb Hayes, passim.*

† The officers, other than President, were: Vice Presidents, Mrs. Isaac W. Wiley, Mrs. F. S. Hoyt, Mrs. D. W. Clark, Mrs. Amos Shinkle, Mrs. J. M. Walden; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. R. S. Rust; Recording Secretary, Mrs. James Dale; Treasurer, Mrs. A. R. Clark. Mrs. Hayes asked that Mrs. John Davis should be elected as her first assistant. Her name was accordingly substituted for that of Mrs. Wiley as Vice President and the latter was made a resident manager.—Mrs. T. L. Tomkinson, *Twenty Years' History of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1880-1900,* p. 32.

> We have a thousand colored Churches in the Southern States. There ought to be a Christian woman laboring in each one of them. . . .
>
> If there is a more important missionary field in the world, or one more ripe for the harvest, I know not where it is.[101]

The first three projects undertaken by the Society were the maintenance of the Negro welfare and school work begun by Mrs. Hartzell; a like program—including also Sunday schools, juvenile temperance bands, W.C.T.U. groups, and house-to-house visitation—previously initiated by Mrs. L. M. Dunton in South Carolina; and the taking over of similar work carried on earlier by Miss Sibyl Abbott and Mrs. C. G. Mitchell, matron of Clark University, in Atlanta, Georgia.[102]

As in the case of the W.F.M.S., efforts to establish cooperative relations between the W.H.M.S. and the Missionary Society were attended with considerable difficulty. The Board of Managers, following submission of a report by the W.H.M.S., returned a proposition which read in part:

> [That the W.H.M.S.] shall work in harmony with and under the supervision of the authorities of the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church.[103]

The Society desired a more specific statement and returned the document with the addition of certain particulars. The Board thereupon referred the whole matter to Judge E. L. Fancher, one of the managers, who reported:

> There is nothing in . . . [the constitution of the Society] to authorize the Missionary Society . . . to enter into any alliance with another society. . . .
>
> I do not think it has constitutional power to resign any portion of its work in the home field, to another Society; nor to form any alliance with another society by which the latter shall have control of the fields or plans of missionary labor, or consent so to interfere therewith, or with the sources of missionary contributions, as to create a sort of partnership in the work.[104]

At this juncture the Board was wise enough not to attempt to enforce the legal opinion—it had no means of enforcement, had it so desired—and decided to refer the whole matter to the General Conference. Fortunately the W.H.M.S. had influential friends among the Bishops and other prominent lay and ministerial officials of the Church. In their address to the ensuing Conference the Bishops announced that the officers of the W.H.M.S. would make application "to be incorporated into the general system of benevolence" of the Church, and added:

> The working of these societies has . . . rapidly developed a power hitherto largely latent in the Church, and the benefit resulting from the increased activity of so many Christian women is scarcely to be estimated.

When the Committee on Missions made its report it included the following authorization, which was adopted by General Conference:

> There shall be an organization known as the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which Society shall have authority to collect and disburse money, employ missionaries, and do work among the neglected populations in the home field under the same disciplinary rules and regulations as those which apply to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, except section 3 [which refers to the appointment and supervision of missionaries in foreign fields].[105]

The W.H.M.S. soon enlisted a large membership among the women of Methodism. At the third annual meeting (October, 1884)—the first meeting after official recognition by General Conference—delegations were present representing fourteen states and twenty-four Annual Conferences. Receipts for the fiscal year (1883-84), including the general and special funds, were $14,949.70.[106] At the fourteenth annual meeting (October, 1895), the Corresponding Secretary reported:

> [The Woman's Home Missionary Society] has organized 2,500 Auxiliary Societies, secured 65,000 members, collected and disbursed . . . $974,233,46 in the advancement of its work, and distributed $637,057.11 worth of supplies for the assistance of ministers and their families in the frontiers. The Society has received gifts of property . . . worth $105,000. It has 16 model Homes and Industrial Schools in the South, missions for the Indians in Oklahoma, California, New Mexico, Washington, and Alaska. It has 10 missions in Utah, ... It has 3 Industrial Schools for Spanish Americans in New Mexico, missions in behalf of immigrants, and 25 important city missions, including Deaconess Homes. For the accommodation of these various missions, the Society owns property worth $425,000.[107]

RELATED ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATE

The election of Daniel P. Kidder as Corresponding Secretary of the reorganized Sunday School Union was a guarantee that the organization would be brought into a closer and more effective relation to the Church's missionary program. Kidder's term of service in Brazil (1837-40) had broadened his missionary vision and made him acutely aware of the Christian literature needs of the churches in mission lands. His annual report for 1846 emphasized the needs of Africa, China "with her swarming millions," Oregon and California with their new settlers, and the wide and growing West.[108] In 1850 he stressed the obligation "of the Union to furnish Sunday School books to all . . . [the] missions, domestic and foreign, especially to . . . [the] vast and rapidly-increasing emigrant population . . . ." He reported that a beginning had been made in supplying Christian teaching materials for German, Swedish, and Norwegian and Danish missions in the United States. By 1854 he was able to report that books to the amount of $42,000. had been distributed.

> These donations of books have been scattered from the border of Nova Scotia, on the east, to the Pacific coast, on the west, as well as in all our mission stations, especially China, Africa, and Germany.[109]

Stated in specific terms, one of the missionary aims of the organization was:

> To aid new and needy Sunday-schools in all parts of the work by grants of books, lesson-helps, and other requisites; and especially by grants of money to aid our foreign missions in the publication of Sunday school helps in foreign tongues.[110]

Need for materials for reading, study, and teaching was evidenced by requests from many parts of the world and expressions of gratitude for the aid rendered. A Presiding Elder in Texas, asking help for thirty-two Sunday schools in his District, wrote:

> Most of these schools are on the plantations . . . . At one . . . we have a membership of fifty, but not one can read a word. . . . We need help; we must have it from some source. In many places on the district our colored children have no other school save the Sunday-school.[111]

The Presiding Elder of the Bergen District, Norway Conference, wrote:

> I would express the thankfulness of our people, . . . for the aid we have received from the Sunday-School Union, helping us to carry on the extensive Sunday-school work of the mission. No department of our mission-work has been blessed with larger results than that of the Sunday-school.[112]

Closely allied with the Sunday School Union in organization, purpose, and service to domestic and foreign missions was the Tract Society.* Its reports frequently stressed its missionary character and activities. The *Annual Report* for 1854 stated:

> We have a work truly missionary in its character. . . . Wherever the missions of our Church extend, our books and tracts must go, in the vernacular of the people we seek to save.

The *Report* for 1859 said:

> In foreign mission stations, long before the devoted missionaries can be expected to acquire sufficient acquaintance with the language to preach to the natives, opportunities are afforded to awaken interest and to do good by the circulation of tracts. In this respect our society is a most important and efficient auxiliary to the missionary.[113]

Reviewing in 1875 the Society's work the Recording Secretary reported:

> In the first year of its existence this Society began its mission work by sending money to Germany for the establishment of a press, and by translating tracts for the

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* For organization and general activities of the Tract Society see Vol. II, 412, 412*n* and pp. 108-10 of this volume.

> Scandinavian missions. Since then, year by year, the various foreign missions of the Church* have been supplied with religious literature. . . .
>
> [In the U.S.] . . . great numbers of tracts are gratuitously distributed among the [foreign language missions and the] domestic missions . . . . We are also making special effort for the freedmen at the South.[114]

Henry Liebhart, editor of German Sunday-school publications, reported in 1880 that tracts in such number and variety had been published "that no other religious publishing house either in this country or in Germany can compete with [the output]." Ten years later he stated that in the U. S. "from 250,000 to 300,000 German tracts" were distributed annually.[115]

From widely separated parts of the world word came of extensive circulation. From Mexico, John W. Butler wrote: "[Tracts] have been scattered by thousands wherever our missionaries and native helpers have gone." From India, Charles G. Conklin, agent of the Methodist Publishing House, Calcutta, reported, "because of . . . [the appropriations of the Tract Society and Sunday School Union] we are sending out hundreds of thousands of pages in English and Bengali." From Finland, in 1893 Johannes Roth, Superintendent of the Finland and St. Petersburg Mission, expressed appreciation for a grant that enabled them to meet their "most urgent requirements," stating that previously they had not had in the Finnish language a hymnbook, *Discipline,* or religious paper. In 1894 literature grants were made to China, Japan, Korea, India, Malaysia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, and Peru.[116]

The Bible Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, authorized by the General Conference of 1828, was dissolved on the recommendation of the 1836 Conference in order that the Church might cooperate more fully with the American Bible Society, an interdenominational organization, formed in 1816. Within a few years the Society was distributing Bibles in large quantity through both the Missionary Society and the Sunday School Union. In 1846 the Union reported:

> We take pleasure in acknowledging the continued liberality of the American Bible Society, which . . . in April last generously granted five hundred Bibles, and three thousand Testaments, for the supply of poor Sunday schools in sections where no auxiliary Bible societies are organized.[117]

At the request of the Missionary Society a bilingual edition of the New Testament was issued with Swedish and English translations in parallel columns. Bibles were also supplied to the missions in California and New Mexico and "extremely liberal grants" to those in Germany and China. The 1860 General

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* Within the period 1854-77 the Tract Society expended on "mission presses in foreign fields" $42,326.25.—*Year-Book of the Sunday-School Union, and of the Tract Society . . . ,* 1877, p. 9.

Conference reported "reciprocally more close and interesting" relations between the Church and the Bible Society:

> While on the one hand the contributions of the Methodist Church to the Society are increasing, her draught upon the Society increases in at least an equal ratio. The enlargement of our work, both at home and abroad, creates new demands for means to supply the Holy Scriptures to our people . . . .[118]

In addition to Bibles supplied to agencies of the Church for distribution the Society made substantial cash grants* "for printing and circulating the Bible in the foreign missions." On their part Methodist churches supported the Society generously.†

Within the period 1845-95 two Corresponding Secretaries of this Society were Methodist ministers. Joseph Holdich, a member of the New York Conference and of the faculty of Wesleyan University, was elected to the secretaryship in 1849 and served until 1878. In the latter year Albert S. Hunt, pastor of St. James' Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, was made Corresponding Secretary and continued in office until his death in 1898.

By 1891 the American Bible Society had branch societies, or agencies, in ten foreign countries including Japan, China, Brazil, Mexico, Persia, and Venezuela.[119]

Principles and Policies Governing Foreign Missions

When once fairly launched on its overseas missionary enterprise the Church entered upon a program of almost unlimited expansion. The spirit of the movement was well expressed by Bishop Francis Burns in a letter written from Liberia on November 24, 1859:

> This staying within hearing of the ocean's waves will be the death of us! Christianity, in order to preserve its vitality among any people, requires expansion, and *we* must spread or die.[120]

In his *History of Missions in India* Julius Richter comments on this characteristic of the Methodist missionary program:

> This Church . . . began . . . to branch out in mission work on a scale and to an extent scarcely dreamed of in India before. With almost overwhelming rapidity it established two great groups of stations, ... But it did not rest satisfied . . . ; with feverish haste one mission field after another was added . . . [until it had] stations in almost every part of India.
>
> . . . But what a difference between it and the Basle Missionary Society, which followed closely in its wake . . . . In the German Society there was systematic limitation to given districts with a uniform and straightforward method of work; whereas the Methodists launched enterprises in every part and corner of the country, sometimes recklessly intruding upon the spheres of labor of older societies, yet still

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* For 1860-64 the grants of the American Bible Society to the Missionary Society totaled $35,200. and for 1876-80 nearly $28,000. for missions in Norway, Sweden, Germany, Italy, India, and Mexico.—*G. C. Journal*, 1864, p. 438; *ibid.*, 1880, p. 274.

† Contributions to the Society for the quadrennium 1860-64 were $171,951.29; for 1864-68, $387,832.23. (*Ibid.*, 1864, p. 439; *ibid.*, 1868, p. 575.) In the quadrennium 1892-96 there was a sharp decrease annually, the total in 1895 being only $29,937.—*Ibid.*, 1896, p. 429.

> with consuming zeal, with great financial resources, and at times under very capable leaders . . . .[121]

Years later Stephen L. Baldwin, after twenty years of service as missionary in China, commended this expansionist policy in that country:

> I mention only one more feature of Methodism, and that is its constitutional habit of *pushing on.* No sooner is one place fairly occupied, than it reaches out for another. With an ambition like Alexander's, only that it is holy and unselfish, it is ever longing for 'more worlds to conquer.' Its history in China is no exception in this respect.
>
> In 1870, the Foochow Mission urged the Church to enter the opening field in Japan, and in 1872 gave up its honored superintendent, Dr. Maclay, that he might enter upon the work in that empire. And now the Church has pushed on from Japan into Korea—the last great nation of the world to open its doors to Protestant Christianity.[122]

But at the fifty-third anniversary of the Missionary Society (1871) Dallas D. Lore who had had experience on the mission field in South America posed an alternative in missionary policy which for many decades remained a live issue. With elaborate argument he urged the policy of concentration in missionary operations in contrast to the rapid establishment of new and small stations, holding the strengthening of hopeful situations to be of greater importance than the entering of new fields.[123] Lore's point of view was urged in the editorial columns of the *Christian Advocate.* The paper contended in the issue of August 29, 1872, that missionary lines were already sufficiently extended and that new missions should not be established but rather existing missions should be reinforced. Three months later the editor returned to the subject, using more vigorous language:

> The pretense that we must go everywhere that we possibly can . . . is simply preposterous, and unworthy of serious attention. We would therefore regret any attempt on the part of our missionary authorities to occupy any new fields, except only Japan, . . . so manifestly providentially opened to us.

The *Christian Advocate* also declared that the "inchoate mission in Italy should not be prosecuted further." [124]

Argument based on theory was reinforced by reports which were the fruit of experience. Again and again complaints came from the fields of declining morale resulting from the inability of the Missionary Society to send reinforcements for which missions had asked and in many cases which the Society had promised. Typical is the statement of Hiram H. Lowry, Superintendent of the North China Mission, accompanying his report for 1878:

> We have been very grievously disappointed in not receiving the long-promised reinforcement. For three and a half years we have been anxiously expecting some one to fill the vacancy in our mission ranks, and although the work has been extending, and consequently increasing the demand for assistance, we are still compelled to wait.[125]

Letters of much the same tenor came to the Board in 1880 from Thomas B. Wood, Superintendent of the South America Mission, and in 1881 from Virgil C. Hart of Central China. In 1894 J. E. Robinson, then Presiding Elder of the Bombay District, India, reported facing unlimited opportunity for advance with a "depleted missionary force and utterly inadequate resources." C. F. Kupfer, Presiding Elder of the Chinkiang District, Central China Conference, was clear in his conviction that excessive zeal for expansion, want of personnel continuity, and inability—because of insufficient personnel—to develop a complete school program from the primary grades to the theological institute were responsible for failure to show permanent results—failure which is "not only detrimental to the work, but also disheartening to the workers and to the Church at home."[126] With this judgment Bishop Willard F. Mallalieu, after his episcopal visit to China in 1892, was ready to agree. ". . . we have less than a dozen men," he wrote, for 120,000,000 people within the bounds of the Central China Mission; one missionary to 10,000,000 Chinese. "It is a serious question," he said, ". . . whether it would not be wiser never to enter such a field than to enter it with such a meager force . . . ."[127]

Yet, as the history of later years will show, the policy of expansion was continued unabated. The urge to enter new fields was too strong to be successfully resisted. In 1897, Bishop McCabe having taken the initiative in appointing a missionary, the General Missionary Committee "authorized the establishment of a mission in Alaska" as a domestic mission; Bishop Thoburn opened work in Manila, the Philippine Islands, in 1899; and in February, 1903, a missionary was appointed to Sibu, Sarawak, Borneo. Other missions were established in new fields at intervals.[128]

WESTERN INSTITUTIONS TRANSPLANTED

There is no record of the Missionary Society having given instructions to its missionaries to transfer to their respective fields the exact pattern of church organization existing at home. It was assumed by all, without question, that this would be done. Four years after reaching India William Butler wrote to the Board:

> As fast as circumstances have allowed all the institutions and usages of our Church have been introduced into every mission—regular Sabbath services, class and prayer-meetings, love-feasts and quarterly conferences, day and Sabbath-schools . . . .[129]

Within a few years District and Annual Conferences were added, as soon in fact as a sufficient number of native preachers had been ordained to make organization possible. In China in the early years of the mission, anticipating the time when the organization of an Annual Conference would be possible, yearly meetings of the missionaries and native preachers were held "in order that the preachers might be trained in our [Western] methods." When, in 1877, the Foochow Conference was formally organized by Bishop Wiley, he wrote home:

> If it had not been for the strange language and dress, I could hardly have noticed any difference, so well prepared were these native preachers for all the business of a conference. You would have been surprised to see with what accuracy and good order everything went forward.[130]

Shortly after the organization of the Epworth League and the Junior League in the United States these also began to be organized in India, China, and other mission lands. Missionaries in their reports told of the forming of children's and young people's societies and stated that very successful meetings were being held. In some missions the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Loyal Legion, and still other organizations were formed. A typical missionary report stated that the "splendid machinery of the Church" was working well, training members "to work unitedly and systematically," and inspiring the local churches "with confidence in their own strength." [131]

Bishop Thomson, in his address at the organization of the India Mission Conference, confidently declared: "We have a system of itinerancy just fitted to set fire to these plains." One of the preachers in China was so enthusiastic over the itinerant plan that he said he did not doubt the Chinese government would in time "model its civil service after the Methodist *Discipline,* so exactly was it adapted to the Chinese character." Stephen L. Baldwin was so certain this feature of Methodism could be used successfully, despite the attachment of the Chinese to their local communities, that he said to his fellow missionaries, "If Methodism can't work the itinerancy here, it has no call to be here." [132] Among the few missionaries who raised any question concerning the superior value of the system was C. F. Kupfer, who wrote to the Board:

> Let the true friend of missions ever remember that every change in China means a great loss to the work and a loss to the man who was changed. The real flourishing congregations in China are those where the same men have labored for twenty and thirty years at the same place. If the personal character of the missionary is such as compels respect, then his life will speak louder than his words as soon as he is acquainted with the people and the people with him. But not until then will his words be to them a 'savor of life unto life.' [133]

At the end of the half century as at the beginning the sense of obligation to reproduce the polity of American Methodism without adaptation of any kind determined missionary activity. "One of the most important things to which we have this year given our attention," wrote T. M. Hudson, in charge of the Bombay Gujarati Mission in 1894, "has been the thorough Methodistic organization of the Church." [134]

The custom of Methodist missionaries of imposing upon Methodist Societies in the Orient rigid forms of ecclesiastical organization, type of architecture, and distinctive ritual—all developed within Western culture—was followed by all the denominations. The practice was responsible for creating in the Far East and elsewhere in the non-Christian world all the variant types of Christian ecclesiasticism,* with the accompanying confusion and conflict which existed in Europe and America.†

Ideally might it not have been better in India, for example, for all missionaries to have presented the Gospel of Christ, with emphasis upon the eternal verities which the evangelical Churches held in common, and to have left the people free to develop their own peculiar forms of organization and worship expressive of Indian genius and customs? Thus might not a truly Indian Christian Church have come into existence? What occurred was doubtless inevitable since denominational mission boards expected their missionaries to establish denominational churches. In obedience to the terms of their unwritten commission the missionaries could scarcely have done otherwise than they did, but would it not have been a wiser policy for missionary societies to have encouraged the development of indigenous Churches in the several mission fields?

SELF-SUPPORT URGED

From the beginning of Methodist overseas missions in all fields the ideal of a self-supporting church was held before converts. The distinction between a mission, in which all financial support came from abroad, and a self-sustaining church, was explained and converts were constantly urged to assume support of evangelists, pastors, and teachers raised up from among their own people. The Missionary Society felt that support in major part from abroad would foster an attitude of dependence and discourage initiative and development of strength of character in converts.

In Liberia progress in self-support was particularly slow. Forty-three years after the founding of the mission but one Society—that in Monrovia, the capital—was wholly self-supporting.[135] In China much speedier progress was made. In 1875, twenty-eight years after the founding of the China Mission, two of the Presiding Elders, those of the Foochow and Hinghwa Districts, were entirely supported by the native Church, while the Presiding Elder of the Hokchiang District received three-fifths of his support. At the self-support anniversary held at the 1875 annual mission meeting Sia Sek-ong, Presiding Elder, said:

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* William Newton Clarke: "The Church of England in India has its dioceses and bishops, as at home. . . . Presbyterians . . . introduce into their missions their own polity and their doctrines and traditional practices. . . . In Burma there exist essentially the same Baptist institutions as in America, . . . adopted with the new faith. . . . The question is, Ought the existing Christian denominations to impart their respective peculiarities permanently to the Christian communities that they have helped to found? Will the peculiarities imparted from the west remain in the thought and practice of the eastern peoples? . . . Will the existing denominations stay permanently where in the founding of missions they have been placed?"—*A Study of Christian Missions,* pp. 161 f.

† Another consequence, wholly unforeseen, of this custom was its use later, in combination with another practice of missionaries—the invoking of the protection of their governments—as the basis for the charge that the missionary movement is simply a means for imposing Western political and economic imperialism upon the Eastern world.

> Last year I was sent to the Hing-hwa District. . . . When I reached there, I found a picul of rice and a load of wood awaiting me. The stewards estimated my support at 100,000 cash, and my traveling expenses at 24,000, and they have paid it in full. I have not said a word about my own support during the year, but have had a peaceful heart to go about my work as a preacher of the Gospel.

Ting Mi-ai was supported by the Kiasioh Circuit. He said:

> I used to be paid in round foreign dollars, which were very nice to have; but they were an obstacle to the contributions of the people, who thought we had plenty of money. This year I have been paid in *potato money* [slices of dried sweet potato used as currency by the peasants, so poor that many cannot afford rice] . . . . But I have found potato money as good as any other kind. I can get rice, or wood, or anything else I need with it, and I have better heart to preach the Gospel than ever before.[136]

Gradual but steady advance in self-support was registered throughout the China Mission, though so slow that some missionaries despaired of entire self-maintenance ever being attained. Yet there were inspiring instances of really sacrificial giving. In 1890 in his annual report William H. Lacy told of one church member who feared that his cow, which was kept in the one room of the house, "would eat his bed-covering, 'for,' said he, 'we felt we ought to pay our subscription, and to do so we were compelled to sell our bedding, and have filled a cotton cover with straw as our only covering.' " [137]

It was this spirit manifested by members of the Church, together with the quality of the work of the missionaries, which led Tiong Ahok, not then a professed Christian, to purchase and donate to the mission "the most valuable property in the city of Foochow" as the principal building of the Anglo-Chinese College.[138]

In the early period of the India Mission generous support was given by British and other European residents. In his annual reports to the Board William Butler praised their "munificent liberality," their contributions aiding materially in the erection of schools and mission houses. The extreme poverty of the masses among whom the missionaries toiled raised grave doubts as to the possibility of the development of a self-supporting Church in India. Some questioned whether it would be just to accept even the smallest contribution from people who never had enough food to satisfy their hunger or to provide sustenance for their children. One missionary wrote that an examination of the circumstances in which the people of his Circuit lived "would prove to any fair-minded person the impossibility of a self-supporting mission among them."

Yet from that same District the Presiding Elder reported that several of the native preachers were "wholly or partially supported by the native Churches," [139] and another Presiding Elder wrote that despite the fact most of the Christians on his District were so poor they had no money to buy warm clothing in the winter and ofttimes could not sleep at night because of the cold, they had arranged to pay the salaries of certain pastors wholly from funds contributed by the people of the District.

> I selected five ordained men to be so paid, and I am thankful to say that these five men, whose aggregate salary amounts to some nine hundred rupees, have been paid in full from the contributions of their brethren. Among other things these poor people have given pigeons, fowls, eggs, pigs, wheat, corn, flour, bread, wood, cloth, sugar cane, potatoes, mangoes, cotton, chaff, straw, and many other kinds of things besides some cash . . . .[140]

These, however, were exceptional cases. With few exceptions converts tended to assume the status of dependents of the missions. This was not wholly the fault of the native Christians. While in their preaching and teaching the missionaries held before the people the ideal of self-support they did not enforce it as a policy. Impressed by the opportunities for evangelization of multitudes and impatient for rapid progress they called urgently for funds for support of evangelists and pastors for whom the few new converts were unable to supply maintenance. Once dependence of the native workers upon the mission for support was established, transition to self-support was extremely difficult. D. W. Chandler of the Foochow Conference wrote in 1880:

> The hearts of even our best preachers are not yet fully converted to our view . . . [of self-support]. The wisdom and devices of man are of no avail to solve the problem of how to make men willing to wholly abandon the aid of the Missionary Society and cast themselves entirely on the people for their support. Therefore we betake ourselves to prayer and supplication.[141]

Nevertheless, in most of the fields by the close of the period a nucleus of self-supporting churches had been established. Bishop Henry W. Warren, after his episcopal visit to the Orient in 1887, felt strongly that the development of self-supporting, self-propagating churches was the hope of christianizing the world. Writing particularly of North China, he said:

> The native preachers are men of real culture, are able workers, and have rich personal experience. If they could feel the needs of these dying and desolate millions, renounce all foreign aid, and throw themselves on native support, and raise up an indigenous Church, they would inaugurate the grandest movement of modern times.[142]

POLICIES GOVERNING MISSIONARY SERVICE

The wide expansion of the foreign missions program, beginning with the establishment of the China and the India Missions, called for decision on matters of principle and policy concerning which no legislation or rules had been established. There were no parallels in the experience of the Church on the home field and no precedents to which the Missionary Society could look for guidance.

The Disciplinary allowance, as has been stated, for married Traveling Preachers in the United States, including Bishops, for the quadrennium 1844-48 was $200. and "traveling expense." No change was made until 1860. During these years no attempt was made to determine a salary scale applicable to all missionaries in a given field. Missionaries' salaries were fixed individually at the time of their appointment. On October 4, 1846, in accordance with recommendations forwarded by George Gary, then Superintendent of the Oregon Mission, the salaries—including table allowance—of James H. Wilbur, David Leslie, and A. F. Waller, the three remaining members of the mission, all three married men, were fixed at $600. each. The salary of William Roberts, as the new Superintendent, was fixed at $800.[143] Following his appointment to China in 1847 the salary of Moses C. White "including Table expenses [for himself and wife, but exclusive of house rent] and fuel" was fixed at $800.; that of J. D. Collins, an unmarried man, at $500. "including board, light, fuel, and washing." [144] In 1856 the India Committee recommended as salary for William Butler, appointed as the first missionary to India, $810. plus children's allowance of $360.

On April 7, 1858, Durbin brought to the India Committee a detailed statement of support provided by the several missionary societies for missionaries in India. The basic salary recommended for man and wife was $90. per month, plus $5. a month for children under ten years, and $9. for children between ten and seventeen years. This was the first action looking toward a basic salary for a foreign mission field.[145]

After Mission Annual Conferences were organized in foreign fields they were expected to prepare estimates of amounts needed for salaries and other necessary expenses, including "table expenses," and house rent. These askings were considered by the Board's field committees and referred to the General Missionary Committee for final action.

Salaries were not materially increased until 1866. In that year the salary for man and wife in China was increased to $950.; allowance for each child, $100. additional; for single man, $575.; for single woman, $475. In 1868 a salary scale for India was fixed at: man and wife, $1,200., children under ten years, $72., over ten years, $144.; single man, $1,000.[146]

The matter of furloughs was one on which there was no clearly determined policy. Durbin's idea was that a missionary should dedicate himself to a foreign mission as a lifework—to live and die on the field with no thought of return either for health or family reasons. A memorial came to the 1872 General Conference from seven missionaries to whom "the imposition of life work" seemed particularly obnoxious, asking that certain restrictions and stipulations might be corrected or removed.* The memorial was referred to the Committee on Missions which recommended that changes be made. The *General Conference Journal* has no report of action taken on the recommendation.[147]

The Board was disposed to grant a furlough only if the Annual Conference on the field certified that it was required for reasons of health. This general policy continued in effect throughout the period. The 1885 *Missionaries' Manual* included this noncommittal statement concerning furloughs:

> At appropriate times, and for sufficient reasons, consent will be given to the return of a missionary and his family to this country, at the cost of the Society. . . . No periods have been fixed for such returns.

In 1895 Bishop Thoburn wrote that A. H. Baker, who had been "in India with hardly a day off for more than fifteen years," and had never before asked for a furlough, now being "strongly urged to do so for medical reasons" requested furlough leave. The Board granted the request and made provision in the 1896 appropriations for the expense. At this meeting (October 15, 1895) a committee was appointed "to draw up a set of rules to govern the Conferences in the matter of furloughs." [148]

At the second annual meeting of the General Executive Committee, W.F.M.S. (1871), the following statement was adopted for inclusion in the letter of instructions to missionaries: "She must assert her intention to give at least five years of continuous service as a single woman, to the mission work assigned, unless prevented by ill health." No specific provision was made with respect to furloughs until 1875. In that year the General Executive took this action:

> In conformity with the requirements of the case and out of regard to the lives, health, and effective labors of our missionaries, we recommend that provision be made by which they may return to this country at the expiration of five years' service, should they desire, and that they be allowed half their regular salary for the first year after return, it being understood that if they continue in the work of the Society in America, their travelling expenses will be paid by the Branch for which they labor.[149]

Another problem which confronted the Missionary Society concerned the superannuate allowance of a missionary. Where did the responsibility lie for providing the allowance: in the Annual Conference of which he was a member or in the Missionary Society, which paid his salary? The Society early took the position that since the missionary was an Annual Conference member the Conference had the same responsibility for his superannuate allowance as for the member whose appointments were within its geographical boundaries.

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* The protest was signed by Stephen L. Baldwin, J. D. Brown, William Butler, Otis Gibson, J. W Horne, Henry Mansell, and J. W. Waugh, all returned missionaries.

The fact that while he was on the mission field his salary was paid by the Society instead of by a local church, or churches, did not invalidate his claim upon the superannuate fund of his Conference. However, since this position was disputed by some, the managers in 1840 had placed in the revised constitution of the Society an article stating that the Board "shall have authority to . . . provide for the support of superannuated missionaries, widows and orphans of missionaries who may not be provided for by the annual conferences." [150] As this action was merely permissive, not mandatory, it settled nothing. How complicated the situation became is shown by the case of Moses C. White, one of the first two Methodist missionaries in China. Having resigned from the mission in impaired health he arrived in New York in August, 1853, and applied for superannuate relief. After some preliminary discussions of his case at Board meetings, at a meeting of the China Committee on January 23, 1854, Bishop Janes maintained that as a returned missionary White was entitled to support from the Board pending an appointment. The New York East Conference in 1854 listed him as superannuated but declined to grant any Conference claimant allowance. The Board then suggested to Bishop Waugh to restore White to the China Mission so that as a superannuated missionary he might be entitled to Board support. This the Bishop declined to do, declaring that since White's connection with the China Mission had ceased in August, 1853, he was not entitled to missionary support after that date. The Conference in 1856 maintained that he had no claim on Conference funds and that he should look for relief to the Missionary Society. White at intervals continued until November, 1856, to apply for help, without result. In the meantime he settled in New Haven, Connecticut, where, engaged in the practice of medicine, he became self-supporting.[151]

In 1882 the superannuated status of a returned missionary was still a moot question.* On September 19 the Board placed on record the statement:

> This Board does not favor the supernumerary or superannuated relation for an American Missionary, but a transfer to a home Conference of all who purpose a stay of more than one season in the United States.[152]

The Bishops almost invariably appointed as missionaries ministers who were married men. For lack of a wife Thoburn all but failed being sent to India. When he was approved for appointment by the Board Durbin was under the misapprehension that he was married and when he appeared alone at the Board's office in New York only the fact that the steamship agency refused to redeem the ticket that had been purchased for his passage saved him from being turned back at the last hour.[153]

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* As early as 1870, however, it had become the custom of the Missionary Society to pay the salary of a returned missionary for one year.

A very few single women,* in proportion to the number of men appointed, were sent out by the Society for work among women and children. Not until 1888 did the Board employ a layman as an overseas missionary† and then not by its own choice. John O. Spencer, a professor in the Anglo-Japanese College, feeling that he ought not to continue his ministerial relationship in the Church, asked and received a location from his Conference. Since as a layman he could no longer be appointed by the Bishop, it was necessary for the Board to appoint him as a lay missionary.[154]

FOREIGN MISSIONS BECOME ANNUAL CONFERENCES

Precedent was established in 1836 for the organization of Annual Conferences on the mission fields of Methodism. The General Conference of that year constituted the first overseas Mission Annual Conference‡:

> *Resolved*, . . . 'There shall be an annual conference on the western coast of Africa, to be denominated the *Liberia Mission Annual Conference,* possessing all the rights, powers, and privileges of other annual conferences, except that of sending delegates to the General Conference, and of drawing its annual dividends from the avails of the Book Concern, and of the Chartered Fund.' [155]

In May, 1848, three months before Oregon was made, by Congressional action, a territory of the United States, General Conference replaced the Oregon and California Missions by the Oregon and California Mission Annual Conference. The Conference met in its first annual session at Salem on September 5, 1849. Without the presence of a Bishop—up to this time no Bishop of the Church had ever visited Oregon—William Roberts, Superintendent, presided. In 1856, in response to an appeal from Germany, the Committee on Missions recommended that the missions in Germany and in the parts of France and Switzerland where the German language prevails should be organized as a Mission Annual Conference. The General Conference adopted the recommendation and in accordance with this action the Germany Mission Annual Conference met for organization in Bremen on September 10, 1856. In the absence of a Bishop, L. S. Jacoby presided.[156]

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* The first woman missionary commissioned for an overseas field by the Missionary Society was Mrs. Ann Wilkins, a widow. (See Vol. I, 338.) R. S. Maclay, China missionary, in 1850 asked that Henrietta C. Sperry be sent to China to marry him. The Board agreed to send her out as a missionary voting her a salary of $300. and outfit ($150.); also passage (China Committee, "Minutes," Jan. 16; March 1, 1850). In 1858, following repeated action by the China Committee, the Board commissioned Beulah and Sarah Woolston and Phebe E. Potter as missionary teachers for China, each to receive an annual salary of $300. and $150. for outfit. (*Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1848; Oct. 16, 1850; Jan. 16, 1856; Sept. 14, 1858; *Minutes B. M.*, VI, 214.) In 1860, Libbie A. Husk was sent as a missionary to India. (*Forty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1860-61], p. 33; "India Correspondence, M. S.," 1856-66, Oct. 19, 1860, p. 71.) In 1862 Sarah E. White and Emma C. Porter were sent to India, and in 1863 Martha Terry and Mary Whitcomb.—*Forty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1864), p. 60; "Minutes of the India and Turkey Committee, M. S.," 1855-68, Aug. 18, 1863, p. 71; *Minutes, B. M.*, VI, 453.

† In 1835 and 1838 the Society sent several laymen—farmers and mechanics—as missionaries to Oregon.—See Vol. I, 307 f.

‡ The first session of the newly constituted Liberia Mission Annual Conference was held in Monrovia, Jan. 5-9, 1837, John Seys, Superintendent, presiding.

The General Conference of 1860 gave the Bishops authorization to constitute the missions in India a Mission Annual Conference if in their judgment it would promote their interests, but the authorization was not acted upon during the quadrennium.[157] In 1864, convinced that the organization of overseas missions would tend to bring them under a more direct supervision of the Board and of the episcopacy, the Board of Managers recommended to the General Conference that all foreign missions should be organized as Mission Annual Conferences whenever their condition would "justify such action." In the light of this action, and on recommendation of its Committee on Missions, the Conference adopted this resolution:

> *Resolved,* That, in the judgment of the General Conference, our foreign missions should be organized into Mission Annual Conferences so soon as their condition severally shall render such organization proper, and that such Mission Conferences should possess all the rights, powers, and privileges of other Annual Conferences, with the concurrence of the presiding bishop, excepting that of sending delegates to the General Conference and of drawing its annual dividends from the avails of the Book Concern and the Chartered Fund, and of voting on constitutional changes proposed in the Discipline.[158]

To give effect to the resolution, as applied to India, the Conference instructed the Bishops as soon as practicable to organize the India missions into a Mission Annual Conference, and authorized them to organize any other of the missions into Mission Conferences "when in their judgment it is desirable and practicable."[159] In accordance with this action, the India Mission Conference was organized on December 8, 1864, under the presidency of Bishop Edward Thomson—the first Mission Annual Conference in the Orient. Bishop Thomson, in his account of the action, makes this comment:

> Natives were admitted and ordained upon an equality with their brethren from America. There was some misgiving in regard to this policy, but I feel certain that it is right. The preachers admitted are well qualified, and could pass a satisfactory examination in any of our Conferences. To exclude them, or to put them under any disability on account of color, would be at once a blunder and a sin.[160]

The disabilities imposed on the Mission Annual Conferences caused no little restiveness and some openly expressed dissatisfaction. Why, it was asked, should not Annual Conferences in foreign fields have all the rights and privileges of other Annual Conferences? The proviso that they "should only exercise their limited prerogatives 'with the concurrence of the presiding bishop' was particularly objectionable." It gave to the Bishop a virtual right of veto which was without basis in the fundamental law of the Church, an extent of power which the Conferences in America would have considered intolerable. In the *Methodist Quarterly Review* James M. Thoburn of India wrote:

> A provision so new to the law of our Church, and so extraordinary in its character, very naturally excited the apprehensions of our missionaries, nor have they had their solicitude entirely quieted by the explanations of its supporters on the General Conference floor and elsewhere. The reasons assigned for the measure seem so utterly irrelevant, that those most directly interested can hardly be censured for doubting what its ultimate design was really intended to be.[161]

The denial to the Mission Annual Conferences of right of representation in General Conference also awakened strong protest. At the next Conference (1868) "all acts of former General Conferences restricting the powers of Mission Conferences" were repealed, and the Liberia, Germany and Switzerland, and India Mission Conferences* were "declared to be Annual Conferences, endowed with all the rights, privileges, and immunities" enjoyed by Conferences in the United States.[162]

This legislation on the Mission Annual Conferences was a far-reaching action—in all probability more far-reaching in its implications than many of the delegates realized. The Church had obeyed the command to carry the message of the Gospel to all the world. Societies, composed of converts who had responded to the call, were being organized in Africa, India, China, and other far-off fields. Was the Methodist Episcopal Church, having preached a universal Gospel, prepared to assume the responsibilities of an ecumenical Church? The General Conference action precipitated widespread discussion. Most pronounced in his opposition was Daniel Wise. "What shall be done with these Churches and conferences in foreign lands?" he asked in two lengthy articles in the *Christian Advocate*. "Shall they remain ecclesiastically united to the parent Church, be governed by one discipline, superintended by our Bishops, and represented in our General Conference?" His answer was an emphatic *No*.

> Does not all history confirm this view? The apostles did not seek to establish a universal Church, but having given a people the Gospel, left them to their own resources. . . .
> . . . let us give the Gospel, with our form of Church government, to as many nations as possible. Let us establish one Methodist Episcopal Church in Africa, another in Germany, a third in India, a fourth in China, and so on until we have reached all the nations; but let us not attempt the suicidal folly of governing those Churches by one discipline, one Board of Bishops, and one General Conference.

In the view of the apostles, Dr. Wise contended, "Church unity consisted not in general ecclesiastical relations, but in oneness of faith and in that devotion to Jesus which has ever been and still is the common bond of fellowship between all Christians." [163] Among others, Daniel Curry, editor of the *Christian Advocate,* 1864-76, also expressed himself strongly in opposition. "An ecumenical Methodism is, happily, an impossibility," he declared, and efforts toward its realization can "only work harm." As an alternative he argued for "a national Methodism for each nationality," in which "our form of Christianity shall be naturalized." [164]

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* John T. Gracey, a missionary from India, present at the seat of Conference as a "representative" of the India Mission Conference, was admitted to membership in the General Conference as "Delegate from the India Annual Conference" (*G. C. Journal*, 1868, p. 282), the first representative of a foreign mission seated in a General Conference. Precedent for this action existed in the seating of "representatives" of Mission Conferences in the South which had been recognized as Annual Conferences (*ibid.*, pp. 24, 127 ff., 140). T. B. Neely contends (*The Methodist Episcopal Church and its Foreign Missions*, pp. 200, 207, 210 f.) that in both cases representatives (which the General Conference decided to consider "provisional delegates") were not legal delegates and that the action recognizing them as such was unconstitutional.

Despite opposition the organization abroad of regularly constituted Annual Conferences steadily continued. In 1876 the North India, South India, Norway, and Sweden Conferences were organized and in 1878 Foochow. For several years no new foreign Conferences were formed. In 1881 the Italy Conference was organized; in 1884, Japan Conference; in 1886, Mexico Conference, Bengal Conference and Switzerland Conference; in 1892, Bombay Conference; and in 1893 the North China, North Germany, South Germany (created out of former Germany Conference), and South America Conferences.

In 1880 the Bishops, in their Episcopal Address, stated with some feeling of exultation that the Church had brought to the General Conference "for the first time in its history, as members . . . its native converts from the four quarters of the globe." [165] The picture was not overdrawn. Delegates were present from Europe (three Conferences), and Foochow, North India, South India, and Liberia Annual Conferences—in all, ten delegates.

There were those who continued to hold that the organization of national Churches would be a preferable course. A precedent existed in the setting off of the Methodist Church of Canada in 1828. A resolution instructing the Committee on Missions "to inquire into the expediency of so organizing the foreign missions . . . in Europe and Asia as that the Conference and missions . . . shall become independent bodies" was adopted by the 1880 General Conference. The committee reported that "it is premature to consider at this time the question of establishing independent Methodist Episcopal Churches in Europe and Asia," and this report also was adopted. At the meeting of the Board of Managers on April 24, 1884, the Committee on Ways and Means laid before the Board a statement, without recommendation, of which Paragraph 2 read:

> It seems to us that those of our foreign Missions which have grown to such magnitude as to justify their being constituted Annual Conferences, should be still further recognized as self governing ecclesiastical bodies, with the authority to adjust their polity and administration to the demands of their condition severally, so as to constitute them—instead of foreign Missions, as they now are in their several countries—domestic denominations, or churches, belonging only to their own members, and subject to no foreign ecclesiastical authority.[166]

The statement was evidently motivated in part by a desire to lessen the obligation of the Board for financial support and to increase self-support since it called attention to "considerable amounts of church property, and of revenues derived from among themselves" in possession of certain missions, and suggested that they should look "to the Parent Society or Church only for supplementary gifts, which should be used chiefly in aggressive missionary work." A second consideration urged was the presence in most countries of Methodist bodies other than the missions under American Methodist auspices and the desirability of bringing all such organizations "into an organic unity" which could "be effected only by the unrestrained action of the Missions, . . . with the consent of their parent bodies."

The Board, however, was not disposed to turn back from the line of procedure that had been followed for sixteen years and after discussion "the whole subject was postponed indefinitely." [167] When the General Conference (1884) met, the scope of the legislation of 1868 governing Mission and Annual Conferences then existing in foreign fields was broadened by the passage of the following resolution:

> *Resolved,* That all Conferences heretofore organized outside of the United States are now, and all those which may be organized hereafter under the authority of this General Conference shall be, entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities which belong to Conferences within the United States.[168]

PROVISION FOR CENTRAL CONFERENCES

The General Conference of 1884 enacted other legislation of great significance to the Church abroad when in response to a petition from India,* and on recommendation of its Committee on Missions, it made provision for a Central Conference.† The action‡ read in part:

> When in any of our Foreign Mission fields there is more than one Annual Conference or Mission, or more than one form of Methodism, it shall be lawful, either by order of the General Conference, or by a majority vote of all the Conferences or Missions wishing to unite, . . . to organize a Central Conference.

The Central Conference was given power to "take under its supervision the educational, publishing, and such other connectional interests and work as may be committed to it by the Annual Conferences or Missions; but never in contravention of the Book of Discipline, or Rules of the General Conference . . . ." [169]

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* This was the second appeal from India for authorization of a Central Mission Conference. In 1880 a memorial had been presented to General Conference from India "asking for the authorization of a central body, empowered to deal with such questions as might be common to our churches and missions in India." (J. M. Thoburn, *India and Malaysia,* p. 299.) But this memorial was not reported out by the Standing Committee on Missions to which it had been referred. Nevertheless, the India missionaries convened a "Delegated Conference" in Allahabad in July, 1881, made up of ministerial and lay representatives of the North India and the South India Annual Conferences.—*Minutes of the Delegated Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India,* p. 1. See also Harry Wescott Worley, *The Central Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . ,* pp. 120 f.; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* III, 23 f., 120 f.

† This legislation was also influenced by a proposal for uniting the Methodist missions in Japan of the Methodist Episcopal Church and of the Methodist Church of Canada, as is indicated by the inclusion in the action of the clause "or more than one form of Methodism." This clause was deleted by the 1892 General Conference.—*G. C. Journal,* 1884, Appendix I, p. 349; *ibid.,* 1892, p. 470.

‡ This action was followed by an enabling act: "*Resolved,* That a Central Conference be hereby constituted in India, and one authorized for Japan, under the rules just adopted by this General Conference."—*Daily Christian Advocate,* May 29, 1884, p. 194.

The first Central Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was convened in Bareilly on January 13, 1885, under the presidency of Bishop John F. Hurst, and a second India session was held in 1887, with Bishop William X. Ninde as president. In 1889 the third session, which now included Malaysia, was held.

The 1892 General Conference deleted the proviso, "by a majority vote of all the Conferences or Missions wishing to unite," thus limiting to General Conference the power to institute a Central Conference, but it included a grant of power, under certain limitations, to "fix the boundaries of the Annual Conferences within its bounds." The Central Conference of India and Malaysia held its fourth session in Calcutta in 1892 and its fifth at Allahabad in 1894.[170]

EPISCOPAL SUPERVISION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

That Methodist missions in foreign lands were entitled by right to episcopal supervision was determined by the character of the Church. As an episcopal Church, the denomination had no alternative. As soon as the first overseas mission was established the question of how supervision should be provided became insistent. A first step was the assignment of supervisional responsibility of all foreign missions to one Bishop. A limited measure of supervision was represented by the Bishop's appointment of missionaries and his correspondence with the missions. The increase in number of overseas missions within a few years entailed an undue burden of labor for one Bishop and in 1854 the General Superintendents in council decided to divide the responsibility by committing "each mission or class of missions to one bishop,* that he might give his whole attention, in this respect, to the particular missionary interest committed to him." [171]

However, this type of supervision did not meet Liberia's need. Describing the situation Dr. Durbin stated that there were no ordained ministers in the Liberia Conference; some men had been eligible for deacon's orders for years but had not been ordained; and some had died, after years of service, without ordination.

> It was not to be disguised that this state of things had created uneasiness in the Conference. There was a want of authority and of administration in the mission by a proper officer. There was no way, . . . for the proper authority to be attained, except by a Bishop in the Mission Conference.[172]

The problem of episcopal supervision in Liberia occupied much of the time and thought of the 1852 General Conference. The matter was brought before the Conference by the Committee on Missions in an extended report. The petition of the Liberia Mission Annual Conference asked that some measure be taken "to furnish the Church in the Republic of Liberia with Episcopal powers." The committee prefaced its lengthy report by stating, as its unanimous opinion, that Liberia's request ought to be granted. Only three possibilities in their opinion existed: (1) regular annual visitation by a Bishop from the United States (this method the committee rejected as impracticable because of "the unhealthiness of the climate, in reference to white men"); (2) the ordination of a Missionary Bishop* "whose jurisdiction should be confined to Africa, or to the African race"; or (3) the organization, by the Liberia Annual Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Africa with provision for the election and ordination of a Bishop by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The committee recommended the third alternative.

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* Durbin felt that this action marked an advance in the effectiveness of episcopal supervision. Throughout the period 1854-95, in the *Annual Reports* of the Missionary Society, the name of the Bishop to whom each mission had been assigned was appended to the report of that mission.

The presentation of the report led to long and involved discussion. Finally the Conference resolved

> That measures be taken to insure the due exercise of episcopal functions in the Liberia Annual Mission Conference.

Later a second resolution was also passed:

> That the General Conference recommend to the Bishops that they make such arrangements as that one of their number shall visit Liberia once or oftener during the ensuing years, as they shall judge necessary.[173]

Pursuant to the recommendation Bishop Levi Scott sailed for Africa late in 1852 and arrived in Monrovia on January 6, 1853. He visited the principal mission stations, convened the Liberia Conference, held many interviews with pastors, officials of the colony, and other persons, and on March 18 sailed for home.[174]

This was the first time that a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church had exercised episcopal authority outside of the geographical bounds of the United States. Scott's visit to Liberia effectively disposed of the objection to episcopal visitation of a foreign mission on the ground that the sphere of authority of a Methodist Bishop was confined to the United States.[175] Many felt that the genius of the general superintendency related every Bishop to the whole Church, and required each "to travel through the connexion at large." To do this obviously necessitated episcopal visitation of the missions in foreign fields. Bishop Scott's visit to Liberia† was followed in 1857 by that of Bishop Simpson to Europe, where he presided over the Germany and

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* The Committee on Missions apparently preferred a Missionary Bishop but "deemed it scarcely expedient to introduce into the General Conference the discussion of a measure which looked to the alteration of one of the restrictive rules, and it was judged very doubtful whether such a measure could be perfected."—"Journal of the General Conference, 1852," Appendix, p. 194, *G. C. Journals,* III.

† Following Scott's visit to Liberia in 1853 there was no further visitation of that mission until 1876. During this interim episcopal supervision was provided by Missionary Bishops. See pp. 176 ff.

Switzerland Conference, and visited the missions in Scandinavia. In 1861 Bishop Janes also visited the European missions. In each case General Conference recorded its approval of the visit.[176]

Precedent having been established by the three Bishops, more frequent and extensive missionary tours by the General Superintendents were taken for granted by the Church. In 1864 the Bishops decided, with the concurrence of General Conference, that during the quadrennium one of their number should visit the missions in the Orient. Bishop Edward Thomson made the journey. In 1868 the General Conference went even further, resolving that one of the Bishops should visit India, China, and Bulgaria during the quadrennium; one the missions in Europe; and if possible "also visit South American missions." The Orient assignment fell to Bishop Kingsley, who planned the first round-the-world tour attempted by a Methodist Bishop.* The brevity of his stay made his visit less than satisfactory to missionaries.†

The election of eight Bishops by the General Conference of 1872 made possible still more extensive episcopal visitation, and again the Bishops designated one of their number to go round the world. Bishop Harris, upon whom their choice fell, left New York on May 1, 1873, and returned seventeen months later, having successfully visited all the Methodist missions in Asia and Europe.[178] Several other episcopal tours abroad were made.‡

Bishop Gilbert Haven, accompanied by Dr. J. T. Gracey, went to Liberia in 1876 and in December convened the Liberia Annual Conference. "He visited every place it was safe to visit, (and, alas! some that it was not;)" § but himself attempted no exploratory tours into the hinterland. He found serious abuses being practiced in some of the stations, with which he dealt firmly, and was able to initiate some needed reforms.[179]

Other episcopal tours during the quadrennium 1876-80 were made by

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* Bishop Kingsley sailed from San Francisco on Sept. 8, 1869. After calling at Japan, he made brief visits at Shanghai, Peking, and other northern China cities, presided over the annual meeting of the China Mission at Foochow, briefly inspected the India mission work, and held the India Mission Conference. He arrived at Beirut on April 4, where, two days later, he died from a sudden heart attack. Burial was in the Prussian Cemetery of Beirut.—J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 61 ff.; see also Calvin Kingsley, *Round the World: a Series of Letters.*

† Bishop Kingsley's visit was typical of many. His itinerary allowed approximately one month only for India; three days only for the Moradabad District, with its area of about 2,280 square miles and population of 1,155,173. J. M. Thoburn's comment on his visit was: ". . . a journey for the purpose of practical work should be devised in the interest of practical work. . . . For the mere duty of presiding at an Annual Conference, a Bishop need hardly be sent to the antipodes at all; and if he goes to inspect the missionary operations carried on in a great country like India, the inspection must be more than a mere episode in a great journey to be of any real advantage to any party."—*My Missionary Apprenticeship,* pp. 198, 243, 244 f.; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 62.

‡ Bishop Gilbert Haven visited Mexico in 1873, and Bishop Simpson in 1874. Bishop Foster presided over Mission Conferences in Europe in the summer of 1873, and then "sailed from Liverpool for South America, giving to . . . [the] missions . . . [there] the first episcopal visit they . . . [had] received." In 1874 Harris sailed to Europe. Bishop Simpson presided over the annual meeting of the Italy Mission in July, 1875, and later over those of Germany and Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.—Episcopal Address, *G. C. Journal,* 1876, Appendix, pp. 394 f.

§ Despite the extreme precautions taken to safeguard health Bishop Haven contracted malaria and his death on Jan. 3, 1880, was traceable to that infection.—George Prentice, *The Life of Gilbert Haven . . . ,* pp. 486 ff.

Bishops Andrews, Wiley, Bowman, Merrill, and Harris.* Concerning Andrews' extensive trip, covering almost fourteen months, Secretary J. M. Reid says:

> This length of time gave opportunity for inspection and intercourse such as no Bishop had hitherto enjoyed, and the satisfaction to the missionaries and the profit to the missions were correspondingly greater.[180]

While the more intensive program of episcopal visitation of the quadrennium was gratifying both to the missions and the Church at large fully satisfactory episcopal supervision had not yet been provided. The General Conference of 1880 recommended that

> if practicable, . . . all the Foreign Missions be visited twice during the ensuing quadrennium; and could these visitations be more protracted, we believe the results would be highly satisfactory.[181]

This action presented a challenge to the episcopal board, as well as pointing in the direction of some more adequate plan of episcopal supervision than was provided by casual visits to the foreign fields. The Bishops acted promptly and during the four years carried through the most ambitious program of foreign missions' visitation that had ever been attempted.†

Again, in 1884, an undertone of dissatisfaction prevailed in General Conference concerning episcopal supervision of the foreign missions by short-duration visits, even though the visits were more frequent. By formal resolution the Bishops were asked "to advise the General Conference whether, in their opinion, the emergencies of . . . [the] Mission work require that an Episcopal residence be established in Europe, India, and Africa, or in either country." The Bishops returned the answer that "in the light of much experience and observation" (obviously experience and observation only in Liberia, since in that mission alone resident supervision had been tried) their unanimous judgment was that "it would not be wise at the present time to fix Episcopal residences in India, Europe, and Africa, nor in any one of them."

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* Soon after the adjournment of General Conference (1876) Bishop Andrews sailed for Europe. He presided over the Germany and Switzerland Conference in July, and organized the Sweden Annual Conference and later the Norway Annual Conference. He attended the meetings of the Denmark Mission and of the Bulgaria Mission. In November he organized the South India Conference and in January, 1877, presided over the North India Conference. In Italy later he convened the annual meeting of the mission there. In early summer he again made a visitation of the work in Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. In 1877 Bishop Wiley made an episcopal visit to Japan and China, and in 1879 visited the missions in Europe. In 1878-79 Bishop Bowman traveled the same circuit as had Andrews two years before. "The missions in Mexico were visited by Bishop Merrill in 1878, and by Bishop Harris in 1880."—Episcopal Address, *G. C. Journal,* 1880, Appendix, p. 403.

† The annual Conferences of Germany and Switzerland, Sweden, and Norway, and the Denmark Mission, were attended in 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883 by Bishops Merrill, Peck, Harris, and Foster respectively. The Bulgaria Mission was convened in 1880 by Bishop Merrill. In 1881 he also organized the Italy Annual Conference. The North and South India Conferences were held in 1880 by Bishop Merrill and in 1882-83 by Bishop Foster. The Japan, North China, and Central China Missions and the Foochow Conference were presided over by Bishop Bowman in 1881 and by Bishop Merrill in 1883. Mexico was visited by Bishop Andrews in 1882 and by Bishop Warren in 1884. In 1881 "Bishop Harris visited . . . [William Taylor's missionaries] laboring at different points on the Western Coast of South America, most of whom, though they had been received on trial in the Conferences at home, and had been elected to orders under the missionary rule, had not been ordained, and, during his visit he ordained such preachers . . . , nine in all." From Valparaiso he traveled via the Straits of Magellan to the east coast, holding the annual meeting of the South America Mission in Montevideo in February, 1882.—*Ibid.,* 1884, pp. 35 f.

Despite this attitude on the part of the episcopacy the General Conference decided in the case of Africa again to elect a Missionary Bishop, but for the Orient recommended that "the Bishops visit each of our Missions and Conferences in Asia twice during the quadrennium, and remain as long at each visit as their other duties will allow." [182]

The recommendation on visiting the missions was followed* and the Bishops in 1888 reported that they had "given adequate time to this work, so that no important interest of the church has suffered by any lack of service." Further, for their part they had "no changes to recommend." However, they seemed to sense a probability of impending change in the prevailing plan of supervision since they suggested that there were "advantages in the visits by the Bishops from this country to the foreign fields which should not be thrown away without positive assurance of sufficient gain" to justify a change. Their visits, they felt, assured a unified administration in different countries, kept "alive the spirit of Methodism," and made possible the gathering of information which, "diffused through the churches at home . . . [was] of untold value" to the people, and to the General Missionary Committee. In addition,

> it is of untold value to have present for consultation [in the General Missionary Committee meetings] not one merely, but from two to five Bishops who have been upon the ground and have studied the situation in the several missions, and can speak intelligently upon the representations made by the missionaries . . . .[183]

The 1888 General Conference made no pronouncement on episcopal visitation but, with a memorial before it from the Central Conference of India asking for a missionary episcopacy, proceeded to elect a "Missionary Bishop for India and Malaysia." This action served as a stimulus to increased episcopal visitation during the ensuing quadrennium.†

Even the more intensive program did not fully satisfy either the missions or the Church as is attested by the action in 1892, taken on recommendation of the Committee on Episcopacy:

> Having considered the petition of the members of the South American Mission with reference to increased episcopal supervision, we recommend that the General Superintendents be requested to provide for at least a biennial visitation to this important field, and that the Bishop assigned to this duty take ample time to accomplish thoroughly the work committed to him.[184]

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* Following the General Conference of 1884 Japan and China were visited by Bishop Wiley on a trip which terminated in his death at Foochow. In the same year Bishop Hurst presided over the North and South India Conferences. In 1886 India was visited by Bishop Ninde. Bishop H. W. Warren in 1887 "made the tour of Eastern Asia," including Japan, Korea, and China. The missions in Europe were visited in 1884, 1886, and 1887, by Bishops Hurst, Foss, and Ninde, and South America in 1885-86 by Bishop Fowler.—*Ibid.*, 1888, pp. 36 f.

† Eight of the Bishops—Andrews, Fowler, Goodsell, Mallalieu, Newman, Ninde, Walden, and Warren—each visited one or more of the foreign mission fields during the quadrennium 1888-92. One of the most extensive visitations was that of Bishop Walden who in 1889 spent nearly three months in Mexico; in 1890 made a tour of South America; and in 1891 attended the Conferences in Europe and visited the missions in Denmark, Bulgaria, and Finland. Bishop Fowler also traveled extensively, making the circuit of the globe, "giving about a year and a half of careful inquiry into the state, condition, and wants of the work in every field." In the course of the quadrennium other Bishops—Andrews, Goodsell, Mallalieu, Newman, and Warren—also visited some part of the mission work in Eastern Asia. —*Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 38 f.; *Seventy-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1891), p. 60.

A MISSIONARY EPISCOPACY FOR OVERSEAS MISSIONS

The action of the 1852 General Conference providing that one of the Bishops visit Liberia "once or oftener during the ensuing four years" did not satisfy those members of the Conference who were committed to the proposal for a Missionary Bishop. Discussion continued at intervals throughout the session, with expression of divergent points of view* involving various motions, amendments, and substitutes. Finally, on the next to the last day, the subject was indefinitely postponed. Nor was the Liberia Mission Annual Conference satisfied with episcopal supervision by occasional visits of a Bishop from America. The Conference wanted a Bishop of its own who would reside in Liberia.

One of the principal stumbling blocks in the way of the creation of a missionary episcopacy was the Third Restrictive Rule, which made the "itinerant General Superintendency" obligatory. But the General Conference of 1856 believed that this provision could be modified and, as a means of effecting a constitutional change, it adopted a form of amendment to be sent down to the Annual Conferences with its recommendation. Assuming that the amendment would be approved it adopted at the same time a resolution authorizing the Liberia Annual Conference "to elect, by a vote of two-thirds of all the members . . . an elder in good standing" for ordination as Bishop, "certifying in the parchment of ordination that his episcopal jurisdiction is expressly limited to Africa." It also adopted, for the "coming four years," regulations stipulating that a Missionary Bishop "shall reside (with his family, if he have one) in the particular mission field assigned him" and that his support "shall be furnished in the same manner as in the case of other missionaries." [185]

The recommendation of General Conference, while not mandatory, assured that the Missionary Bishop for Africa would be elected by the Liberia Conference. This was what the Conference desired, although it had been assumed that the practice of election by General Conference would be followed. In January, 1858, Francis Burns,† who had come to Liberia in 1834 as a Local Preacher and teacher,* was elected as Methodism's first Missionary Bishop.

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* Some of the opinions of outstanding leaders of the Church are of historical interest. Charles Elliott favored visits of regular Bishops to Liberia. He did not think that "the Liberia mission was yet prepared for an African Bishop. Men who had the servility of slavery about them generally made bad rulers." Nathan Bangs thought he saw "the finger of God pointing out the right course to pursue, in raising up a man there [Francis Burns] who had proved his competency to superintend the work," and he favored his election. George Peck did not believe "that the ministers in that mission had reached a position which would warrant an independent jurisdiction." Moreover, it would "not answer to make a Bishop, and send him to Africa, to Italy, to Germany or China, and tell him he is a Bishop there and nowhere else. This would be diocesan Episcopacy." John McClintock declared that the General Conference was "fully competent" to select a Missionary Bishop for Africa without change in the *Discipline* and favored its doing so at once.—*Daily Zion's Herald,* May 20, 1852, p. 62; May 28, p. 94.

† Francis Burns (1809-63) was born in Albany, N. Y., and in his ninth year was indentured to a farmer. At fifteen he was converted and two years later felt that "God required him to preach" but, being "bound to his master until he was twenty-one," was temporarily hindered. When free he attended high school and was licensed as a Local Preacher on the Windham Circuit. After ten years in Liberia he returned temporarily to New York where he received ordination as deacon and elder. In 1849 he was appointed Presiding Elder, serving in that capacity for ten years. For some years he was editor of *Africa's Luminary.* He was consecrated as Bishop at the Genesee Conference on Oct. 14, 1858. He had "an intelligent and cultivated mind," was a fluent preacher, and a sincere Christian.—*Gen'l Minutes,* IV, 409; M. Simpson, Ed., *op. cit.,* pp. 147 f.

Although the requisite majority of Annual Conferences concurred in the action of its 1856 General Conference in the proposal so to alter the *Discipline* as to allow the election of a Missionary Bishop or Superintendent for any of the foreign missions the missionary episcopacy failed at first to meet with general favor in the Church.† The tradition of episcopal itinerancy was still strong and while the amendment to the Third Restrictive Rule was not officially declared to be unconstitutional it certainly was a modification of the plan of itinerant general superintendency.[186] The legislation also was opposed on the ground that it created two classes of Bishops, an objection that carried much weight. As later history showed, few capable men relished the idea of being "a second-class Bishop" and, if elected, became restive under the imposed restrictions. When in the 1864 General Conference a proposal was made to enlarge the episcopacy by "the election of two bishops for the superintendency of the work in the United States and territories, and of two missionary bishops, one for the missions in Europe and Asia, and the other for our missions in Africa"—Francis Burns having died in 1863—the Committee on Episcopacy declined to recommend "the election of two missionary bishops" and proposed instead that the Conference elect "three additional bishops." The report of the committee was adopted. The Conference did, however, renew its recommendation that the Liberia Annual Conference elect a Bishop.[187] At its 1866 session Liberia chose John Wright Roberts‡ as the second Missionary Bishop of the Church. As in the case of Bishop Burns his tenure was, within a few years, terminated by death, for two quadrenniums again leaving Liberia without episcopal supervision.

In the Episcopal Address to the General Conference of 1876 the Bishops were frankly critical of the missionary episcopacy in the case of Liberia:

> The superintendency of the missionary Bishops, though quite satisfactory to that Conference, failed to inspire the zeal and awaken and direct the enterprises of the Church in that country as largely as it was hoped would be the case when they were elected. Their reports to the Missionary Board and home Churches did not

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* See Vol. I, 333, 336, 337.

† The Third Restrictive Rule as amended by vote of the Annual Conferences read: "The General Conference shall not change nor alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away Episcopacy, nor destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency; but may appoint a Missionary Bishop or Superintendent for any of our Foreign Missions, limiting his jurisdiction to the same respectively."—*Discipline,* 1884, p. 48.

‡ John Wright Roberts (1812-75) was born in Petersburg, Va., and at an early age emigrated with his mother and two brothers to Liberia. In 1841 he was elected to elder's orders by the Liberia Conference and came to New York for ordination. In 1866 he was chosen by the Conference as Missionary Bishop and on June 20 was consecrated in New York. "His grace of manner and his spirit were superior; a gentleman by nature and culture; a Christian in faith and life, he impressed most favorably all with whom he associated . . . ."—*Christian Advocate,* L (1875), 11 (March 18), 85; M. Simpson, Ed., *op. cit.*, p. 759.

keep alive the interest* which for many years was felt in that, our oldest, foreign mission.

The address continued, expressing a judgment that a "personal visit of one of their number" to Liberia was advisable and concluded with the suggestion that the future supervision of the Liberia Conference was a question to which the General Conference should give attention. Also, from Liberia report came to the Missionary Society that some "felt the need of episcopal visits from America to afford them fresh inspiration, and to secure a full and influential presentation of their case among the Churches of the United States." [188]

The Committee on Episcopacy gave consideration to certain petitions asking that "a man of African descent" be elected to the bishopric, and other memorials that such a Bishop be assigned to Liberia, but "in view of the statement . . . from the Board of Bishops as to their ability to discharge the duties of the superintendency" recommended that "this [1876] General Conference elect no Bishops." [189]

Again in 1880 the missionary episcopacy was a live issue. Liberia sent a petition asking for the election of one of their own number "to the office of Bishop." On the other hand, the Foochow Conference urged that no Missionary Bishop be elected. Some of the German Annual Conferences in the United States sent memorials asking for a German-speaking Bishop.[190] The memorial from the East German Conference wanted a German-speaking Bishop provided a man could be elected "who would be welcome to preside in any of our American Conferences" and who would preside over the German Conferences "only in rotation with the other Bishops, and who, though a German, would in no sense be a Bishop exclusively for the Germans." [191] Confronted with such a conflict of opinion, the General Conference took no action.

Once again, in 1884, renewal of demand was voiced for resident episcopal supervision in Liberia. A precedent had been established in the election of two Negro Bishops in succession and many delegates were disposed to adhere to the precedent but certain colored ministers whose names were suggested "declined to accept the responsibility of taking up the duties of a missionary bishop in Liberia." [192] But the General Conference was in no mood to ignore the missionary call of Africa. With the apostolic labors of David Livingstone familiar to every missionary-minded Christian and Henry M. Stanley's dramatic story a topic of conversation everywhere, interest in Africa as one of the great mission fields of the world was greatly intensified.

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* An important factor affecting the interest of the Church in the Liberia Mission, of which the Bishops failed to take account, was the radically changed status of Liberia in relation to the problem of the American Negro. Between the election of Francis Burns and the death of John W. Roberts slavery in the United States had been done away and the Church had turned from colonization as a possible solution of the problem to evangelization and education within the United States. Emigration to Liberia ended with the close of the Civil War.

Before the Committee on Missions was prepared to act the Committee on Episcopacy brought forward a resolution:

> That, by a unanimous vote, the Committee recommend the election of a Missionary Bishop for Africa.[193]

William Taylor, whose success in establishing self-supporting missions had attracted worldwide attention, was a member of the Conference as a lay delegate.* As though instinctively, the common mind of the delegates turned to him. He was promptly nominated and elected by a large majority. Taylor's comment on his election was:

> The nomination, election, and ordination all passed within less than twenty-four hours, so that there was no time to entertain intermediate pros or cons, and nearly the whole Conference seemed to perceive and admit that it was the Lord's doing and marvelous in the eyes of all concerned.[194]

Taylor was a controversial figure. His plan of "self-supporting missions" while strongly advocated by some was opposed with equal vigor by others. He was a man of independent spirit, not inclined to submit himself to the rules and regulations of the Missionary Society. He interpreted his election as an official endorsement by General Conference of his "God-given commission of extending Methodism abroad on her most effective and primary method." [195] Instead of looking to the Missionary Society for his personal support he applied to the Book Committee for salary from the Episcopal Fund.†

In the General Conference of 1888 the various matters of issue were referred to the Committee on Episcopacy. The report of the committee as adopted by General Conference declared, in principal substance, that a Missionary Bishop is co-ordinate with the General Superintendents, and amenable to General Conference; that he cannot be made a General Superintendent except by separate election; that he should receive his support from the Episcopal Fund; and that he should "co-operate with the Missionary Society . . . in the same way that a General Superintendent co-operates in the foreign mission field over which he has Episcopal charge." [196] Having cleared the air by approval of the report, the Conference proceeded, as previously stated, to elect James M. Thoburn as Missionary Bishop for India and Malaysia.

The 1892 General Conference considered a proposal from India to make the Missionary Bishops General Superintendents but declined to do so. It made them *ex-officio* members of the General Missionary Committee and decreed that their salaries should be fixed by the Book Committee but paid by the Missionary Society. The work of Taylor in Africa and Thoburn in India was heartily endorsed.[197]

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* William Taylor, letter, under date of Feb. 10, 1886: ". . . three years ago last November, . . . I . . . took a location from South India Conference." (*The Christian Witness and Advocate of Bible Holiness,* April, 1886.) He was elected by the South India Conference a lay delegate to the 1884 General Conference.

† Under date of Dec. 20, 1884, Bishop Taylor wrote: "The regular Bishop, and the Missionary Bishop are alike the Episcopal Servants of the Church . . . hence both are alike entitled to a support, directly from the Church, through the 'Episcopal Fund.' " The Book Committee decided that, as in the cases of Bishops Burns and Roberts, support should be supplied by the Missionary Society. The Board of Managers agreed and fixed the salary and house rent at $2,500. per year.—*Minutes, B. M.,* X, 6, 9 ff.

Writing in 1899 Abel Stevens declared that the missionary episcopacy had fully justified itself as a fixed order of the Church.

> It has come to be looked upon by many as a normal development in the progress of Methodism, a necessary accommodation to the universal outspread over the planet which is now its avowed aim and destiny. . . . [The fields of the Missionary Bishops] are . . . so immense as hardly to suggest to the stanchest Methodist any objectionable idea of limitation or localization of their office, or to impair in any way the 'itinerancy' which the *Discipline* has always enjoined.[198]

MOTIVES IN FOREIGN MISSIONS

"One afternoon, during a series of meetings in Marlborough, Ohio," wrote James M. Thoburn,*

> I went out into the woods near the village, and kneeling alone among the branches of a fallen maple tree, I talked the matter all over with my Saviour, and there alone with him I received my clear and distinct commission to go and preach his Gospel to dying men. I heard no words, but the commission could not have been more specific and clear had the visible Son of God said to me, 'Go preach my Gospel.'[199]

Although he had never before felt any particular interest in missionary work or contemplated missionary service, in his eighteenth year while reading a sermon by Stephen Olin there flashed upon his mind and heart a clear impression that his lifework should be in the foreign field. At that time, according to his testimony, though a communicant in the church he "had not been converted, in the proper sense of that word." Eighteen months later he "found Christ, and began to live the life of Christian discipleship." After two more years he began to preach. Having conscientiously come to the conclusion that God wanted him to preach the Gospel he felt the need "of a clear and definite call," which finally came to him as described above. When an appeal was made in the *Christian Advocate and Journal* for six young men for India, though formerly he had felt "a singular aversion to India," he promised that he would respond if only God made clear to him that he was commissioned "from above." He had not long to wait. While on his knees in prayer he received "an acceptance for India" which continued with him as one "long inspiration, an unfailing source of strength and courage."[200]

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* James M. Thoburn (1836-1922), born of Irish immigrant parents at St. Clairsville, Ohio, entered Allegheny College in 1851. His course was interrupted by two years of schoolteaching to earn money for tuition and other student expenses. In 1857 he graduated, and in response to a strong inner conviction that he should preach, in 1858 was admitted on trial in the Pittsburgh Conference. On April 12, 1859, he sailed for India, where very soon he began to show exceptional qualities of leadership. His appointments in India were: Naini Tal ("Nynee Tal"), 1859-63: on furlough, 1863-66; Garhwal, 1866-68; Moradabad, 1868; Presiding Elder, Moradabad District, 1869; Presiding Elder, Oudh District; evangelistic work in Lucknow, joint editor of *The Witness* (later the *Indian Witness*), 1870-73; Calcutta, 1873-88; Missionary Bishop, 1888. From 1900 he was in failing health and in 1908 was retired at his own request. At his death in 1922 the *Christian Advocate* said of him: ". . . by sheer force of spiritual endowment, breadth of sympathy and administrative skill he won recognition in India, America, and the world, as perhaps the greatest missionary of his generation. perhaps the most effective missionary leader that Methodism has produced."—*Christian Advocate*. XCVII (1922), 49 (Dec. 7), 1532; J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* pp. 9 *et seq.; G. C. Journal*. 1924. pp. 854 f.

A second member of the band of six young men, representing the Methodist Episcopal Church, who went out from America to India in 1859 was Edwin W. Parker.* A few months before his twenty-first birthday in "a protracted meeting" at St. Johnsbury Center, Vermont, he experienced conversion.

"As soon, or nearly as soon, as I was converted," he testifies in his "Journal,"

> I felt that I must leave the farm and preach the Gospel of the Son of God and try to call men to repentance. This was impressed upon my mind and I could not drive the impression away. I felt like one of old, and like many of my brethren, 'Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel.' . . . At last I yielded to the convictions of duty, which I could not and dared not resist, and promised 'for God to live and die.'[201]

In 1857 he was received on trial in the Vermont Conference. From this time on he had no other motive or purpose in life than faithfully to fulfill the ministry which he had received in the Lord. And for him to fulfill his ministry meant missionary service in India. For this we have the word of Lois S. Parker, his wife:

> Mr. Parker had a conviction very soon after his call to the ministry that he must also be a missionary. His mother had this conviction almost from his birth, but he did not know this until after he began to preach. When he asked me to be his wife he said it was no more than right that I should know of this conviction. I told him that I had felt from a child that sometime I would be a missionary, so that whenever the way opened for him I should not object. . . . in December, 1858, the appointment came, and early in March we left our Vermont home; . . . all our family interests having been satisfactorily arranged for.[202]

The prompting that led to dedication to the mission field came to young people in various forms. The Christian motive was inherent in the Great Commission, "Go ye . . ."; it needed only to be acutely personalized, to be translated into terms of definite individual obligation, in order to awaken response in the hearts of young men and women who had consecrated themselves to the Master's service. The inspiration of a message of a returned missionary, the reading of the life or the letters of William Carey or Henry Martyn, the personal appeal of a pastor or college teacher, the facing of the problem of choice of vocation at high school or seminary graduation—any one of these or some other—interpreted in terms of the call of the Spirit, became the dynamic influence leading to decision.

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* Edwin Wallace Parker (1833-1901) was born at St. Johnsbury, Vt., and was received into membership in the Methodist Church in 1853. Following graduation from Concord Biblical Institute in 1857 he served for two years as pastor in the Vermont Conference. In April, 1859, before sailing for India he was ordained deacon and elder under the missionary rule at the New England Conference (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1859, p. 59). At the organization of the India Mission Conference in 1864 he was appointed Presiding Elder of the Moradabad District and served continuously in that office, with the exception of three years, until 1900, when he was elected Missionary Bishop. His associate in the India Mission for more than forty years, J. M. Thoburn, said of him: "In the various stages of our organization as a mission, as a Conference, and finally in the creation of our . . . [Central] Conference . . . [he] bore a leading part." He "possessed a marvelous combination of those elements . . . needed in the character of a practical missionary."—J. H. Messmore, *op. cit., passim.*

The first alumnus of Ohio Wesleyan University to go to the foreign field—the first of a long line—was Nathan Sites.* The year after his graduation, "just finishing his first year as junior preacher on a country 'circuit,'" he attended the annual session of the North Ohio Conference. On the evening of the missionary address, while listening to R. S. Maclay, on furlough from China, a letter from Bishop Osmon C. Baker was thrust into his hand. Would he be willing to go as a missionary to China?

> It struck him as a summons to duty. He was thrilled through and through. He had never told any one how, ever since his conversion, he had felt a yearning to carry the gospel to those in darkest heathenism.
>
> With keen interest he listened to every word, sought a brief interview with the speaker, then hastened to his room and fell upon his knees in thanksgiving and prayer to God for guidance. Then, without waiting to confer with flesh and blood, he replied to the Bishop that he was willing to go.[203]

On September 19, 1861, Sites and his bride arrived at the Methodist Compound on the Hill of Heavenly Rest, overlooking the Bridge of Ten Thousand Ages, in Foochow. Two years later, preaching the "Conference sermon" at the annual meeting of the mission, from the text, "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me," he proclaimed in Chinese the invincible Gospel. Within a few months his language teacher, a young Confucian scholar, Sia Sek-ong, arose in the little chapel at Oxvale, twelve miles from Foochow, Sites' first appointment, and confessed his faith in Christ.

It was a great day when, a little later, Bishop Thomson—the former Ohio Wesleyan president—came to Oxvale for a brief visit with his former pupil.

> The 'first recruit' reported beginnings made, and his plan of campaign. The Bishop met the Confucian scholar . . . . Perhaps he saw in vision a day when the former devotee of Confucius was to represent China in a great General Conference in America and lay his hands in consecration on the head of an American Bishop in the Church of the Living God. He mused, and then his eye flashed . . . :
>
> 'I think, my boy,' said Thomson, 'we have begun to take the world.'[204]

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* Nathan Sites (1830-95) was born on a farm near Belleville, Ohio. As a youth he learned the carpenter trade and by carpentering worked his way through Ohio Wesleyan University, graduating in 1859. The same year he was admitted on trial in the North Ohio Conference and appointed as junior preacher on the East Union Circuit (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1859, pp. 255, 256). Early in his missionary career, as soon as he had mastered the dialect, he showed his pioneer spirit by venturing into outlying villages and more distant places. In 1864 he reported that he "visited in preaching excursions seventy-nine places, usually accompanied by one or two native helpers." He began Christian work in Mintsing (Mingehiang) and in Liutu (Lekdu). He was also the pioneer in Hinghwa. Of him Bishop McCabe wrote: "He was a noble, patient, loving, generous, humble man, who counted not his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy in the ministry which he received from the Lord Jesus Christ." —*Gospel in All Lands,* May, 1895, p. 262; Memoir, *Minutes, Foochow Conference,* 1895, pp. 93 f.; *Forty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1864), pp. 34 ff.; *ibid., 47th* (1865), pp. 70 f.

"Until twenty-four hours before my appointment to Lucknow," wrote William Rockwell Clancy* in an autobiographical sketch, "it had never occurred to me that God might call me to be a missionary." He was in attendance at the annual session of the Michigan Conference in September, 1883, when John M. Reid, Missionary Secretary, asked him if he was willing to go to India. Following this conversation Bishop Harris spoke to him.

> I explained to him fully why I thought I was not called to be a missionary, but it did not seem to change his mind . . . .
>
> . . . I spent most of the [next] forenoon in one of the [Albion] College Classrooms earnestly seeking to know God's will. Bishop Harris had asked for my definite reply by twelve o'clock on [the next day] Saturday. I wrote to the Bishop . . . 'With reference to our appointment to India, I leave the matter to God and to you.' . . . I . . . had my note passed up to the Bishop. He arose at once and announced my transfer to North India Conference and to Lucknow, India.[205]

The first medical missionary sent to a mission field by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, who was also the first woman medical missionary sent to Asia by any denomination, was Dr. Clara A. Swain.† She had been asked to go to India by the Woman's Union Missionary Society of Philadelphia and had come to feel that she would be "without excuse" if the Society should consider her "capable of assuming so great a responsibility." She wrote in a personal letter:

> I am so deeply impressed that it is the will of my Heavenly Father that I cannot refuse. I accept the field of labor cheerfully, although it has caused me many tears and much prayer to make the decision.[206]

On the organization of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, preferring to go out under the auspices of the New England Branch, she obtained release from the W.U.M.S. and sailed for India on November 3, 1869.

In 1869 Fannie J. Sparkes‡ offered herself for India. C. W. Judd, India missionary, told her that he had been praying to God to direct him to some young woman willing to volunteer for missionary service. Her pastor and her Presiding Elder asked her prayerfully to consider becoming a missionary. The Corresponding Secretary of the New York Branch wrote, asking her if she was willing to go to India. In these communications she saw evidences that God was opening the way before her.

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* William Rockwell Clancy (1858-1929) was born on a farm near Newburgh, Ontario, Canada. He attended a country school and, later, Newburgh Academy. Leaving school at sixteen he became the teacher of a backwoods rural school eighty miles from a railroad, continuing teaching for four years. In 1880 he was received into the Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada. In 1882 he became a member of the Michigan Conference (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1882, p. 221) and in 1883 was transferred to the North India Conference and appointed to Lucknow English Church. For forty-five years he continued in missionary service, for much of the time as Presiding Elder. He was a devout minister, and especially successful in money raising, receiving in direct gifts many thousands of dollars from acquaintances and friends in America.—"Autobiography," typewritten sketch in the Library of the Board of Missions of The Methodist Church, pp. 1 *et seq.*

† Clara A. Swain (1834-1910) was born at Elmira, N. Y., of English parentage. The family having moved to Castile, N. Y., she attended the Castile public school and Canandaigua Seminary. For seven years she taught in a public school in Canandaigua. In her early twenties she decided to become a physician and finally attained her ambition, in 1869 graduating from the Woman's Medical College, Philadelphia. For sixteen years she served as a medical missionary of the W.F.M.S. In 1885 she accepted a position as physician to the family of the Rajah of Khetri, at the same time continuing to do missionary work under the patronage of the rajah. She retired in 1896.—Mary Sparkes Wheeler, *First Decade of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with Sketches of its Missionaries,* pp. 59 ff.; Louise Manning Hodgkins, *The Roll Call. An Introduction to Our Missionaries, 1869-1896,* p. 2.

‡ Fannie J. Sparkes (1844-1919), born in Binghamton, N. Y., the first missionary of the New York Branch and the third sent to the field by the W.F.M.S., was for several years a teacher in the Binghamton public schools. She sailed for India on Sept. 21, 1870, and was appointed to Bareilly as a missionary teacher. For eight years she was superintendent of the Bareilly Girls' Orphanage. In 1877 she left the field on health leave, returning to India in 1879. For two years (1889-91) her work was in Muttra. She retired in 1891.—Louise McCoy North, *The Story of the New York Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* pp. 67 ff.; M. S. Wheeler, *op. cit.,* pp. 74 ff.

> The *real* call I can never tell to any one; it was the voice of God speaking tenderly, yet commandingly, oft times and in oft-repeated tones to my inmost soul, and with such conviction and assurance as left no room for doubt or hesitation. I knew with all the certainty that I *then* knew I was his child, that God was leading me, and I dared not refuse to follow.[207]

Not always were friends and trusted leaders the means of making plain the purpose and plan of God. To some the revelation came as a direct message from on high. Louise M. Hodgkins tells of the experience of Kate B. Blackburn* who for years was the head of a Methodist girls' school in Bulgaria:

> when quite alone the call to mission work came to her, and quite alone, but not without a long inward conflict, she gave herself to God for his service. . . . Her lonely and eventful journey [to Bulgaria] deepened her faith in divine guidance, and when she was made principal of the Loftcha Boarding School . . . she undertook this unexpected responsibility with the conviction that her life was a plan of God and this unsought care a part of his plan.[208]

In all of these accounts is to be seen evidence of the resoluteness of faith which is an indispensable element in the purpose of the true missionary, even as the one of old declared, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." At the farewell meeting in Fifth Street Church in Philadelphia, of which she was a member, Emma Michener,† about to embark for Liberia, said:

> I have been asked, if I *knew* I would die from the effects of the climate, would I still persevere in going? I can only answer, 'Yes!' If I can be the humble means of the conversion of one soul in that land . . . , I would go . . . .[209]

As the fifty years of our period drew toward their close the Bishops declared that more and more the Church must take on the obligation to extend and multiply its missionary agencies. The direct command of our Lord, still unfulfilled, urges this as the great duty of the hour. We must go with the message of salvation, or prove recreant to our communion. There are a thousand doors open to us and millions of voices calling for us. To fail is treason to our trust. While feeling the onus of the great work committed to us, and while lamenting past failures, there is reason for a measure of rejoicing that the Church is more and more awake to its duty, and disposed to discharge it, as seen in the great growth of its benefactions.[210]

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* Kate B. Blackburn (1865-1933), born near Jacksonville, Ill., graduated in 1883 from the Illinois Female College and studied during 1890-91 at the Chicago Training School. She sailed in December, 1891, for Bulgaria under appointment of the Northwestern Branch. As principal of the Loftcha (later the Lovetch) Boarding School she did significant pioneer evangelical Christian work among Turkish and Bulgarian young women. In 1926 she retired.—Frances J. Baker, *The Story of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1869-1895,* p. 353; L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

† Emma Michener resigned her position as a public school teacher to become a missionary to Africa. When urged to choose a less hazardous field she replied, "I believe the Lord calls me to go to Africa. . . . If my death in Africa is worth more to him than my work, I am his to do his will." When, after a severe illness, she was urged to return to America she said, "I came to Africa to work for God; I would rather die here than return before my work is done."—Mrs. S. L. Keen, "In Memoriam . . . ," *Heathen Woman's Friend,* XIII (1882), 9 (March), 200-201.

Missionary Method

At the beginning of the period, and for years following, the Church offered no special preparation for missionary service. The early Methodist missionaries to China, India, and Africa knew very little about the manners, customs, conditions of living, and religious rites and beliefs of the people, or about "the practical working of missions among non-Christian peoples." They had no acquaintance with the languages, spoken or written, of those among whom they were to work. The first missionaries to China, Collins and White, were typical of missionary recruits in general. Concerning them Daniel Curry, a member of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, wrote:

> They were furnished in their own persons with fair natural parts, a college education, . . . personal piety, and zeal for souls. They lacked maturity of mind and heart; [and] they knew very little of public life and the ways of the world . . . .[211]

Under these conditions it was to be expected that the same agencies and methods used in evangelization in America would be used on the foreign field. In 1873 Edwin W. Parker, at the time Presiding Elder in North India, wrote:

> [The means used for] reaching the heathen are, preaching in the market-places, at religious fairs, and in the open squares of a city, ward, or a village, teaching the Bible in our schools, holding Sunday-schools, visiting in shops or houses wherein the way may be open, and distributing religious books. . . . The means used for building up and educating the native Church are the same as Methodists use every-where.[212]

Much the same descriptive statement concerning methods in use might have been made by any one of the early Methodist missionaries in any foreign field.

PREACHING: A UNIVERSAL METHOD

Of these several means the one universally recognized was that of preaching, by no Church more depended upon than by Methodism. "The one business which Jesus Christ intrusted to his Church . . . was that of *preaching the Gospel* to every creature," declared Bishop Edmund S. Janes. "This is our one great mission . . . [which arises] from the commission from our Lord and Master."[213] Methodist itinerants always had been above all else preachers of the Gospel and it was not to be expected that when American Methodism crossed the seas their primary method would be anything different.

The most intense desire of the missionary newly arrived upon the field was to be able to preach to the people in their own tongue. From the day of his arrival at Naini Tal—his first appointment in India—Thoburn wrote, he had such a longing to speak to the people that he felt willing to "make any sacrifice if only . . . [his] stammering tongue could be loosed."

> On the 27th of March, which chanced to be the anniversary of my farewell meeting in St. Clairsville, I . . . took my stand in the bazar, and attempted to preach. An audience quickly gathered, and God opened my lips so that I was able to speak with great freedom. From this time forward I preached twice a week in the bazar, but it was not till five months later that I was able to conduct an entire service in the chapel. When that point was reached and passed I felt happy indeed.[214]

When the native language was mastered the missionary literally went everywhere preaching the Gospel. In the Orient usually as a first step a "street chapel"—a single room on a busy city street—was rented or constructed in which preaching services were held on both weekdays and Sundays. "For more than five years," wrote George R. Davis from Peking in 1877, "has our street chapel been open for almost daily preaching on one of the busiest and most important streets in the business portion of this great city." In India the missionaries, accompanied by their Indian associates, also frequented the market places or "bazaars," gathered a group by singing, and preached to as many as had ears to hear. Describing the work in Pilibhit, Bareilly District, in 1865, Joel T. Janvier—the first native preacher of the mission—wrote to his Presiding Elder:

> The truth of the Gospel is preached in the bazaars and streets, yes, even to passionate and malicious people; and yet they often hear it with meekness and reverence. In every preaching hearers are gathered together from fifty to one hundred. . . . This is done three days in each week. One day is set apart for visiting and conversing in their houses and shops, to convince and offer the Almighty Redeemer.[215]

Sometimes a stated preaching place was established, such as the "spacious open court in front of the treasury building" in Foochow where in 1862 R. S. Maclay testified he had had the privilege of preaching for a year "under the overarching boughs of immense banyans."[216] In contrast to efforts made to reach crowds of people, smaller groups were addressed in the mohallas of city and village. Circuits were formed somewhat after the fashion of pioneer preaching in America. In 1880 Henry Mansell was in charge of the Moradabad Circuit, North India Conference, with "seven Mohallas in Moradabad city and two in Chandausi" with weekly services in each, the program including "singing and prayer, then preaching, exhortation or conversation" as circumstances suggested.[217]

In both India and China long preaching tours were frequently made by missionaries who usually traveled "on foot from village to village, sleeping at night in . . . tent[s]." Jefferson E. Scott reported in 1877 having spent five months itinerating in the Oudh District, North India, during which he preached "in three hundred villages." [218] Journeys for the purpose of preaching were also frequently made to the melas, or religious fairs, where uncounted thousands assembled in celebration of their religious rites. Samuel Knowles tells of one of many such journeys, this more encouraging in results than many others, made in 1887 by the "Gonda Band":

> [We] itinerated to the Ajudhya mela, where, at the full-moon (purn-mashi), 300,000 people were assembled . . . . Vast crowds of these devotees, who had come near and afar . . . listened earnestly to our preaching, and every morning and evening witnessed many conquests for the true and living Saviour Jesus Christ.[219]

An unusually long tour was made in 1892 in West China, recorded by Spencer Lewis, Superintendent of the West China Conference:

> Brother S. A. Smith took a journey to the capital of the Yunnan Province; thence two weeks westward to Tali; thence . . . northward to the capital of this [Szechwan] province, and home. . . . over four months of nearly constant travel were consumed in making the journey of about two thousand miles.[220]

Despite the handicaps under which missionaries labored in constant preaching, often to crowds of seemingly utterly indifferent people, the missionary was usually happier in this than in any other kind of activity.[221] He had been taught to have implicit faith that the sowing of the good seed of the Word would in God's good time bring forth abundant fruit and in this confidence he found reassurance and joy. As the years passed with only meager results to show for their labor some could not but lament. For "over twenty years," Maclay wrote from China in 1870, "successive missionaries have preached the Gospel within the walls of this great city . . . ." Yet, he added, "it is our painful duty to state that we have less than twenty converts resident within these city walls." [222]

Yet many continued to place their chief reliance in the traditional method of preaching to the multitudes. "We still have the utmost faith in this kind of work," wrote Henry Mansell in 1880, "thinking it the most efficient mission work that can be done." [223] Others increasingly questioned it.* In 1883 James W.

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* Julius Richter: "Only gradually . . . have missionaries come to realize the extent to which the Hindus live in a wholly different world of thoughts and ideas. The first proclamation of the gospel rushes past the spiritual ear . . . unmarked and uncomprehended, and long preparation and tillage of the field of the heart is necessary before Christian ideas can find soil in which to grow. This is the reason why the almost universally adopted method of the middle of last century has been abandoned of journeying through entire provinces and travelling many hundreds of miles preaching the gospel . . . ."—*A History of Missions in India,* pp. 282 f.

Waugh wrote from Lucknow:

> An hour's talk with half a dozen or half a hundred persons quietly seated of an evening, when there is little danger of interruption, the talk being interspersed and enlivened by the singing of bhajans, accompanied by a few musical instruments, as is our custom, is far more effective in leading the minds of the people to *think* and to right views, than two hours spent in declamation or wrangling in the heated bazaar, with its painful interruptions. I hope to see bazaar preaching more and more take this simpler, safer, and more effective form of work. The classes more readily influenced are thus reached and affected.[224]

Preaching was invariably accompanied by the distribution of tracts and Scripture portions and the selling of low-priced Christian books. Always following preaching in street chapels and market places leaflets in the vernacular were handed to all sufficiently interested to accept them. Virgil C. Hart of the Central China Mission reported in 1876 thousands of books sold on trips on the Yangtze River made by members of the mission sailing 200 miles below and 150 miles above Nanking. On the Bombay District in India within a single year 50 copies of the New Testament, 7,000 gospels, and 20,000 vernacular tracts were sold, and over 10,000 leaflets given away.[225]

SCHOOLS AND TEACHING

Within a short time most of the missionaries became convinced that preaching, in itself, was not enough. A lack of constancy was in evidence in the cases of many of those who in response to preaching professed conversion and received Christian baptism. It became clear that the minds and hearts of a considerable part of the converts were stony places with little soil in which the good seed could find permanent rootage. The activity of the Bible societies in translating the Scriptures into the principal vernaculars also served to remind the missionaries that no amount of preaching could prepare their converts to profit by the reading and study of the Word, increasingly made available. Again, it was soon evident that while preaching made converts among young men there was no way by which it could be successfully used in reaching women. "We want Christian wives for our Christian young men," wrote Erastus Wentworth within a few years of the founding of the China Mission.

> We have already baptized and brought into the Church a number of single young men, but no single young women. All these youths will have to betake themselves to the Hittites for wives, or remain unmarried . . . .
>
> Girls converted in Christian schools, and returning into the bosoms of heathen families, will carry with them the results of Christian instruction, and sow the seeds of Gospel truth . . . in quarters where no other influence could possibly be brought to bear. Christian school girls make Christian wives and Christian mothers.[226]

A need for trained Christian helpers was keenly felt from the beginning and it was realized that to provide for meeting this requirement elementary schools were a necessity. "We cannot begin at the top to educate," said Edwin W. Parker, a statement obvious to all.

These several influences were all contributing factors in leading the early missionaries to establish elementary schools, supplementary to their preaching ministry.* On February 28, 1848, less than six months after his arrival in China, Judson D. Collins opened a school for boys in Foochow and twenty-two months later—December 30, 1850—the first school for girls was begun by Mrs. Robert S. Maclay. Soon schools of other types were established and within two decades teaching the Christian religion had come to be recognized as equally important with preaching as a method of evangelization.

In India and in other fields much the same course of development occurred. In 1859, three years after the India Mission was established, report was made of two boys' schools, with twenty-five pupils, and one girls' school with sixteen enrolled. The next year there were eight schools with a combined enrollment of 171. In his report William Butler said: "In reference to *schools,* it may be remarked that at least one male and one female school at each of our stations . . . may be regarded as a necessity . . . ." Isabella Thoburn, the first missionary to India of the W.F.M.S., began her work in 1870 by opening a school for girls. Beginning with a nucleus of six pupils, by the close of the first year the enrollment had increased to twenty-five.[227] By 1878 in almost every Methodist missionary station in India the Society had established a school for girls, with an aggregate enrollment of more than a thousand students. By 1893 it had become the established policy in India not to baptize converts won by preaching more rapidly than they could be taught and trained.[228]

In Japan, as in India, the first missionary of the W.F.M.S.—Dora Schoonmaker—began by establishing a school. She used a furnished room in Tokyo, tendered rent free by a Japanese who had become interested in Christianity through the efforts of Julius Soper. A brief paragraph from a letter written soon after her arrival in Japan is a revelation of her spirit, purpose, and method:

> I begin work . . . next Monday, November 16 [1874]; I expect to teach two hours each afternoon, Saturdays and Sundays excepted. By . . . teaching English I hope to gain an acquaintance with the character and customs, habits of thinking and manner of life among this strange and interesting people. While thus studying the avenue to their hearts, I shall, by diligent study, be gaining their own language and be better fitted to begin the work properly. My school will at first consist of both boys and girls; but it is the distinct understanding that my real business here is to seek to build up a girls' school. Of course, my design is to unite other work with this as fast as possible.[229]

Also in Uruguay, South America, the W.F.M.S. began its work by opening a school for girls which soon made an established place for itself in the life of Montevideo, the national capital, and opened many doors for evangelical missionary activities. In Chile by 1894 the work of the schools had won such wide recognition and had resulted in so many conversions that by far the larger part of the missionary personnel were engaged in the school program and it had come to be regarded as the basis and a chief means of support of the Methodist evangelistic movement.[230]

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* It should be noted that when the China Mission was authorized by the Missionary Society the China Committee urged the establishment, as soon as possible, of schools for boys and girls because, they said, "Little can be done toward a permanent establishment of Christianity anywhere, without training up the young in the fear of God . . . ."—China Committee, "Minutes," March 26, 1847.

In stating that the Christian school was the most effective method of the promulgation of the Gospel Abel Stevens expressed the common mind of American Methodism at the close of the period under review. He wrote:

> Its promulgation, in any way, is what in the apostolic age was meant by 'preaching' it, and I am convinced that in India, China, and Japan Christian instruction is the best preaching and the school is the best chapel. . . . Besides this instrumentality we should have, and do have, the homiletic or pulpit mode of preaching. The two should be combined, and are, in all our Missions there. It should not be a question among us which is the most desirable; both should be considered indispensable and inseparable.[231]

In all mission fields the Sunday school was considered an important auxiliary of the mission school. Wherever there was a day school the missionaries assumed that a Sunday school also should be maintained. On March 5, 1848, the Sunday following the opening of the school for boys in Foochow, Collins held the first Sunday-school session.

Brenton H. Badley of the North India Conference reported in 1877 that of eight hundred pupils in the mission day schools seven hundred were enrolled in the Sunday schools. From Moradabad, Lois S. Parker wrote in 1878 that a Sunday school was maintained in connection with each of the twelve day schools.[232]

T. S. Johnson in reporting on the Shahjahanpur Circuit, North India, in 1880 said:

> [Sunday schools] have been inaugurated through the agency of the day-schools, in each of which, twenty-two in number—including girls' schools—there is a Sunday-school, composed generally of the scholars of the day-schools, with a few others who are induced from time to time to attend.[233]

While as a rule the best organized and most effective Sunday schools were those connected with the day and boarding schools, missionaries showed considerable ingenuity in adaptation of form and method in teaching. In some fields, particularly India and Africa, many outdoor Sunday schools were established. Even though "they are of a very elementary character," wrote Archibald Gilruth of the Bengal Conference, "we believe there is promise of much good in them." Children were assembled wherever they could be brought together—"under a tree or by the side of a wall." By pictures and stories they were made familiar with simple truths which they had previously heard in street preaching or elsewhere. Texts were memorized and Scripture picture cards distributed to be taken home. In some cases Sunday schools were held in the homes of native workers. What was probably "the first heathen Sunday-school of any kind in Lucknow" was begun by a Bible woman who gathered "the women who could come, and the children, into her home on Sunday afternoons." [234]

Wherever conditions made it possible a Sunday school was organized in connection with every Methodist Society. In some instances the Sunday school was first established, followed later by the church; in other cases both types of work were carried on simultaneously. In Nagasaki, considered to be one of the most difficult fields for missionary work in Japan, over a period of years fourteen Sunday schools were opened in various crowded city neighborhoods. They proved to be a vital influence in breaking down prejudice and "in winning friends for Christ." [235]

Albert H. Baker, appointed in 1888 to the Bangalore, India, Tamil Circuit, shared the conviction of the Nagasaki missionaries that the best way of establishing "effective personal contact with the people" was through the children. A score of villages were located within a four-mile radius of the St. John's Hill Church of which he was pastor. He formed "two Sunday-school circuits, each of the eighteen schools meeting for one hour, [the first two] beginning at 6.30 in the morning. . . . Altogether, two thousand homes were reached." [236]

The most famous Methodist Sunday school in China was that associated with Asbury Church, of which Leander W. Pilcher, president of Peking University, was for many years the superintendent. By 1890 the attendance, often exceeding four hundred, had outgrown the capacity of the chapel, necessitating two separate sessions—one attended by pupils of the mission schools, and the other by women and children of the neighborhood.[237]

The Sunday school dissociated from the day school cannot be said to have been a highly effective educational agency. The attendance of pupils was irregular and the teaching superficial. In some cases seed was sown which took root, matured, and in time produced abundant fruit in Christian experience and character. But for the most part the proportion of pupils who became Christians and united with the Church was discouragingly small. Nor did the schools exert appreciable influence upon the non-Christian communities in which they were located other than to increase somewhat the friendliness of the people and lessen the difficulties of approach to them in their homes.[238]

HEALING THE SICK

From the beginning of Methodist foreign missions the healing of the sick was associated with preaching the Gospel. When the establishment in the near future of a mission to China was contemplated, Edmund S. Janes, Bishop in charge of foreign missions, advised Moses C. White—in addition to his theological studies at the Yale Theological Seminary—to attend "Medical lectures as a special preparation" for his work in China. His Presiding Elder, Laban Clark, called on the dean of the Yale Medical College and requested that White have "all the assistance possible" in his medical studies, as preparation for missionary work. He arrived at Foochow on September 6, 1847, and in the following February opened a dispensary of which he remained in charge until the arrival on July 9, 1851, of Isaac W. Wiley, M.D.,* appointed to China as medical missionary.[239]

The attitudes which inclined men and women to devote their lives to missionary service—sympathy, compassion, love, desire to help the unfortunate and weak who cannot help themselves—influenced them, when they arrived on the mission field, to do what they could to relieve suffering. Lois S. Parker possessed a natural gift in caring for the sick. For twenty years, before the arrival of a medical missionary in the city of Moradabad, she "distributed medicines in the city, in the villages, on the roadsides." Wherever she went she made it her business to visit the sick and administer first aid. She associated with herself two native medical Bible women. When fever and cholera epidemics struck, she spent days in personally attending the victims. Like many another missionary, not professionally trained, she maintained a successful lay medical practice.[240]

Mrs. D. W. Thomas, whose husband was superintendent of the Bareilly orphanage, often devoted her mornings to dispensing medicines, meanwhile praying that a woman medical missionary might be sent to India from America. Believing that her prayers would be answered, she formed—in association with her husband—a select class of orphanage girls to whom she gave instruction preparatory to medical training. When Dr. Clara A. Swain arrived in Bareilly she found a class of seventeen girls awaiting her. At the end of a three-year course a medical examining board certified thirteen of the seventeen for practice "in all ordinary diseases." Their training had included class teaching, work in the dispensary, nursing the sick in the orphanage, and accompanying Dr. Swain on visits to patients.[241]

Among missionaries in general, medical work was regarded primarily as a means of gaining access to the people, of opening doors that otherwise would remain closed. Only a few regarded healing of disease as a ministry of grace, a means of spiritual as well as bodily help. The prevailing view was expressed by Charles W. Judd, Presiding Elder of the Kumaon District, North India Conference:

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* Isaac William Wiley (1825-84), born at Lewistown, Pa., was converted at the age of thirteen and became a Local Preacher when nineteen. Upon graduation in 1846 from the medical school of New York University he combined a medical practice with preaching. In 1850 he joined the East Genesee Conference. Following his service in Foochow as a medical missionary (1851-55) he filled pastorates in Newark and Jersey City, N.J. He was principal of Pennington Collegiate Institute, N.J., for five years (1859-64), and editor of the *Ladies' Repository* for the next eight years. In 1872 he was ordained Bishop. In addition to his medical degree, he also had an M.A. from Dickinson College and a D.D. from Wesleyan University. He was married twice, to Frances J. Martin in 1846, and to A. Elizabeth Seegar in 1867.—T. L. Flood and J. W. Hamilton, Eds., *op. cit.*, 771; Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

> The medical work has not produced very much fruit in directly saving the heathen, but it gives our preachers (particularly those who are doctors) more ready access to the people, and creates a bond of sympathy between the heathen and Christians generally.[242]

In no other field was medical work so effective in making the people of a whole nation receptive to Christian missions as in Korea. The "history of missionary work in this country," wrote Dr. W. B. Scranton in 1899, "begins with medicine."

> Medicine opened the country and is still sowing its seeds far and wide. It has done . . . more [than any other agent] to further missionary work. In this short time it has gone from one end of the land to the other, and is a vital force at work in disarming the prejudices of the natives against foreigners. . . . It is undermining their own inferior practice of the art, and, best of all, gaining a strong hold on the hearts of the people.[243]

IV

Nature and Scope of Domestic Missions

DURING THE PERIOD 1845-95, as in early American Methodism* (1789-1844), domestic missions† were a principal factor in the geographical extension and development of the Church. Decade by decade as the half century passed the domestic missions' program was expanded until before the end of the period it had reached immense proportions.

CONFERENCE MISSIONS

As had been the case from the time of the organization of the Missionary Society, Conference missions continued to be described as "missions in the destitute portions of the regular work." In the first report after the division of the Church the necessity for Missionary Society aid was clearly realized:

> There are many portions of our itinerant work where the ground is new, the population sparse, or the societies small and feeble, which, but for the assistance we have rendered them, must have greatly suffered for want of spiritual instruction.

A "vast region along the western and northwestern borders" where the laborers were comparatively few, the Secretary pointed out, presented a most inviting prospect for missionary effort. It was especially necessary, he felt, that the missions of the Rock River, Michigan, and Iowa Conferences should "receive additional aid." [1]

The *Report* issued by the Missionary Society at the close of the first year following the division of the Church (1845-46) listed about one hundred and forty missions in twenty Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1850, at the beginning of John P. Durbin's administration as Corresponding Secretary, 360 missions were listed in twenty-nine Annual Conferences, with 380 missionaries. Five years later (1856) missionaries had increased to 644 in thirty-eight Conferences and when a decade had passed (1866) the missions numbered approximately 1,418. By 1874 the Missionary Society was supporting, in whole or in part, more than three thousand missionaries in the domestic field. From about this time the number of Conference missions gradually decreased.[2]

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* See Vol. I, 257-58.

† Throughout the period 1845-95 the descriptive term "Domestic Missions" was exclusively used by the Missionary Society to designate all missions within the boundaries of the United States. Early in the period "Home Missions" came increasingly into use in public addresses and in missionary literature but was not used in official documents.

The method of appropriation called for the General Missionary Committee—to which an estimate of the needs of each Conference had been presented by the Missionary District representatives respectively—in collaboration with the Missionary Society, to make a lump-sum appropriation to the Annual Conference.* The Conference in turn distributed the fund to the missionary Districts, Circuits, and Stations on approval of the Conference Committee on Missions,† and the sanction of the presiding Bishop.[3]

For several years, beginning in 1851, the English-speaking missions in the Conferences were considered to be of three types: (a) missions in "new States, and in the Territories where the populations . . . [were] sparse" and church members so few as not to be able without assistance to meet the expense of maintaining a local Society; (b) missions in rural districts, villages, and towns—many in the older Conferences—where the Church had not been able "to establish herself fully"; (c) city missions "in dense and vicious districts, and among the poorer or more destitute portions of the population." [4]

Missions in the New States

The Missionary Society had a well-defined philosophy in relation to its program of domestic missions in the new states. The members and friends of the Church in frontier communities, limited in number, could not be expected to meet unaided the expense of maintaining a Society and paying a missionary's salary.

> By sending them a pastor, and affording them an appropriation from the missionary funds, they lay the foundation of a Church, which, as it grows requires less missionary support, until in a few years, it becomes a self-supporting Church, and begins to contribute to the missionary cause. . . . The value of such a movement may be seen in Ohio and Indiana. Our ministers were first upon the ground in these States, and our Church now stands foremost there in the sacramental host of God's elect. So we must endeavor to do in Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and on westward to the Rocky Mountains.[5]

While the population growth of the West was phenomenal not less remarkable was the rate at which the social institutions of the older regions of the country were established in the new states and territories. Settlers were interested in securing for themselves the advantages of post offices and railway stations but many of them were even more concerned for schools and churches, and displayed initiative and resourcefulness in meeting community religious needs.* In some cases appeal was made to Methodist Presiding Elders for missionaries or pastors. In 1854 David Burns, while Presiding Elder of the Grand Rapids District, Michigan Conference, reported an appeal from the people of a village of three to four hundred inhabitants at the mouth of the White River:

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* The Missionary Society was not able to meet all the demands made for domestic mission aid. As a means of providing additional support the General Conference of 1848 provided that any Annual Conference was at liberty to organize a Conference "domestic missionary society with branches" and assume the support of missions already established within its borders, or to be established, "provided such organizations shall not interfere with the collections for the [general] Missionary Society . . as required by the Discipline" and that, if more funds than were needed should be raised, the surplus should be sent to the Missionary Society. This action was reaffirmed by the 1852 General Conference.—"Journal of the General Conference," 1848, p. 92; *ibid.*, 1852, pp. 140 f., in *G. C. Journals,* III.

† The Missionary Society each year notified the presiding Bishops of the sums for which they were authorized to draw on the Society Treasurer for the respective Conferences over which they presided.

> We do not profess to be Christians; we are wicked, and know it, and for this reason we want a minister. As it is, we have no Sabbath, no minister, no gospel, no schools of any kind. Our children are growing up almost heathens. Most of us were brought up in a land where we had Sabbaths, ministers, churches and schools. We feel that we can live no longer without them. And this is not all. When one of our children, or friends, or neighbors die[s], there is no one to make a prayer, preach a sermon, or make any religious remarks by way of comfort to the bereaved. At the time appointed we assemble at the house of mourning, and after conversing awhile about lumber and other kindred topics, we take up the dead, carry him out, and bury him as you would a sheep. This is our condition—cannot something be done for us? Is there not some minister that is willing to come and live among us, and preach the word of life? We will do all we can for his support.[6]

In a larger number of instances the initiative in forming Classes and Societies was taken by a settler who in his earlier home had been active as a Methodist Class Leader or Local Preacher. Still more often a Circuit preacher of missionary spirit would push out beyond the bounds of his appointed Circuit, establish a preaching place in the home of a friendly family, and as soon as conditions were propitious form a Society which at the next Conference session would be made a mission. Some missions were outposts far removed from the Districts to which they belonged, established optimistically by one or another of the Bishops. William Simpson, appointed in 1850 to establish the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Mission, wrote to the *Christian Advocate:*

> The settlement here is disconnected almost entirely, as yet, with the other parts of the State. At our last conference, I was appointed to this unexplored country by Bishop Hamline, though my appointment stands connected with the Iowa City District. The presiding elder was not expected to visit me during the year. The nearest preacher to me in the conference is more than a hundred miles from me.[7]

The Mission Districts organized in some of the newer western Annual Conferences were so named because most, if not all, of the appointments were missions. In the Wisconsin Conference in 1848 seven (excluding an Indian mission) of the fourteen appointments of the Fond du Lac Mission

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* Hermann Nelson Morse: "The multiplication of religious types and the wide diffusion, in a spirit of free competition, of individual churches were more the result of the large scale social forces operating on the frontier than of any conscious ecclesiastical polity."—"The Church's Mission at Home," in Samuel M. Cavert and Henry P. Van Dusen, Eds., *The Church Through Half a Century . . .*, p. 270.

District were missions. In 1849 all five of the Districts of the Missouri Conference were listed as Mission Districts and missions accounted for thirty-one (exclusive of an Indian mission) of the forty-one appointments. In 1850 two of the five Districts of the Wisconsin Conference were Mission Districts and in one—the Minnesota Mission District—all but two appointments were missions.

In addition to appropriations made for individual missions within Districts it was the common practice of the Missionary Society to make an appropriation also to the District as such. In the 1860 Minnesota Annual Conference $200. was allocated to the Minneapolis District, $125. to the St. Paul District, $240. to the St. Peter District, $200. to the Red Wing District, and $150. to the Winona District. These sums were remitted to the Presiding Elders for emergency missionary needs.[8]

The steady expansion of the Church from the Middle Border westward to the Pacific can only be understood by tracing the development of Conference missions from state to state as the years passed.

In 1845, although Illinois had been admitted to the Union as a state in 1818, pioneer conditions generally prevailed. The room in which the first session of the Rock River Conference* met in August, 1840, was a log enclosure, twenty feet square, with poorly chinked cracks between the logs and an earthen floor covered with straw.[9] The Missionary Society in its *Report* for 1847-48 stated that the Conference had twenty-seven missions and thirty-five missionaries, with a serious shortage of candidates for the ministry.

> Hence, many neighborhoods, and, in some instances, almost whole counties, are either entirely destitute of the preached word, or only visited by the messenger of truth occasionally, and at long intervals.[10]

Corresponding Secretary Pitman on a visit to the Rock River Conference in 1847 was much impressed with the missionary spirit of many of the preachers who from year to year did not receive as much as one half of their Disciplinary allowance and yet went on their way "with uncomplaining submission" and cheerfulness. "Is not this the true missionary spirit?" he asked. "From my heart I honor these western pioneers; and I verily believe that there are few better specimens of missionary consecration anywhere to be found." [11]

Of the two Annual Conferences in Illinois in 1850 the Illinois Conference† with ninety-one charges (other than those of the German Mission Districts) had three missions; the Rock River‡ with eighty-five charges reported fourteen (exclusive of the Swedish work) as missions. In the next sixteen years Illinois Annual Conferences were increased to four by the organization of the Southern Illinois* and the Peoria Conferences† and in 1866, all told, they had sixty-nine missions supported in whole or in part by missionary funds. Annual appropriations to the Illinois Conference were continued until 1876. In that year the Conference decided to refund to the Missionary Society the appropriation of $500. made to it. The other three Conferences accepted their appropriations: Central Illinois, $500. for six missions; Rock River, $1,800. for seventeen missions; and Southern Illinois, $600. for eight missions. The next year missionary appropriations were discontinued to all four Conferences of the state.[12]

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* See Vol. I, 248.

† For organizational data on the Illinois Conference see Vol I, 245 f.

‡ For account of the organization of the Rock River Conference see Vol. I, 248.

The whole of Wisconsin Territory was included in the Rock River Conference at its organization in 1840, and in 1844 three of its nine Districts—Platteville, Milwaukee, and Green Bay—were still within the territory. These three Districts had twenty-seven charges, of which eleven were designated as missions including those to Indians. Four years later, on July 12, 1848, the Wisconsin Conference was organized ‡ and Presiding Elders were appointed to four Districts: Platteville, Racine, Milwaukee, and Fond du Lac.[13]

The country was being rapidly settled, the population increasing from 30,945 in 1840 to 305,391 in 1850, and to 775,881 in 1860. Demand came from many of these people for religious services but as in numerous other regions missionaries were not to be had. Alfred Brunson, writing in 1847 from Prairie du Chien, deplored the lack:

> I have said and done all I could, to induce the constituted authorities of our Church to send missionaries into the country north of this; but the want of men, and the want of means to support them, have hitherto prevented the desired supply.

Brunson told of a settlement of about three hundred people on the Black River which became so aroused that a public meeting was called, a subscription raised of about $300., and a petition for a minister sent to the authorities of the Methodist Church. Brunson commented:

> I am aware that brother Summers [the Presiding Elder of the Platteville District] cannot obtain the men necessary to supply this country, or he would have done so before now. . . . And is it so, that China, Africa, the Indies, Oregon, &c., are more attractive than this important frontier of our own country? [14]

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* The first session of the Southern Illinois Conference, authorized by the General Conference of 1852 (*G. C. Journal,* 1852, p. 152), met in its first session at Belleville, Ill., Oct. 27-30, 1852. Its five Districts had fifty-seven appointments of which fifteen were missions. In 1895 the six Districts of the Conference had 162 appointments; members, not including probationers, had increased from 12,151 to 35,574, and churches from 117 to 446.—*Minutes, Southern Illinois Conference,* 1852, pp. 9-11; *ibid.,* 1895, pp. 14-16.

† Peoria Conference (later, the Central Illinois), set off from the Rock River in 1856, met in its first session at Peoria, Sept. 10-16. Its six Districts listed seventy-eight appointments of which eight were left to be supplied. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1856, pp. 142 f.) In 1895, its five Districts, with 189 appointments, reported 34,035 members in 380 local churches. It had also 363 Sunday schools with 34,817 pupils.—*Minutes, Central Illinois Conference,* 1895, pp. 30-33, 37.

‡ The Wisconsin Conference, authorized by the 1848 General Conference, met in its first session at Southport, Wisconsin Territory, with sixty-seven members, and 147 Local Preachers. Fifty-seven Circuits and Stations were listed, of which twenty-four were designated as missions. Church members, including probationers, numbered 6,796, of whom eleven were Negroes and 172 were Indians.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1848, pp. 243 f., 300.

Under the frontier conditions still prevailing in Wisconsin only men of adventurous spirit, inured to hardship, were willing to volunteer for missionary service. A. B. Randall, appointed to the Green Lake Mission in 1847, after telling of the picturesque landscape, dotted with beautiful little lakes, said:

> When I reached the Mission I rode more than 150 miles to procure a domicile; but owing to the rush of immigrants to this part of the country, every cabin was literally filled to overflowing. In some, not more than sixteen feet by eighteen, I found three or four families, amounting frequently to twenty-five or thirty individuals. After drifting about for three or four weeks, I came across a brother, who said he would furnish logs and lumber, and help me build a cabin 14 feet square, and I might have the use of the building while I stayed on the Mission for the labor I should bestow in its erection. . . . In about six weeks we got the roof on and the rough floor down. I was then taken down with the ague and fever, and we moved into our new cabin without doors or windows, while the cracks between the logs were wide enough to throw cats through with safety and convenience: and as we were but slightly acquainted on the Mission, and nearly out of provisions, medicine, and money, and we ran for a while very close to the wind . . . .
>
> In about eight weeks I was able to fill my regular appointments, fifteen in number, requiring over 160 miles of travel. . . .
>
> When I came into the work we numbered in society about 70; we now number 115. I cannot say that we have had any conversions, properly speaking, on the Mission, but we have had some re-conversions.[15]

Again in 1854 we find Alfred Brunson bewailing the lack of preachers. The Wabasha Mission, he felt, should be divided into at least four missions to do justice to the need, and on the other parts of the Prairie du Chien District at least five more missions should be formed. The adjoining Minnesota Mission District should also be increased as much, since the growth of population for the year on the two Districts could be estimated at not less than 10,000. At the preceding Conference, to supply the work fully, thirty additional preachers were needed and for the next year thirty more would be required, or a total of sixty new recruits.

On the most recent round of his District, Brunson reported, at none of the four weekday Quarterly Meetings were enough official members present to hold a Quarterly Conference. At only one of the four were enough people present for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

> The preachers not being elders, cannot administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and many of them not being deacons, cannot baptize, and the people can have their sacraments only when visited by the presiding elder.

For these reasons Brunson felt that it was utterly useless to attempt to hold Quarterly Meetings on weekdays, and that the Districts should be made smaller.[16]

For years the Wisconsin Conference continued to be to a large extent missionary territory. At the 1863 session its Committee on Domestic Missions reported that one of its members had explored the region north of the city of Green Bay for seventy miles—an area which no minister had ever before penetrated—and stated that there were unexplored regions yet beyond.

> Here we find settlements of from fifteen to fifty families, where some have not heard a Gospel sermon for seven years. Here are children old enough to appreciate Gospel truth, who never saw a minister of Christ.

At this session eleven charges were left to be supplied; and four Circuits, each scheduled to receive two preachers, received but one.[17]

In 1856 the West Wisconsin Conference* was set off from the Wisconsin Conference, to include the southwest and the northern central parts of the state, with six Districts containing sixty-five charges of which twenty-two (excluding two Norwegian) were listed as missions. Point Bluff and La Crosse were Mission Districts. The northwestern part of Wisconsin was included in the newly formed Minnesota Conference. The comparatively small area of the West Wisconsin Conference as thus constituted offered limited opportunity for missionary expansion.[18]

The General Conference of 1860 formed the Northwest Wisconsin Conference† out of that part of the Minnesota Conference within the state of Wisconsin and the La Crosse District of the West Wisconsin Conference, an extremely ill-advised measure. After eight years the Conference was dissolved, in its last year four fewer preachers being appointed to charges than at its organization. Pioneer conditions, the very small ministerial leadership, and limited aid from the Missionary Society created an exceptionally difficult situation. The average yearly salary of the preachers was only $220. When in 1868 the Conference was discontinued all but Douglas, Bayfield, and Ashland Counties of northwest Wisconsin were transferred to West Wisconsin, an arrangement which added a large area for cultivation. Unfortunately, however, the General Missionary Committee—under the necessity of reducing its appropriations—made a drastic cut in the missionary grant to the Conference for 1868 and followed this by further reductions: $700. in 1869; $1,000. in 1875; and $1,500. in 1877. Under these conditions the missionary program was seriously curtailed.[19]

Methodist missionary work among the white settlers of the Minnesota country, according to the account of Chauncey Hobart in his *History of Methodism in Minnesota,* was begun by Joseph Hurlburt in 1844. Hobart states that at the 1844 session of the Rock River Conference Hurlburt was appointed to the St. Croix Mission* which embraced "all the settlements of the Mississippi and its tributaries above the head of Lake Pepin" and included as preaching places Fort Snelling, Red Rock, Stillwater, Marine, Osceola, and St. Croix Falls. Jonathan W. Putnam, in 1846 pastor of the St. Croix Mission, added as additional appointments Point Douglas and St. Anthony Falls.[20]

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* The first session of the West Wisconsin Conference was held in Madison, Aug. 20-26, 1856.

† The organizational session of the Northwest Wisconsin Conference was held at Sparta, Wisc., Sept. 5-10, 1860. Nine were admitted on trial, and eight of the thirty-seven charges of the three Districts were left to be supplied.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1860, pp. 237 f.

One year after St. Paul had been "laid off and platted" Benjamin Close, appointed in 1848 to the St. Croix Mission, preached in the village—then a community of about a hundred and fifty people—and in the same year Benjamin F. Hoyt, a Local Preacher, organized the first Methodist Class. In June, 1849, Chauncey Hobart was appointed at the Wisconsin Conference Presiding Elder of the newly formed Minnesota District and pastor at St. Paul. In his first year a brick church was built—the first Protestant house of worship in Minnesota Territory—and the membership of the Society was increased to forty-two. In 1851 Thomas M. Fullerton, an enterprising and energetic man, and an able administrator, was stationed at St. Paul but unsettled conditions prevailed among the people and he could do little more than maintain the church's existence.

At this time the immediate area on the west side of the Mississippi River was still a part of the Fort Snelling military reservation and settlers' cabins could only be built by permission of the officers at the fort. Despite this limitation a settlement was gradually established and in the summer of 1852 a Methodist Class was organized by A. C. Godfrey in what later became the city of Minneapolis. In Godfrey's home, in November, 1852, Hobart held the first Quarterly Meeting of the mission.[21]

The 1856 General Conference authorized the organization of the Minnesota Conference† to include the northwestern part of Wisconsin and the Territory of Minnesota. When the territory was organized in 1849, its boundaries extended to the Missouri River, including the greater part of the present states of North and South Dakota. The territory according to the census of 1850 had a population of 6,077.

The organization of the Conference plotted an immense area for missionary exploration and Methodist Circuit Riders scouted many localities in advance of settlers. When the Benton County Mission was established, to include a region 130 miles in length, J. H. White, the missionary, could locate in it only two Methodists. When the first Quarterly Conference was called and the question asked, "Have the general rules been read in the societies?" the answer recorded was, "There are no societies."

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* St. Croix Mission does not appear in the *General Minutes* until 1846 when J. W. Putnam was assigned to it as missionary (p. 57). In 1844, according to the *Minutes,* Joseph Hurlburt was appointed to the Winnebago Lake Mission, Green Bay (Wisc.) Mission District (p. 501). It is possible that the St. Croix Mission appointment may have been a post-Conference arrangement made by the Presiding Elders.

† The first session of the Minnesota Conference was held in Red Wing in August, 1856.

In February, 1856, James Peet was sent by his Presiding Elder from St. Paul 180 miles north to take charge of the Superior Mission. One hundred and thirty miles "were through wilderness, and not a white family living in the whole distance."

> On our journey we slept out of doors at night on the snow-covered ground—wife, children and myself wrapped in blankets, by our campfire. We thawed our frozen provisions, from time to time, by a little fire kindled for that purpose, as we needed to refresh ourselves. Our road was the ice of the St. Croix River and an old Indian trail, the underbrush of which had been cut just wide enough for a team to get through with a sled. After nine days we arrived at the head of Lake Superior, and at Superior City found two Methodists; my wife made a third, and with these a class of three was organized . . . .[22]

In the summer of 1857 Edward Eggleston, widely known in later years both in America and in Europe as the author of the *Hoosier Schoolmaster,* was received on trial in the Minnesota Conference. William McKinley in his *Story of Minnesota Methodism* has given an apt characterization of him at the time:

> He was a youth of about twenty years, with the raw appearance of immaturity; but one soon saw that he was more mature in mind than in body. He had walked all the way from Indiana for his health, and was much benefited thereby. Had been licensed to preach, and employed as supply on an Indiana circuit, but his health failed, and this brought him to Minnesota.
>
> There was something about him that attracted people at once. His powers of observation, description, and conversation were phenomenal. He could talk more and talk better than any man I ever knew. His geniality, natural eloquence, and magnetic personality made him a favorite everywhere.[23]

For nine years Eggleston continued in the pastorate, serving some of the stronger churches, then because of his broken health retired from the ministry.

Preceding the organization of the Annual Conference growth in church membership was slow—only 747 full members reported at the first session—but from 1856-57 on Methodism expanded in keeping with the rapid growth of population.* In pursuance of an enabling act passed by the General Conference of 1892 the Minnesota Conference at its 1894 session voted 123 to 41 to divide and adopted Minnesota Northern† as the name of the new Conference.[24]

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* By 1860 there were five Districts (exclusive of the Scandinavian Mission Districts) with 70 Circuits and Stations, 4,365 full members; 25 churches; and 156 Sunday schools. Thirty-two of the charges were listed as missions. The missionary appropriation to the Conference was $3,030. By 1875 the membership had increased to 11,068 (exclusive of the Swedish and Norwegian churches), the mission charges to sixty, and the missionary appropriation to $9,000. In 1893 the church membership was 22,719; the number of charges, 248; missions, 126; and missionary appropriations, $11,100. This same year the Conference collections for missions were $11,382.—*Minutes, Minnesota Conference,* 1860, pp. 18 ff., 23 f.; *ibid.,* 1875, pp. 62, 36 f.; *ibid.,* 1893, pp. 114, 84-94, 75-77, 117.

† At the first session of the Conference, held in Minneapolis, Oct. 2-6, 1895, the name was changed to the Northern Minnesota Conference. One hundred and fifteen charter members were registered—

When in 1844 the Iowa Conference was set off from Rock River the entire territory had only 75,152 inhabitants—whites and Indians—thinly scattered over the twenty-one organized counties of the eastern and southeastern section.

> Five-sixths of the Territory in the north and west was a boundless expanse of grove and prairie, still uninhabited by the white man. During the twelve years that followed, immigrants came in large numbers; they came from every state in the east and south and from across the sea. They came singly and in companies, many in wagons drawn by horses or oxen, camping by the roadside at night and journeying by day. Many came in boats down the Ohio and up the Mississippi River, landing at the towns along the river and spreading out over the state along its streams and near its groves, and in 1856 the population of the state had become 517,875.[25]

Three years later, one year after Iowa had achieved statehood, the Conference, with twenty-eight missions and thirty-five missionaries, had 4,629 members. Bear Creek Mission, a typical missionary appointment, was organized in 1846. Its appointments increased until in 1862 they numbered twelve, "extending from near Iowa City to a point ten miles northwest of Brooklyn, and south to Williamsburg." [26] Growth was so rapid that after twelve years the Conference was divided, the northern area taking the name Upper Iowa Conference.* Before the close of the quadrennium demand was voiced for still another Conference for the western half of the state, chiefly because of the travel and expense involved in reaching the seats of the two Conferences in the eastern area. The 1860 General Conference authorized division again of the Iowa Conference, the new body to be called the Western Iowa Conference,† to include the southwestern quarter of the state. In 1864 the name was changed to Des Moines Conference.[27]

Writing to the *Christian Advocate* in 1873 from Boonesborough, Iowa, Samuel Jones mentioned the need for more churches, parsonages, and parsonage furniture. He had just returned, as Presiding Elder, from a trip of eleven days during which he had preached fourteen times, and held five Quarterly Meetings, all in schoolhouses since "there was not a church building of any kind in the four counties" which he traversed—a journey of 470 miles, eighty miles of the distance on foot.[28]

Twelve years after the organization of the Western Iowa Conference a

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among them such outstanding ministers as Robert Forbes, J. B. Hingeley, Frank Doran, R. N. McKaig, J. F. Chaffee—and twenty-one probationers. The four Districts had 131 charges with 10,912 full members, of which seventy-two received missionary appropriations ranging from $35. to $445., aggregating $5,475.—*Minutes, Northern Minnesota Conference,* 1895, pp. 94, 68 f.

* The Upper Iowa Conference at its first session, Aug. 27-Sept. 1, 1856, enrolled fifty-eight Traveling Preachers, of whom twenty-two were probationers. At the third session, exclusive of the German work and the Scandinavian Mission, Circuits and Stations had increased to a hundred, of which seventeen were designated as missions.—Stephen Norris Fellows, *History of the Upper Iowa Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1856-1906,* p. 40; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1856, pp. 138-41, *ibid.,* 1858, pp. 234 f.

† The Western Iowa Conference (Des Moines Conference) held its first session in Indianola, Aug. 22-27, 1860. Its four Districts had 5,536 full members; 92 Local Preachers; 26 churches; and 126 Sunday schools with 5,290 pupils. (*Minutes, Western Iowa Conference,* 1860, pp. 5, 24.) By 1895 Districts had increased to six; full members to 46,883; Local Preachers to 189; churches to 423; and Sunday schools to 458, with 43,702 pupils.—*Minutes, Des Moines Conference,* 1895, pp. 290-93.

further division was made, the Northwest Iowa Conference,* to include the northwest quarter of the state and all of Dakota Territory, with twenty-three charter members. Sioux City District, of which Bennett Mitchell was appointed Presiding Elder, embraced about ten counties of Iowa and the whole of Dakota, "an area larger by more than 20,000 square miles than that of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland taken together." Many of the people lived in sod houses and in dugouts; and some schoolhouses, and even churches, were built of sod. All types of transportation were used by the preachers on their rounds: horseback, buggies, two-wheeled carts. "Some drove fine, sleek, spanking teams, some fidgety bronchos, . . . while a few rode behind braying mules." [29]

The Missouri Annual Conference, meeting at Columbia on October 1, 1845, by a vote of 86 to 14 cast its lot with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.† The resolution, adopted after protracted discussion, read:

> *Resolved,* That as a conference . . . we adhere to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and that all our proceedings, journals, and records of every kind, hereafter, be in name and style of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[30]

The vote as reported does not account for all members of the Conference. Ten who were German missionaries asked to be transferred to the Illinois Conference and to be permitted to continue their work in Missouri. This was allowed. Seven anti-slavery men, discouraged concerning the outlook, sought membership in other Conferences. Eight decided to remain with those members of their Societies who were anti-slavery and carry on as best they could. While Missouri was a slave state the non-slaveholding proportion of the population was stronger than in any slave state except Delaware. Approximately one in eight of the farms was cultivated by slave labor. Although nearly six thousand slaves were owned in St. Louis and occasional slave auctions were held in the city the predominant sentiment was anti-slavery. While the pro-slavery interests, both economic and political, were powerful it was asserted by some that should the question of slavery be submitted to popular vote three-fourths of the state would oppose the institution.[31]

The pro-slavery advocates were vocal and aggressively defensive, while the anti-slavery majority were largely passive. The constituency of the Methodist Church, as in the case of the ministry, was made up principally of southern people whose families, and forebears for generations, had been closely associated with slavery. Under these conditions it was a foregone conclusion that the anti-slavery Methodist minority were destined to encounter intense hostility. Nevertheless, the 1848 General Conference decided to reconstitute the Missouri Conference* of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The organizational session was held on September 13, 1848, at Belleville, Illinois, in connection with the annual session of the Illinois Conference. Church members, it was reported, numbered 1,538. The second session was held at St. Louis on August 29, 1849. Full members had increased to 3,097 of whom 224 were Negroes and 172 Indians. Thirty ministers were appointed to charges, and thirteen points were left to be supplied.[32]

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* The Northwest Iowa Conference convened in its first session at Ft. Dodge on Sept. 18, 1872. At this session the Bishop increased the Districts from two to three, and the charges from forty-five to fifty-two of which twelve were left to be supplied. The second meeting of the Conference was held at Yankton, Dakota Territory, in the Congregational church. Within five years the membership increased from 3,392 to 4,956; charges from 52 to 77; churches from 9 to 29. In 1895 the Conference had five Districts—all within Iowa—with 159 charges; 19,595 members; churches, 225: Sunday schools, 289.—*Minutes, Northwest Iowa Conference,* 1872, pp. 11 ff.; *ibid.,* 1877, pp. 125 f., 308; *ibid.,* 1895, pp. 21 f., 60; Bennett Mitchell, *History of the Northwest Iowa Conference, 1872-1903,* pp. 76 f.

† See Vol. I, 357 f.

Year by year bitterness against the Methodist Episcopal Church became more intense. The 1855 session was planned to be held in Independence beginning on October 11. On August 13 a remonstrance meeting of citizens was held which passed a resolution of protest, reading:

> *Resolved*, That, if the ministers and others constituting said Conference should, after this respectable remonstrance, persist in holding the same here, we shall hold ourselves fully acquitted from any consequences that may result therefrom.

The Conference met, by invitation, in the Ebenezer Methodist Church, St. Louis, "without molestation." [33]

In its issue of May 15, 1861, the *Central Christian Advocate* editorially advised the suspension of all regular public church services in Missouri in Methodist churches. Persecution in both Missouri and Arkansas was not limited to ministers but extended also to lay people and their families who acknowledged that they were Unionists. The Rev. J. H. Hawley wrote from Kansas on May 13, 1861:

> For the last four weeks the roads leading into Kansas, by the way of Fort Scott, from Arkansas and Texas, have been literally lined with emigrants, with their families and large herds of cattle. . . . Liberty of conscience is entirely out of the question. To be a Free-State man is crime enough for the halter or gibbet.[34]

Not less than twenty thousand northern Methodists, according to the estimate of Charles Elliott, were driven from Missouri after 1859 so that "by Conference time, 1862, our people in Missouri and Arkansas were nearly extirpated." By the spring of 1863 conditions began to assume a more favorable aspect. To aid the Conference in its effort to cope with the situation the Missionary Society "appropriated $7,000. for the neediest portions" of Missouri and Arkansas "besides $3,000 as a contingent fund." The Church began with the county seats and the principal cities and towns and as impediments lessened extended operations to villages and rural communities. The 1864 session of the Conference met in the State House in Jefferson City. Reports showed a membership of 6,662, a gain for the year of 2,990. Forty-three pastors, sixteen more than the preceding year, received appointments. The Missionary Society this year contributed for domestic missions within the Conference $7,572. Appropriations continued to be made annually.[*] Steady growth, though not phenomenally rapid, was made. In 1875 membership in Missouri, exclusive of the Arkansas District, had grown to 28,801; and in 1895 to 49,434, exclusive of the Negro members formerly in the St. Louis Conference, now in the Central Missouri Conference.[35]

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* At the first session of the reorganized Missouri Conference eighteen Traveling Preachers were appointed to charges, with four charges left to be supplied. There were twenty-four Local Preachers. Three Districts were formed: St. Louis, Platte, and Arkansas. In 1852 the name was changed to Missouri and Arkansas Conference.—*Gen'l Minutes*, 1848, pp. 286 f.; Charles Elliott, *South-Western Methodism, A History of the M. E. Church in the South-West* . . . , pp. 24 f.

When the Missouri (and Arkansas) Conference was organized in 1848 the Arkansas Mission District[†] had seven charges with 499 members. In 1852 Arkansas was separated from Missouri, although the Arkansas Conference[‡] met jointly with the Missouri Conference in St. Louis on October 7. Two Mission Districts were formed, each with ten missions. At the end of the first year the twenty missions reported 1,289 white members in full connection and twenty-three Negro members. During the late fifties Methodists with anti-slavery sympathies, and other free-soil advocates, were subjected to severe persecution, thousands being driven from the state. Under these troubled conditions, in 1860 the former plan of including Missouri and Arkansas in a single Conference was resumed under the name of Missouri and Arkansas Conference.[36]

In 1868 Arkansas was made a part of the newly formed St. Louis Conference.[§] At its first session, March, 1869, with two Districts, the Little Rock and Fort Smith, fourteen preachers received appointments. Church members numbered 2,538. Conditions changed in the next four years, so much so that in 1872 ministers and members of the Church in Arkansas were ready to take advantage of the provision made by the 1868 General Conference giving them authority again to form a Conference of their own. At the first session of the reorganized Arkansas Conference, January 29-February 4, 1873, with forty-six appointments, thirty preachers were appointed to as many Circuits and Stations, leaving sixteen appointments to be supplied.* Church members numbered 3,805.[37]

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[*] Sixteen years later (1880) forty-three charges of the Missouri Conference received missionary appropriations to the amount of $3,090. and forty-six missions of the St. Louis Conference, $4,250. In 1895 forty-one charges of the Missouri Conference were still receiving missionary support, in that year $3,890. and forty-one charges of the St. Louis Conference $4,585.—*Minutes, Missouri Conference,* 1880, p. 141; *ibid.,* 1895, pp. 122 f.; *Journal, St. Louis Conference,* 1880, pp. 213 f.; *ibid.,* 1895, pp. 177 f.

[†] In 1844 the Arkansas Conference, like Missouri, adhered to the South. (James A. Anderson, *Centennial History of Arkansas Methodism . . . ,* pp. 68, 70 f.) The action, however, did not meet with unanimous approval, either of the ministry or the laity, and some of these joined with northern Methodists of Missouri in petitioning the 1848 General Conference for preachers to be sent to them.—C. Elliott, *op. cit.,* pp. 62 f.

[‡] "The Arkansas Conference shall include the States of Arkansas, Texas, and so much of New Mexico as lies east of the Rocky Mountains, and that part of the Indian Territory west of Arkansas, and so much of the State of Missouri as is not included in the Missouri Conference." ("Journal of the General Conference, 1852," Appendix, p. 152, *G. C. Journals,* III.) Texas appointments appeared first in 1853 and consecutively thereafter until 1860, when on account of intensely embittered conflict over slavery they were discontinued.

[§] The 1868 General Conference authorized formation of the St. Louis Conference to "include the State of Missouri lying south of Missouri River; and the State of Arkansas" (*G. C. Journal,* 1868, p. 317). Its first session was held in Sedalia, March 10-15, 1869. It was organized with five Districts in Missouri and two in Arkansas, with a total membership of 13,401; 67 churches; and 191 Sunday schools.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1869, pp. 21-23.

During the forties and fifties the population of Michigan increased rapidly, stimulated by discovery of the rich agricultural possibilities of the Lower Peninsula and the mineral wealth of the Upper Peninsula. In the late summer of 1851, John H. Pitezel wrote to the Missionary Society from the copper mine region of the Upper Peninsula, "The work here is greatly enlarging, and [the Eagle River Mission] will need next year two missionaries. Thus the people *who were not a people,* have become the people of God." The Missionary Society appropriated to the mission $100. and the forty-two members on the Circuit returned as their missionary offering $60. The pioneer conditions still prevailing in the region are pictured in the report of Salmon Steele who tells of visiting "ten different mines and places once in three weeks, on foot, making over seventy miles travel." An even more graphic picture is given by E. H. Day, appointed to the Ontonagon Mission in the same general region in 1851:

> There are only five hundred souls all through my beat, and I visit them all once in four weeks, to accomplish which I have to travel through the woods one hundred and seventy-five miles, frequently eighteen miles between houses, and in the winter, on snow shoes, by marked trees.[38]

So marked was the growth made between 1850 and 1855 † that the 1856 General Conference authorized a division of the Conference, and the creation of the Detroit Conference‡ to include "all that part of the State of Michigan lying east of the principal meridian line, and the upper peninsula shall be connected with the Detroit Conference." [39]

Even before the organization of Nebraska Territory the General Conference of 1852 had taken action attaching to the Iowa Conference "the Territory of Nebraska, except so much as is occupied by the Indian Missions now in connexion with the Missouri Conference," but no cognizance of the action was taken by the Conference either in 1852 or 1853. The passage by Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854 opening the territory for settlement and the organization of a territorial government stimulated action. The Board of

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* The 1876 General Conference anticipated what it termed the necessity of organizing "a Conference in the bounds of the Arkansas Conference especially adapted to the Colored work," and enacted an enabling act which provided that as soon as there were twenty Negro Traveling Preachers in the Conference it would be legal, by majority vote, "to organize a Colored Conference." (*G. C. Journal,* 1876, p. 135.) At the Conference session of 1878 division was voted, although there were then only four Negro ministers in full connection. Seventeen men having been received on trial, the Little Rock (Negro) Conference at its first session, Feb. 21-24, 1879, was able to fill all appointments. In 1895 the Conference, with four Districts and sixty-eight appointments, reported 4,638 members in full connection; eighty-nine churches; and 122 Sunday schools with 4,072 pupils.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1895, pp. 96, 125.

† The Michigan Conference during these five years increased from eight to eleven Districts; from ninety-four to 168 charges; from 15,015 members to 18,497; and from 128 to 178 Traveling Preachers. —*Ibid.,* 1850, pp. 512 f., 540; *ibid.,* 1855, pp. 604 ff., 667.

‡ The Detroit Conference at its first session on Sept. 17-23, 1856, was organized with six Districts and one hundred charges, including two Indian missions. It had 9,508 full members. (*Ibid.,* 1856, pp. 125 ff.) In 1895 its seven Districts with 313 charges, inclusive of five Indian missions, reported 45,987 members in full connection.—*Ibid.,* Fall, 1895, pp. 282 ff., 484.

Bishops decided that "the interests of our Church required an early occupancy" of the territory by missionaries "that should accompany the settler, or meet him and his family on their arrival," provide them with the ordinances of religion, and thus incorporate "moral and religious influences with the first elements of society" in the new West. Accordingly Bishop E. R. Ames wrote the veteran missionary William H. Goode "to visit and explore the country as thoroughly as practicable, for the purpose of collecting information" on such points as would "enable the Church authorities to act understandingly." [40]

Goode made the trip, explored the area immediately west of the Missouri River in both Kansas and Nebraska, organized four mission Circuits, two in each territory, and appointed temporary missionary supplies. At the session of the Missouri Conference, held in October, 1854, presided over by Bishop Ames, a Kansas and Nebraska District was formed and the number of missions increased to seven (exclusive of Indian missions).* Goode—transferred from the Indiana Conference—was appointed Presiding Elder. His District embraced the whole of the Kansas and Nebraska Territories, a region extending from the Missouri River on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west and from the "waters of the Arkansas" on the south to the British possessions on the north. Nine appointments were listed, four of which were in Nebraska. At the 1855 sessions of the Iowa and the Missouri Conferences the Kansas and Nebraska District was divided, a Nebraska District formed, with eight missions, attached to the Iowa Conference, and two Districts—the North Kansas and the South Kansas—formed in Kansas, connected with the Missouri Conference, each with six missions.[41] This allocation of territory, however, lasted but one year. The General Conference of 1856 authorized organization of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference, to "embrace the Kansas and Nebraska Territories, and also that part of the territories of New Mexico and Utah lying east of the Rocky Mountains." † The organizing session was held in a large cloth tent in Lawrence, Kansas, beginning on October 23, 1856. Twenty-five missions constituted the Conference. Twenty-three preachers received appointments. Church members, including probationers, numbered 1,138, of whom 144 were Indians. At the third session of the Conference, held in Topeka, which opened on April 15, 1858, forty-seven preachers received appointments. Church members, as reported, had increased to 2,669. The widely extended area, involving long and difficult journeys for many of the preachers to reach the seat of Annual Conference, and the rapid growth of population, led to demands for separate Conferences for the two territories.[42]

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* At the Iowa Conference of the same year (1854), at which Bishop Morris presided, possibly through misunderstanding an undefined area west of the Missouri River was designated the "Nebraska and Kansas Mission District" with four missions listed, "Omaha, Old Fort Kearney, Waukaressa. and Fort Leavenworth." Inasmuch as there were no missionaries available for appointment, both the District and the missions were listed "to be supplied."—*Ibid.*, 1854, p. 462; Edmund H. Waring, *History of the Iowa Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . .*, p. 151.

† This is an illustration, of which there are many in the proceedings of General Conference in the early decades of the period 1845-95, of creating Conferences with incredible boundaries. The policy seems to have been a species of ecclesiastical "squatter sovereignty," a means of asserting claim to a much larger area than could possibly be immediately occupied, with a purpose of later occupancy.

In Nebraska the desire for a separate Conference was intensified by the incoming tide of immigration which was filling up the river counties with settlers, and pushing the line of settlement farther and farther into the interior. By 1860 the population had grown to 28,841 and was destined to increase to 452,402 in 1880; and 1,062,656 in 1890. The majority of the new settlers came from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa—each of which had a relatively large proportion of Methodists, ranging from 25 to 40 per cent of the Protestant populace—which created the possibility of a rapid increase of Methodist church membership. The 1860 General Conference authorized the organization of the Nebraska Conference* to "embrace the Territory of Nebraska."

The expansion of the Church was retarded by hard economic conditions. The people suffered from the inflation of the war years and had only partly recovered from its effects when they were visited by a prolonged grasshopper scourge which year after year almost totally destroyed their crops. The ensuing poverty was such that in most cases the meager salaries of the preachers were less than half paid. Nevertheless, by 1880 the two Districts of 1861 had increased to six; the membership of 948 had increased to 9,511; the members of the Conference from twenty-three to 109; and pastoral charges from nineteen to 114.[43]

The 1880 General Conference gave the Nebraska Conference permission, if it should so desire, to divide into two Conferences. The division was made at the session of 1881 and the North Nebraska Conference† held its first meeting at Fremont, Nebraska, September 14-19, 1881. Also in 1880 the General Conference, on recommendation of the Committee on Missions, and in response to a memorial of the Kearney District Ministerial Association and the several Presiding Elders of the Nebraska Conference asking for the formation of a Mission District, authorized the organization of the West Nebraska Mission.‡ It included a vast area which up to that time had been very thinly settled but in which during the late seventies immigration was rapidly increasing. What was probably the first Class within its bounds had been formed at Gibbon by David Marquette in 1870. In his report for 1883 to the Missionary Society T. B. Lemon graphically portrayed the current situation:

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* The first session of the Nebraska Conference was held on April 4-8, 1861, at Nebraska City. Nineteen preachers were appointed, seven to charges in the Omaha District, with one charge (Omaha) left to be supplied; and twelve to charges in the Nebraska City District. The membership, as reported, was: full members, 948; probationers, 376. Sunday schools numbered twenty-eight, with 908 pupils. The new Conference had only four churches, at Omaha, Bellevue, Platte Valley, and Brownville; and one parsonage, at Peru.—*Gen'l Minutes*, 1861, pp. 70 f.

† The North Nebraska Conference when organized had in its two Districts, Omaha and Norfolk, thirty-six Circuits and Stations. It lacked by nine a sufficient number of Conference members to supply its charges. (*Ibid.*, 1881, pp. 284 f.) At the close of its first year it listed thirty-eight appointments with 2,320 full members; thirty-three churches; fifty-seven Sunday schools with 3,308 pupils; and twenty-nine Local Preachers. The missionary appropriation for 1882 was $2,200. Growth was continuous and rapid. In 1895, with four Districts, the Conference reported 109 charges, almost a threefold increase, with 12,695 full members; 137 churches; 191 Sunday schools with 14,629 pupils; and forty-seven Local Preachers.—*Ibid.*, 1882, pp. 238 f., 374 f.; *ibid.*, Fall, 1895, pp. 314, 575 ff.

‡ The 1881 *General Minutes* carry the name of T. B. Lemon, Superintendent, and sixteen preachers as "missionaries to West Nebraska Mission," but no additional information. The *Minutes* for 1882 record that the first meeting of the mission was held on Aug. 31, 1882, presided over by Bishop Merrill. Twenty-two missionaries received appointments and eleven points were left "to be supplied." The mission reported 1,609 full members, 17 churches, 60 Sunday schools (of which twenty-eight had been organized during the year), with 2,535 pupils.—*Ibid.*, 1881, p. 284; *ibid.*, 1882, pp. 298, 454 f.

> The immigration of the last spring and into the summer months has been very large, filling up many sparsely-settled portions of our territory, and extending over new territory, requiring the division of some charges and the forming of new ones. . . .
>
> Some are weak in numbers and financial ability; but the country embraced within them is filling up and good promising centers are forming . . . .[44]

In 1885, by authorization of the 1884 General Conference, the West Nebraska Mission was organized as the West Nebraska Annual Conference.* Growth between 1885 and 1892 was rapid and the outlook for future development was bright. Distances necessary to be traveled by pastors in the northwest section of the state in attending Conference sessions led to a desire for a separate Conference. The 1892 General Conference passed an enabling act and at the ensuing session of the West Nebraska Conference the Northwest Nebraska Conference† was formed with eighteen charter members, one District and twenty-six Circuits and Stations, of which nine were left to be supplied.[45] David Marquette tells of the difficult situation that prevailed during its early years:

> About the time the Northwest Nebraska Conference was born, . . . the conditions began to change for the worse, making progress more difficult, if not impossible, in many parts of that territory. The preceding 'seven years of plenty' were to be followed by 'seven years of leanness.' A succession of dry seasons brought partial and sometimes complete failure of crops.[46]

During the first year of the Conference (1893) a missionary appropriation of $3,500. was made to twenty-seven missions, ranging from $30. to $600. each. In 1894 the appropriation was $3,200. and in 1895 the same amount. Despite difficult conditions membership of the churches increased from 1,673 to 2,093, three new Sunday schools were added and pupils increased to 2,488.[47]

Before its creation as a territory in 1854 Kansas had been an Indian land save for some eight hundred whites—missionaries, blacksmiths, government land agents and farmers charged with teaching the Indians agriculture, and land "squatters." The early territorial years were a tumultuous period.

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* The organizing session was held in Kearney, Sept. 10-15. Sixty-one charges were listed (of which nineteen were left to be supplied) on three Districts. Full members numbered 3,366; churches, 37; parsonages, 12; Sunday schools, 102, with 4,433 pupils.—*Ibid.*, 1885, pp. 251, 371.

† The Northwest Nebraska Conference at its first session, held at Alliance, Sept. 27-Oct. 1, 1893, reported 1,673 full members, 5 Local Preachers, 24 churches, and 49 Sunday schools with 2,256 pupils. At this session five preachers were received on trial.—*Ibid.*, Fall, 1893, pp. 341, 470.

Conflict between pro-slavery and free-state factions at times was little less than civil war and gave license to highway robbery, pillage and arson, marauding expeditions, and outrages of many different kinds.[48] A Kansas preacher wrote to the *Central Christian Advocate* in July, 1855, "Our work increases daily; no Church is prospering like our own in this soil, and the call for preaching is in almost every direction." Demand for preachers was so much greater than the supply that in some cases men were literally drafted into the itinerancy. Marcus D. Tenney came to Lawrence, Kansas, where he engaged in business. When the Presiding Elder returned from the 1859 Conference he confronted Tenney with the journal "showing that M. D. Tenney had been appointed to the Osage Circuit in Bourbon County." Feeling that the appointment was a call to which he must respond, at the end of the week he was on his way.[49]

The organization of the Kansas Annual Conference* (March 21-26, 1861) and the admission of Kansas into the Union (January 29, 1861) were almost coincident. The outbreak of the Civil War at about the same time (April, 1861) caused the smouldering embers of intra-state conflict to burst into flames, and in the conflagration the Methodist Episcopal Church was immediately involved. In response to the call for volunteers several of the preachers of the Conference enlisted and became recruiting officers, "raised companies or regiments, and led them into the field." Others became chaplains. Eleven of the seventy members of the Conference in 1863 were chaplains in the army. Still others became involved in other ways in war activities.[50]

The situation within both State and Church was further complicated by drought and consequent near-famine during the summer and fall of 1860 and the winter of 1861. An investigation by a Conference committee in 1861 revealed that in the preceding October "there were not provisions enough in the State, nor the means to procure them with to preserve more than half the people from starvation," and that most of the population were being compelled to live on cornbread and a little meat.[51]

The decennial increase of the Kansas population 1860-70 was 239.9 per cent. A large proportion of the immigrants were church members—Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and others—with strong anti-slavery convictions, interested in Kansas because of the intense anti-slavery struggle.† By 1870 the Methodist membership of approximately four thousand in 1860 had grown to 10,290. In the light of this growth the 1872 General Conference empowered the Kansas Conference, if it thought best, to divide its territory. The South Kansas Conference was organized March 11, 1874.* Missionary appropriations to the amount of $4,500. were made to four Districts at the first session.[52]

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* The Kansas Conference, authorized by the 1860 General Conference, included "the . . . Territory of Kansas, and the state of Texas, and that portion of New Mexico east of the Rocky Mountains." (*G. C. Journal,* 1860, p. 271.) Also the German work in Missouri (which long had been attached to the Illinois Conference). At its first session sixty-five preachers were appointed to eighty-two charges of which seventeen were left to be supplied. The Conference was divided into eight Districts, all Mission Districts, of which one was in Colorado, and one—the St. Joseph German Mission District—had charges in Missouri and Nebraska. Full members numbered 3,932; churches, 43; Sunday schools, 87, with 2,825 pupils.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1861, pp. 39 ff.

† Harold C. Evans, Chief Editor: "Many of the early settlers, who turned to agriculture as the only means of livelihood . . . had no natural aptitude or training for it. They were brought into the Territory by the New England Aid Company and other organizations solely for the purpose of setting up communities of anti-slavery voters. Consequently, it is not strange that Kansas agriculture, hampered from the outset by climatic conditions that were frequently adverse, . . . did not prosper."—*Kansas, A Guide to the Sunflower State,* p. 65.

Between 1870 and 1880 the population of Kansas increased 173.4 per cent. Following the close of the Civil War the government offered Union army veterans homesteads in Kansas and approximately a hundred thousand took advantage of the opportunity to procure a practically free farm.

> These sturdy young veterans were Kansas' first real pioneer farmers. The majority had been reared on farms in the older semi-prairie States of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, and understood the difficulties confronting the farmer who breaks virgin soil in prairie country.[53]

Stating that the population increase on homestead lands in northwestern Kansas had been so great as to demand a much larger number of ministers, a delegate to the 1880 General Conference proposed that the region be organized into a Mission District. In justification of the proposal he said:

> The financial condition of the people who are occupying a country for farming purposes . . . which, from the peculiar condition of the soil and climate, requires several years' occupancy before adequate returns can be had, is such that they are almost wholly unable to contribute any thing for the support of the Gospel, producing a condition . . . in which a large proportion of the support of the ministry must be borne by the Missionary Society, or thousands of our people be left without the means of grace . . . .

Instead of creating a Mission District the General Conference passed enabling acts authorizing both the Kansas and the South Kansas Conferences to divide and "create a new Conference, and also, if found desirable, to unite . . . in forming a new Conference in the western part of the State." [54] Each Conference decided to divide and two new Conferences were formed, the Southwest and the Northwest.† Both leaned heavily upon missionary support. The appropriation of the Missionary Society to the Southwest Kansas Conference for 1884 was $3,500.; for 1887, $5,000.; for 1895, $5,500. Appropriations to Northwest Kansas were still larger: in 1884, $3,700.; in 1887, $6,000.; in 1895, $6,500.[55] Crop failures in the western counties of the state during the early years were frequent. In 1881 a disastrous drought and heavy infestation of insect pests throughout the state caused widespread suffering, and flooded the Missionary Society with urgent requests for emergency relief. On December 20, 1881, for example, W. H. Cline, Presiding Elder of the Newton District, South Kansas Conference, asked "relief for four circuits where the failure of crops . . . [had] cut off almost entirely the resources of the preachers." In many instances special requests were made for specific cases such as that of the Ellis charge, Kirwin District, Kansas Conference: "The pastor has a wife and four children—wife and one of the children sick. Crops failed and railroad at present a failure. People cannot pay and he is suffering." [56]

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* The South Kansas Conference was organized with four Districts and eighty-four appointments. Full members numbered 9,226.—*Minutes, South Kansas Conference,* 1874, pp. 17 f., [38].

† The Southwest Kansas Conference convened in its first session in Winfield on March 8, 1883. The three Districts had sixty-eight Circuits and Stations, to which fifty preachers were appointed, leaving eighteen charges to be supplied. Full members numbered 7,129; Sunday schools 102, with 7,286 pupils; churches, 46, and parsonages 37. (*Minutes, Southwest Kansas Conference,* 1883, pp. [3], 20 ff., 33 ff.) The first session of the Northwest Kansas Conference was held in Beloit, March 15-19, 1883. Charter members numbered 41; probationers, 15. Appointments were made to seventy-two Circuits and Stations, of which 20 appointees were supplies. Full members numbered 5,991; Sunday schools, 127; pupils, 6,172; churches, 48; parsonages, 33.—*Minutes, Northwest Kansas Conference,* 1883, pp. [8], 18, 32-40.

The drought of 1881 was followed a few years later by a real estate boom. An influx of immigrants crowded the towns and cities, "and put a claimant on nearly every [unoccupied] quarter section of arable land in Western Kansas." Land prices rose rapidly and created a frenzy of speculation.

> Eastern capital poured into the country and money was easily borrowed, though at a high rate of interest. Homes, farms, live stock, and everything on which money could be borrowed, were mortgaged, and the proceeds were drawn into this maelstrom of speculation. . . .
>
> . . . Reaction was inevitable, and when it came it brought widespread and disastrous consequences. . . . Real estate prices dropped as rapidly as they had previously risen, and reached such a low level that property would hardly bring a price equal to the mortgage . . . .[57]

With the collapse of the boom a general exodus began. Western Kansas lost a large part of its population. In one year fourteen pastors in the Garden City District, Southwest Kansas Conference, each received from his charge less than $100., several less than $50., and in the Conference as a whole many members less than $200.

Despite these various handicaps Kansas Methodism registered substantial growth in the two decades between 1875 and 1895,* in the latter year registering a total membership, not including probationers, of 80,193.[58]

The discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858-59 immediately stimulated immigration to the Rocky Mountains and immigration in turn centered the attention of the Bishops and the Missionary Society on the religious needs of the immigrants. Before 1858 Colorado had been an almost unknown region. It had no legal territorial government previous to 1861, when the United States organized the Territory of Colorado, and it did not become a state until 1876.

At the 1859 sessions of the Kansas-Nebraska Conference and of the Missouri Conference the sending of preachers to the Rocky Mountains was discussed at length, and William H. Goode finally yielded to the urging of

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* In 1895 the four Kansas Conferences with nineteen Districts had 771 churches, 423 Local Preachers, and 970 Sunday schools with an enrollment of 80,845.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1895, pp. 157, 176, 185, 207.

Bishop Scott to make a thorough exploration of the conditions and needs of the Rocky Mountain region and report to the Bishops and the General Missionary Committee.[59]

Goode acted with his accustomed promptness. He selected as his associate Jacob Adriance, a young member of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference who it was understood should remain in the region as missionary, and on August 3 reported in a letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society that he had found in the mining district a population estimated at from fifteen to twenty-five thousand "mainly embraced within an area of fifty miles square, two-thirds of whom are in the mountains." He had organized the "Denver City and Auraria Mission" with a Quarterly Conference and a membership in Society of twenty-two, with Adriance in charge; and the Rocky Mountain Mission with a Quarterly Conference and a Society of fifty-seven members. He placed George W. Fisher, who was already on the ground, in charge of the latter mission. Here at the "great mining center" he found many church members, not alone Methodists but also Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists.

> The people were clamorous for organization, but no one felt authorized to go forward, at least as far as Methodism was concerned. . . . All welcomed us cordially. No question was raised as to the character of the organization. All assented, ... There are probably one hundred members of our Church at this point. Of this number nearly one half united at once, with some probationers.[60]

Goode attended the 1860 session of the Kansas-Nebraska Conference with "a favorable report of the Rocky Mountain exploration." A Rocky Mountain District was formed of which John M. Chivington was appointed Presiding Elder. The *Minutes* list six appointments, of which five were left to be supplied.[61]

After Goode's departure, Adriance soon began to see the darker hues of the scene.

> I felt like a stranger in a strange land; more strange among a still stranger people, surrounded with circumstances and conditions still more strange; for none of them cared for religious things. Trading, trafficking, drinking and gambling were the order of the day, seven days in the week, interspersed with the occasional shooting of a man.

Congregations were processions. Every time, Adriance wrote, his congregation was "nearly all newcomers." Men did not come to the mines to establish a home but to make a "stake" and return to their former homes. "Most of the work in the mines," J. L. Dyer says, "was done in the summer, and in the fall most of the miners would scatter." [62] Some of those appointed to the missionary ranks in Colorado and other regions of the West found the hardships involved too much for them. Even Jacob Adriance decided that the difficulties were too great to be endured.

> Not feeling myself adapted to that rough-and-tumble work, I determined to locate. We came down out of the mountains in February, 1862, by wagon, and were eighteen days getting to Fremont, Nebraska. In the Nebraska Conference I worked hard for sixteen years.[63]

J. M. Chivington declares him to have been "the founder of Methodism in Colorado."

> It is true Dr. Goode came on the ground at the same time he did; but the Doctor returned to Iowa in six weeks, and never saw this work again. . . . while Mr. Adriance remained, formed a mission circuit, organized societies, appointed class-leaders, held Quarterly Conferences, and started the first Sunday-school ever organized in Colorado. He is indeed, the father of Methodism in Colorado.[64]

Other men of ability and stamina who shared in the foundation laying in Colorado included Oliver A. Willard, brother of Frances Willard, B. T. Vincent, and W. H. Fisher; all men of renown. The most picturesque of the pioneers was John L. Dyer, who deserves to be known as the Peter Cartwright of the Rocky Mountain region. In 1861 Dyer made his way from the Mindora Circuit, Northwest Wisconsin Conference, to Pike's Peak, crossing Nebraska on foot. In Wisconsin he had been "taken with sore eyes" and despite radical treatments—the lids turned over and burnt with caustic, and "Sloan's Instant Relief" applied every day—they were but little better when he reached the mountains.

> I thought that, as I was on my own hook, it would be well to dig a little, as necessity seemed to demand it. [In mining for gold, however, he met with no success and he resumed preaching.] . . .
>
> From . . . [Fairplay] I went to Buckskin Joe, and, with Brother Antis, held meeting for two weeks, in the face of every kind of opposition—at least two balls a week, a dancing-school, a one-horse theater, two men shot—and yet, notwithstanding all these things, we had a good meeting. The Church was much revived, and several backsliders were reclaimed. In about four months I traveled near five hundred miles on foot, by Indian trails, crossing logs, carrying my pack, and preaching about three times a week. . . . My clothes were worn out; my hat-rim patched with dressed antelope-skin; my boots half-soled with raw-hide. This is a sample of my work and experiences the first year in the mountains of Colorado.[65]

The report for 1862, the third year of the mission, showed seven charges, 159 full members, six Sunday schools with 233 pupils, and only one church building. Appointments at the Conference session were only to four points out of eight: Denver, Golden and Boulder, South Park, and Canon and Colorado.[66]

The oncoming of war was keenly felt in Colorado. More than twelve hundred men enlisted in 1861 in the Union army and hundreds went south to join the forces of the Confederacy. This depletion of population seriously retarded the Church program.

The 1860 General Conference authorized the Bishops, "should circumstances in their judgment require it," [67] to organize the Rocky Mountain Annual Conference.* This enabling act, however, was not put into effect until 1863 when Bishop E. R. Ames organized the Conference at a meeting of the preachers in Denver on July 10-13. Although only fourteen appointments were listed the Bishop considered it necessary to create two Districts—the Denver, of which Oliver A. Willard was made Presiding Elder, and the Colorado, with W. B. Slaughter, Presiding Elder. Slaughter continued in active service only one year and John L. Dyer was appointed to succeed him on the South Park District. He traveled the District as a Circuit with appointments at South Park, Ore City (Leadville), Colorado City, Canon City, Pueblo, and all points south to Trinidad. The 1864 General Conference changed the name from Rocky Mountain to Colorado Conference.[68]

For years Circuits continued to be long, with many of the preaching places widely separated. In 1873, John Stocks, who had come from England the year before, experienced a rough initiation into the American itinerancy on the Arkansas River Circuit:

> This was a new field, without a society, Sunday-school, or church of any kind. The settlers were widely scattered. He preached as opportunity offered from the Kramer Settlement, below Pueblo, eastward for seventy-five miles, then southward on the Purgatory, and up that stream for forty-five miles. His horseback rides were long and lonely. . . .
>
> His preaching-places were small log schoolhouses, or the dwellings of the people. His congregations were small, often not more than half a dozen.[69]

In 1879 John L. Dyer was appointed to Breckenridge Circuit, an entirely new work named after the county within which it was located. The county's eastern boundary was forty-five miles west of Denver, and from there the area extended west to Utah and north to Wyoming. In later years seven counties were made out of it.[70] At the 1878 session of the Conference Bishop Simpson presided for the second time. In his report as Presiding Elder B. F. Crary directly addressed the Bishop:

> You, bishop, presided at this Conference ten years ago . . . . Then you sent out ten men to work. This past year forty-five men have been in the field. Of the ten you appointed then, only three remain on the ground to-day. We are in the regular accession and succession and procession. There is only one appointment in the Conference that is really able to be self-sustaining, and hence only one comfortable spot, and none of us expect to revel in that! [71]

Until 1870 the growth of Colorado was slow—only 39,864 in that year reported by the census. But from 1870 to 1880 the population increased to

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* The boundaries of the Rocky Mountain Conference were fixed as "embracing such portions of the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska, Utah, and New Mexico as are now comprised under the provisional government of the territory of Jefferson [Colorado], with such other contiguous parts of the mining region as it may be necessary to attach thereto."—*G. C. Journal*, 1860, pp. 276 f.

194,327; and from 1880 to 1890 growth was still more rapid, increasing to 413,240. The Methodist Church grew apace. At the close of the period (1895) the Colorado Conference* reported a total membership of 10,517. In the Conference year 1894-95 the churches and Sunday schools contributed $5,175. to missions and $82,551. to total ministerial support.[72]

Missions in the Older Conferences

Of the 360 missions reported in 1850-51 almost one half were in the older Conferences in the East. Fourteen missions were within the bounds of the Philadelphia Conference. Providence, one of the smaller Conferences, had twelve missions. Vermont, also a small Conference, had seventeen. Of other eastern Conferences New Jersey reported eight; New England, eight; Troy, sixteen; and Black River, sixteen.

Even in long-settled sections of the eastern states there were neglected communities where religious services were lacking. J. N. Spangler, appointed in 1848 to the Berlin Mission in Maryland, wrote to the *Christian Advocate:*

> I was struck with astonishment to think that in Frederick county, Md., there were places so destitute of the Gospel! Brethren, if this be the case here, have we not reason to conclude that there are many more of like sort in our country? And who will go out into the highways and hedges to save such, if Methodists refuse to do it?[73]

Spangler reported having increased the mission Circuit from six appointments, with fifty-six members, to ten appointments, with two hundred members.

In his *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* Nathan Bangs cites Worcester, Massachusetts, as an example of a fruitful mission in a long-established community. Methodism, he says, had no standing "in the old and populous town . . . until it was occupied as mission ground in the year 1834." Seven years later the Methodist Society there had more than four hundred members and in 1841 the New England Conference held its annual session in the city.[74]

Many of the missions were little Societies of twenty, thirty, or forty members in the open country, villages, and towns in the East or in the older sections of Ohio and Indiana. Some represented cases of arrested growth. Many were in old communities whose earlier population had been depleted by wholesale migration to the far West.

In 1873 appropriations were made by the General Missionary Committee to forty-two missions in the Baltimore Conference in amount of $8,000.; forty-five in the New Hampshire Conference, $2,600.; thirty-two in the

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* Colorado Conference in 1895 had four Districts and 108 charges to which seventy-three preachers were appointed. There were 101 churches and forty-nine parsonages. The 143 Sunday schools enrolled 14,347 pupils.—*Minutes, Colorado Conference,* Fall, 1895, pp. 269, 432 ff.

New Jersey Conference, $2,210.; thirty-two in the New York Conference, $5,000.; thirty-three in the New York East Conference, $5,000.; thirty-nine in the Philadelphia Conference, $5,000.; forty-eight in the Troy Conference, $3,000.; and to many other Conferences in greater or less amounts. Between 1853 and 1873, inclusive, the Missionary Society appropriated to five of the larger eastern Conferences* a total of $436,175.[75]

In 1857 Elnathan C. Gavitt, Presiding Elder, reported three missions within the bounds of the Lima District, Delaware Conference. One was in Delphos, a town of about twelve hundred inhabitants, of whom about one half were German Roman Catholics. Earlier the Presbyterians and Baptists had maintained religious services, but being without church buildings had become discouraged. The Methodists would have met the same fate had it not been for an energetic Local Preacher, who with a few others succeeded in building a comfortable house of worship. The missionary appointed to the charge succeeded in building up "a good congregation; a membership of 45; [and] a Sabbath school . . . of about 70 children." On the Paulding Mission were two missionaries, between them serving twenty-three appointments, with 162 church members. In reaching these appointments they traveled every four weeks about two hundred and fifty miles. They each preached three times every Sunday and frequently on weekdays, always in schoolhouses and log cabins, as there were no meeting houses. Kalida, the third mission, with five appointments, reported 130 members and twelve probationers.[76]

The West Point Mission in the Poughkeepsie District, New York Conference, in 1847 included small Societies at West Point, Fallsville, and Fort Montgomery. The membership at West Point consisted chiefly of persons—twenty in number—connected with the U. S. army. At Fallsville, two miles south of West Point, the membership within a year had increased from eleven to thirty-eight. At Fort Montgomery, five and a half miles south of West Point, a Society of some years' standing had been reduced in number by deaths and removals to thirty-two persons.[77]

The Pine Grove Mission was established in 1846 at Tremont, Pennsylvania, a "new and highly promising town." The community had no house of worship and the place first made available for preaching was the barroom of a log tavern. A Class was formed of three men and three women. Within the first year of the mission a substantial stone building was erected and the membership increased to fifty-three, the majority of the converts being men "from twenty to sixty-seven years of age," many of whom were influential citizens of the community.[78]

The Saratoga District, Troy Conference, in 1859 had two missions, Stancey Creek and Wells. The former, located in Warren County, New York, was in a "hilly and sterile, thinly settled" region, where the people were poor. A plain dwelling was erected for the missionary, and plans made for a church. It was believed that the mission within a few years would be a self-supporting Circuit. Wells, the second mission, was located in Hamilton County, New York, and included three appointments—Wells, Hope, and Lake Pleasant. At a Camp Meeting held at Lake Pleasant between twenty and thirty persons were converted.[79]

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* These five Conferences and the amount appropriated to each were: Baltimore Conference, $132,755.; Philadelphia Conference, $98,625.; New York East Conference, $78,025.; New York Conference, $72,425.; New England Conference, $54,345.—*Fifty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1874), pp. 184 f.

Writing in 1851 to the *Christian Advocate* from the Paoli District, Indiana Conference, William C. Smith stated that only a few years earlier nearly the whole of the District was embraced in one mission. In the meantime Circuit after Circuit had been "struck off," always leaving one mission until in 1850 what remained was formed into two missions, Jasper and Anderson. Jasper Mission, embracing parts of three counties, had eleven preaching places, five meeting houses, and a comfortable parsonage. Anderson Mission, including a part of four counties, had within its bounds fourteen preaching places, one meeting house and two in process of erection. Both missions were prospering.[80]

In June, 1894, J. H. Hargis, Presiding Elder of the West District, Philadelphia Conference, announced the organization of the Lehman Street Mission, Lebanon—a Pennsylvania Dutch Society.

> The prayer meeting on Wednesday evening and the preaching services on Sunday evening are well sustained and constantly growing in interest and attendance. Efforts are being made to purchase a site for the erection of a chapel, which is an absolute necessity for the permanent establishment of this work.

In connection with the mission, preaching services were held at two outlying points, Fontana and Richland, with a congregation at each place of about one hundred. The Missionary Society appropriation for the mission was $800.[81]

A few of the missions in the older Conferences were in cities. At the 1860 session of the Cincinnati Conference M. P. Gaddis was made "effective" and appointed to the Dayton City Mission. About three years before, he had obtained permission of the Society of Friends to open a Sunday school in their new church building. So successful was his effort that a preaching service was added and a Methodist Society organized. Soon he announced that 120 persons had united with the Church and it was expected that soon the church building would be purchased. All of this was accomplished without any missionary appropriation for salary.[82]

These of which brief accounts have been given were only a few of hundreds of missions in the older Conferences. Stephen Olin suggested what seemed to him a reasonable basis for continued missionary support of missions of this class:

> It would not be easy to fix a standard either of numbers or circumstances by which to determine the propriety of extending aid to feeble societies; but it seems to us a sound rule not to attempt, in this way, to establish new stations, or to sustain old ones, when there is not a reasonable prospect of such an expansion as will enable them, in due time, to support themselves. . . . When a village or neighborhood is already preoccupied by active, spiritual denominations, and the people are well supplied with the means of grace, it is plainly a waste of means to attempt, in this way, to raise a new congregation for the gratification of half a dozen families who may prefer our creed or polity. Whatever else may be said in favor of such an aggressive movement, it is no proper missionary work; and resources obtained for the evangelization of the heathen, or to help the destitute, can not, without a manifest perversion, be expended on such enterprises.[83]

Olin felt that the principles which he enunciated were not in all cases being observed and declared that he could "enumerate scores of stations struggling on from year to year, and doomed to struggle on, without room for expansion or the prospect of better days," and that the perpetuation of such situations by missionary assistance weakened rather than strengthened Methodism.[84] Nor was he alone in holding these views. A writer in the *Christian Advocate* asserted that "impositions [were] practiced on the . . . [Missionary] Society in the older conferences by the Committee on Missions," and that the abuses must be remedied.[85] Increase in the Society's debt in the middle seventies forced the withholding of appropriations from a number of the older Conferences for the missions under their auspices. In their *Fifty-eighth Annual Report* the Secretaries said:

> As time has elapsed it has become more and more apparent that . . . [this action] may not prove an entirely unmixed evil. The whole system of grants in the older parts of our work seem[s] destined to undergo a most careful scrutiny and revision. Of this the General Conference appears to have been aware when they directed that the Committee on Missions should report to the conference, not only the appropriations to be made to the several missions, but also the number of years each had been a mission, consecutive or otherwise.[86]

The disposition to continue to depend upon missionary aid was not wholly limited to missions in the older Conferences. Newer Societies, established by missionary grants, in some instances were slow to relinquish assistance even after ability for self-support had been developed. The final decision on whether to continue to ask or to forego missionary aid largely rested with the Presiding Elders. Too often, in the older Conferences, they tended to encourage dependence. In the newer sections of the country many of the Districts were so large that little opportunity was available for close supervision of the missions. The Presiding Elder of the Grand Traverse District, Michigan Conference, Salmon Steele, pictures his District as it was in 1861:

> The district embraces an extent of territory one hundred and seventy miles in length, lying directly upon the coast of Lake Michigan. This distance has to be

traveled by trail in winter. The settlements are remote from each other, frequently thirty or forty miles apart. With my carpet sack strapped to my shoulders, I started about the 1st of November for my appointments, and returned about the 1st of January, having made nearly the whole distance of three hundred and forty miles on foot.[87]

The fact that the Missionary Society was unable to procure information concerning many of these missions was a continuing cause of complaint. In many cases not even the name or location of the missions was known to the Board. Finally, in 1864, the General Conference voted:

> That each Annual Conference be and is hereby required to furnish annually to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society at New York a report of its doings on the subject of missions, which report shall specify the name of each district, circuit, or station within its bounds sustained in whole or in part by said Conference as a mission, together with the amount of missionary money appropriated to each respectively for that conference year.[88]

However, this General Conference action did not bring to the Society the information required in order to establish closer relation with the missions. Of the sixty-one Annual Conferences listed in the Missionary Society's *Report* for 1867, only thirty-nine had made such returns as the General Conference directed. The Society could only estimate the number of missions in the remaining twenty-two Conferences.[89]

City Missions and Missionary Societies

City missionary work, as previously stated, was classified in the *Annual Reports* of the Missionary Society as a distinctive phase of Conference missions. To most of the city missions the relationship of the Annual Conference was closer than that of the Missionary Society. They were of several different types: (1) Mariners' Bethels established in the large seaport cities; (2) missions to the destitute, the unemployed and those who had become the victims of vice and drunkenness; (3) missions to foreign language groups not reached by the stated ministries of the churches; (4) missions to the unchurched in newly settled and suburban areas of the cities.

The Mariners' Bethels,* as the name indicated, were organized to provide a haven for seamen during their days in port, providing both material comforts and also a religious ministry adapted to their needs. By 1855, it was estimated, there were not less than 239,000 American seamen in the foreign and coasting trade and fisheries, besides approximately 10,000 in the federal naval service.[90] For many of these, exposed whenever their ships came into port to the degrading temptations of saloons and haunts of vice, the Mariners' Bethels were veritable lighthouses of salvation. The Methodist Mariners' Bethel (Cherry Street), New York City, built in 1844, was maintained for many years, supported in part by the Missionary Society. In addition to this and others previously mentioned, and the Scandinavian Bethel Ship missionary activities, a few local churches maintained mariners' missions.*

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* For account of the earliest Mariners' Bethels see Vol. I, 266 f.

Immigration, industrialization, and migration from rural areas, as we have seen,† accentuated the cities' problems of poverty, unemployment, immorality, and crime. Since the churches were not prepared to offer a ministry that met the needs of the victims of these evils missions were established particularly for them. Of the multitudes of immigrants that thronged the cities a large proportion were not able to speak or understand English and missions for them, with services in their own tongues, were established.‡

As early as 1866 the *Christian Advocate* declared that in New York City alone there were "three quarters of a million of souls not embraced in any system of adequate evangelical action." "Surely," the editorial continued, "New York has all the necessities that might entitle it to the name of a mission field, only it is not made such by missionary labors." Thirty years later *Zion's Herald* sounded much the same note. "Does it not seem," it asked, "as if the leaders of our Israel had failed to interpret the heart and purpose of our people with respect to the city problem?" [91]

The General Conference of 1864 amended the *Discipline* to include among the specified duties of a Bishop the fixing of appointments of "missionaries to neglected portions of our cities," the first recognition by General Conference of special need for city missionary work.[92] About the same time ministers and lay people of churches in some of the cities became awakened to special religious needs in their midst and made attempts to meet them by the organization of city societies. One searches the Missionary Society's *Annual Reports* in vain for account of these city missionary organizations, either of their beginnings or their ongoing activities. They were composed largely of laymen, whose contributions made possible their founding and to a great extent their continuing existence. They were independent of the general Society, were not auxiliary to it, had their own constitutions, and their distinctive methods of operations.

The general purpose of the several Methodist city missionary societies was much the same. The Boston society stated its purpose to be "to carry the Means of Grace to the neglected and destitute of our population, by establishing Sunday Schools and Religious Meetings . . . and in all other ways laboring to promote the cause of Christ in this City and vicinity." The purpose of the New York society during its early years was stated by an anonymous author who wrote in 1870 to the *Christian Advocate:*

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* One such was the mission established by the Methodist Church at Holmes' Hole Station (Martha's Vineyard), Mass. In 1870 it was estimated that in the preceding year between two and three thousand vessels, carrying at least 15,000 men, anchored in that harbor. The Church employed Julias Esping, formerly a sailor, as their missionary.—*Christian Advocate,* XLV (1870), 47 (Nov. 24), 371.

† See pp. 26-29.

‡ For account of the German, French, Scandinavian, and other foreign language missions in cities and rural communities throughout the nation, see pp. 261-99.

> Its theory is, that the Methodism of New York should move together as a unit in the work of city evangelization; that outside of the local Churches, but strictly within our disciplinary Church order, there is need of an agency to carry the Gospel to the destitute. It further accepts the position that almsgiving is no part of the work of an evangelist . . . .[93]

The object of the Chicago society as stated in its charter in 1885 was:

> The founding of Missions and maintaining mission Churches and Sunday schools and other Christian work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, within the City of Chicago and suburbs . . . .[94]

In the early years the city missionary movement was distinctively evangelistic and stress was placed on the holding of evangelistic meetings. In 1850 the New York Ladies' Home Missionary Society established in one of the worst centers "of vice, poverty, and degradation" in New York City what came to be known as the Five Points Mission, where weeknight evangelistic meetings were regularly held. Despite "discouragements such as have seldom attended a humane and evangelical enterprise" its operation was placed on a permanent basis.[95]

As the years passed a tendency developed to place less emphasis upon evangelistic meetings and to make the city societies a means of organizing and developing churches in unchurched city and suburban communities. As early as 1869 the New York society described its purpose as twofold:

> First, 'It is the design of the Society to provide as far as possible for the neglected missions in localities left by the churches in their "uptown migrations" and second, to make an advance movement in selecting and occupying important localities soon to become thickly settled, and thus provide for the future wants of the church. . . .'[96]

The anonymous writer mentioned above also stressed this purpose. The direct aim, he said, was "to gather congregations to whom to preach the Gospel, and from among them to organize Societies and Churches."

> This made houses of worship necessary, and accordingly the society became incorporated, that it might hold real estate; for experience had shown that it was not wise to have the landed property required for a mission church owned and managed by the local society.[97]

In the larger centers the city missionary societies were incorporated by acts of the respective state legislatures and were self-governing under boards of managers elected by the societies themselves to whom annual reports were made. However, in most cases they also made reports to the Annual Conferences within which they were located. Their executive secretaries as a rule were Annual Conference members and were listed under the Conference appointments, even though elected by the managers. The boards of managers were responsible for raising the funds for the societies' operations, and exercising general oversight of the organizations' temporal affairs, and determining sites for new churches. Locations for new Sunday schools and churches, however, were usually chosen in collaboration with the Presiding Elders and District committees. The budget of the New York Society for 1869-70 was about $20,000. and for extending the program, as much more. The two Conferences with appointments in New York City appointed for the Conference year five missionary pastors, and in addition three assistants—two men and one woman—were employed by the society. Toward the support of the missionaries the Missionary Society contributed * about four or five thousand dollars.[98]

The origin and development of city societies may be illustrated by citing, as examples, a few of the principal organizations. The first city society under Methodist leadership† was the New York Sunday School and Missionary Society, whose constitution was dated 1838. It was incorporated by act of the New York State Legislature in April, 1866, under the changed name of the New York City Sunday School and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.‡ In Chicago, as in several other cities, a group of Methodist women, zealous for the spiritual needs of their home communities, about 1853 formed an organization which they named the City Missionary Society. They began by employing Stewart Hamilton, a Class Leader of Clark Street Church—better known as "Father Hamilton"—as "city missionary." He was, in himself, a one-man missionary society, indefatigable in personal work, "visiting from house to house, distributing bibles and tracts . . . , exhorting the people, and praying with them." [99] Referring to his service the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* said:

> The cause of city missions is yet in its beginnings. It is destined to actuate the heart of the Church with a power little dreamed of by many. We hope the day when it will do so is very near.[100]

Years later the Chicago Home Missionary and Church Extension Society was organized. From 1870 to 1885 it had a merely nominal existence, although during this period sixteen missions were organized and churches erected. In 1885 "a number of leading laymen . . . determined that the Society should assume a more permanent form, and proceeded to incorporate" under a charter recorded on December 21 of that year. With William Deering as president and the Rev. Luke Hitchcock as secretary the society entered upon a greatly expanded program. From 1885 to 1890 twenty-five Societies were organized and nine church buildings erected. In 1890, A.D. Traveller succeeded to the secretaryship. During the period 1890-96 forty-one missions were organized and fifty churches erected.[101]

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* About 1882 the General Missionary Committee began to make appropriations to city missionary societies. That year the total approximated $55,000. In 1892 it made appropriations to about fifty-six societies.

† The first city society for evangelization to be organized anywhere in the world was the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, the name of which was later changed to the City Missionary Society. It was formed in Boston in 1816.—*17th Ann. Rep. of the Board of Directors of the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor,* as cited by Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, *Urban Organization of Protestantism,* pp. 13, 15 f.

‡ There were various later changes of name until, in 1912, it was designated the New York City Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

On June 4, 1866, a constitution was adopted for an organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church for missionary work in Boston and vicinity. On October 8 the first meeting of the new organization, the Boston Methodist Home Missionary Association,* was held and officers elected. Its early activities included maintaining a missionary, opening a mission on North Street, hiring a hall for a mission by the Roxbury Church, and promoting "the erection of a Chapel in the vicinity of Tremont and Ruggles sts." On August 5, 1869, the organization was incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts as "The Boston Sunday School and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Difficulty was encountered in raising the budget and the society resorted to musical entertainments, lectures, and annual festivals to carry on its program. In 1873 the name again was changed, this time to the Boston Missionary and Church Extension Society. Its program from 1873 to 1895 suffered from lack of adequate support and at times from near cessation of its efforts.[102]

The Cleveland Methodist Episcopal Church and Sunday School Alliance was organized April 21, 1886. J. B. Cory of the East Ohio Conference was appointed as city missionary. A beginning was made immediately in aiding societies in purchasing lots, erecting churches, and establishing missions. In April, 1891, the Alliance was reincorporated under the name of the Cleveland City Church Extension and Missionary Society† of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with broadened objectives and powers.[103] Preceding the adoption of the new constitution the society had resolved that its policy should be

> to purchase each year an eligible lot in such location as seems to be most urgently needed, and to pay for the same out of the general fund raised by the Methodist Episcopal Churches of Cleveland for that purpose during the year in which said purchase is made. It was also decided to undertake each year the erection of a church edifice upon the lot purchased and paid for the previous year, ...[104]

However, the society lacked funds to realize this ambitious objective. About 1892 the financial secretary expressed satisfaction in the fact that in "locating thirteen new churches, no serious mistake . . . [had] been made." [105]

With local city missionary societies functioning in many cities a need was felt for a national organization to bring them together in closer fraternal relation and to afford opportunity for consideration of means of making them more effective. A conference was called by the Cleveland City Church Extension Society for November 12, 1891, at which ten city unions were represented. At this meeting a City Evangelization Convention was planned to be held in Pittsburgh, March 15-16, 1892. At this convention a memorial to the 1892 General Conference was drafted proposing a "general representative union." The General Conference approved the proposal * and authorized a national City Evangelization Union.[106]

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* This organization was an outgrowth, but separate from, a previously existing organization known as the Boston Methodist Sunday School Union. On Dec. 7, 1868, the Methodist Sunday School Union was reported to be "virtually extinct."—Boston Methodist Home Missionary Society Association, "Records, 1866-73," unpaged ms.

† Both in its Minutes and its promotional activities the society frequently used the name City Evangelization Union.

Despite the activities of the Methodist city missionary societies, and those of several other denominations—notably the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist Churches—Protestantism failed to maintain its strength of earlier years in the larger cities of the nation. The prevailingly Protestant older American stock tended to remove from the congested, downtown sections, leaving them to the Roman Catholic Church. In 1893 Josiah Strong cited, as examples of what was happening, Boston and Cleveland. The thirteenth ward of Boston, with a population of more than twenty-two thousand, was without a single Protestant church, while in the eleventh, the Back Bay, with fewer people, there were thirty. One half of the Protestant church members of Cleveland resided in ten of the wealthiest wards, having a population of fifty-three thousand, while the other half were "scattered through thirty wards" of two hundred and fifteen thousand population.[107] The "one great and grave fact which stands ever before us," wrote George P. Mains in 1894.

> is that the evangelical Church of the land, taken as a whole, is numerically far weaker in the great city—the very place where by all the needs of the case it ought to be strongest—than it is elsewhere; and the larger the city, the more momentous the concentration of interests, social, political, moral, the more pronounced is the diminishment of evangelical forces.[108]

Domestic "Foreign Missions"

The constitution of the Missionary Society as revised by the General Conference of 1864—in addition to Foreign Missions, and Domestic Missions—provided for a third class, viz., "Missions in the United States and Territories not included in the bounds of any of the Annual Conferences." These missions were classified in Missionary Society *Reports* as "Domestic Foreign Missions." They were also referred to as "missions of the third class," or simply "third class missions." Administratively, they were distinguished from other types of domestic missions by direct financial control and administration by the Missionary Society,† and by special episcopal supervision. Missionaries sent to the domestic foreign missions retained their relation to the Annual Conferences to which they belonged when appointed.[109] The designation "third class missions" was not long retained.*

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* See pp. 67 f.

† The constitution (1864) conferred upon the General Missionary Committee, with the concurrence of the Board and the Bishops, the power to determine the total amount allocated to missions of the third class and the responsibility of dividing "the amount appropriated to the missions in the United States and territories not included in the Annual Conferences to such sections of the country as in their judgment the interests of the work require."—*Forty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1864)), p. 11.

Long before the Disciplinary provision of 1864 was made several missions were established which properly belonged in the category of domestic foreign missions: the Oregon Mission, established as an Indian mission in 1833; the California Mission, 1848; the New Mexico Mission, 1850; and the Arizona Mission, 1859. In 1864, when the classification was adopted, in addition to these earlier missions third class missions included the missionary work projected in Utah, Eastern Idaho, Montana, and also the missions which had been established in the South.[110]

The immigration which during the decade 1870-80 rapidly increased the population throughout the new western territories radically changed the situation. The General Conference of 1880 created six more missions: (1) Black Hills Mission; (2) Dakota Mission ("all that part of Dakota Territory . . . east of the Black Hills Mission"); (3) Indian Mission (to include the Indian Territory); (4) Montana Mission; (5) West Nebraska Mission; (6) Utah Mission.† By 1888 the list had increased to twelve in number, the following new missions having been added ‡: California German; Lower California; New Mexico Spanish; Nevada; North Pacific German; North-west Norwegian and Danish; and Wyoming.[111]

The administrative relationship of the Missionary Society to the territorial pioneer missions was not altogether satisfactory. Distance from New York and the preoccupation of the Secretaries with office duties and Annual Conference visitation prevented frequent supervisory visits. Hence the repeated demand in General Conference for an Assistant Secretary "to reside in the West." For the most part consultation with the Corresponding Secretary was by correspondence only.

OREGON MISSION

On November 27, 1846, William Roberts, of the New Jersey Conference, with his family sailed from New York in the bark Whiton for Oregon and arrived at his destination in June, 1847, under appointment from the Board as Superintendent of the Oregon Mission.§ He was accompanied by James H.

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* "The most important of these [third class] missions since their organization have hitherto been in the southern portion of the United States. That field has, however, all been organized into annual conferences, and they are reported among the . . . Domestic Missions . . . ." (*Forty-ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* [1867], p. 128.) The third class of missions ceased by 1869.—*Minutes, B. M.*, VII, 124.

† Utah and Montana had earlier achieved Conference status, but this year reverted to the status of missions.

‡ The organization of Annual Conferences in one after another of the domestic foreign mission areas so altered the situation that in 1880 the Missionary Society changed the scheme for classification, these missions appearing thereafter in the appropriations and in the *Annual Report* under the head of "Domestic Missions."—*Sixty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1880), pp. 190, 192.

§ The story of the Oregon Indian Mission, including the particulars of its liquidation under the superintendency of George Gary, is given in Vol. II, 200-262. Gary arrived in New York, returning from Oregon, on Jan. 18, 1848.

Wilbur of the Black River Conference, sent as an additional missionary. On the departure of George Gary from Oregon in July, 1847, Roberts* took charge as Superintendent.[112]

The transfer of the premises of the Indian Mission at Wascopam not having been made Roberts and Marcus Whitman met in August and concluded arrangements. The Methodist missionaries in charge, A. F. Waller and H. B. Brewer, were still opposed to the transfer and Roberts was sympathetic with their view but unwilling to veto Gary's proposal which had presumably been made with approval of the Missionary Board. Accordingly, in September, 1847, Perrin Whitman, Dr. Whitman's nephew, and Alanson Hinman took charge of the property in the name of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.† Waller was transferred to the Oregon Institute and Brewer severed his connection with the mission. "Thus," wrote H. K. Hines, "the last Indian mission established by Jason Lee in Oregon was discontinued, and in their place was instituted a work connected with the white race that was now fast supplanting them on the fields of their former possessions." [113]

Within three months of the transfer of the mission a disaster of major proportions befell the American Board at their inland station at Waiilatpu in the massacre by the Cayuse Indians of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and twelve other persons, and imprisonment of all the remaining white women. This caused the closing of every Indian mission in the Pacific Northwest east of the Cascade Mountains.[114]

William Roberts made his first report to the Missionary Society under date of April 24, 1848. "Including those sent out by the Board," he said, "and four others employed by the Superintendent," there were eight persons engaged in pastoral service. In addition there were sixteen Local Preachers and six Exhorters. Members of the Church at the six preaching places numbered 317, and Sunday-school pupils 108. The Oregon Institute—schoolhouse and land—which Gary had been in such haste to dispose of,‡ Roberts took immediate steps to repurchase. He had the wisdom to foresee that the sixty acres of ground would rapidly increase in value, particularly if the town of Salem surrounding the plot should become a city. The Board was hesitant about approving the Superintendent's recommendation, at first, on September 21, 1848, giving conditional sanction, and then on November 15 deciding that repurchase was "inexpedient at present." Finally, on August 15, 1849, purchase was authorized "on the most favourable terms" obtainable. Further, the Board stated that it would transfer its interest in the Institute to the Oregon and California Conference, if organized, whenever it was prepared to take the school over, "on Condition that they secure it to the cause of Education & Religion under the patronage and control of the Conference." At the same meeting the Board approved the appointment and immediate outgoing of a teacher for the school.[115]

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* Before leaving New York Roberts, together with Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, interviewed President James K. Polk in Washington in the interest of the Oregon Mission. The President assured them of his concern for the welfare of missions in the Oregon country, and that the contemplated territorial organization would not affect the validity of the Missionary Society's title to its property, but that the U. S. government could not make a grant of land to any particular denomination for educational or other purposes and that "except it be in the case of the Indians, such donations must be made by the state or territorial government."—*Minutes, B. M.*, V, 10 f.

† On Oct. 20, 1847, the Oregon Committee reported to the Board of Managers, on the basis of communications from the field, the divergent views of A. F. Waller and George Gary on the transfer of the mission at Wascopam. The Board after hearing the report voted approval of Gary's action "in abandoning the appointment at the Dalles, & transferring it to the American Board."—*Ibid.*, p. 46.

‡ See Vol. II, 236, 259.

The California gold rush in 1848 had a disrupting effect on church work in Oregon. Writing on October 9 William Roberts said that the country was almost depopulated:

> Societies are broken up. Some of our circuits are almost deserted; just at the moment when our plans, somewhat matured, were giving promise of rich success in the salvation of souls, the blight and mildew of a 'haste to be rich' comes sweeping over all our prospects with all the haste and desolation of the simoon of the desert.[116]

In 1848 the Oregon Mission memorialized General Conference for the creation of an Annual Conference, a request endorsed by the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society. The General Conference, however, decided to include Oregon, California, and New Mexico in a single Mission Annual Conference. The organizing session was held in Salem, Oregon, on September 5, 1849.* The impracticability of a Conference including areas so widely separated was soon demonstrated. No members from California or New Mexico were present at the first, second, or third sessions; and the 1852 General Conference authorized division into two Conferences.[117] The Oregon Conference was organized on March 17, 1853.† In the two years preceding, the missionary personnel had been measurably strengthened by reinforcement from eastern Conferences. In a letter to William Roberts, dated February 17, 1851, Bishop Morris stated that of three men recently transferred to Oregon one, C. S. Kingsley, was a graduate of Michigan University, and a second, L. T. Woodward, a graduate of Wabash College. In 1853, Gustavus Hines, an able, long-time missionary in Oregon in the early period of the mission, and two younger brothers, J. W. and H. K. Hines, were transferred from the Genesee Conference. There were also other transfers.[118] The loss of people sustained by Oregon in the gold rush to California in 1848-50 was quickly offset by immigration induced by the "land donation law" which Congress enacted in 1850. Under this law settlers in Oregon between 1850 and 1853 procured large tracts of land free of cost. In 1848 Congress enacted a bill providing a territorial government. The territory's population increased from 13,294 in 1850 to 52,465 in 1860. Oregon became a state in 1859 and by 1890 had a population of 317,704.

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* As no Bishop was present at the organizing session of the Oregon and California Conference, William Roberts, Superintendent, presided. There were but six charter members, of whom only four were present: William Roberts, David Leslie, Alvin F. Waller, and James H. Wilbur. Isaac Owen had been transferred from the Indiana Conference and William Taylor from Baltimore but neither had yet arrived on the field (C. V. Anthony. *Fifty Years of Methodism . . .* , p. 41). At the second session, for the Oregon District thirteen appointments were listed, with four left to be supplied; for California fifteen appointments, seven to be supplied. Church members in Oregon numbered 469, including probationers; in California, 738. Oregon had seventeen Local Preachers; California, twenty-one.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1851, pp. 680 f.

† The area of the Oregon Conference as defined by the General Conference was "the Territory of Oregon," which in 1852 embraced the entire region of which the title of the United States had been confirmed by the Treaty of 1846 with Great Britain, including the present states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho and parts of Wyoming and Montana.—"Journal of the General Conference, 1852," p. 153, in *G. C. Journals,* III.

One of the appointments at the first Conference was that of "superintendent of missions in Northern Oregon" (later, Washington Territory), described as a "wide, open field." Gustavus Hines characterized his mission as including "the wildest, the most mountainous, and the most romantic parts of the Oregon and Washington Territories," a "very difficult, and a very laborious field of labour." J. H. Wilbur, appointed to the Umpqua Mission District, rejoiced that where the preceding year there had been "not a single man to lift up his voice in warning the people, and teaching them the way of salvation," there were now five. William Roberts, appointed Presiding Elder of the Puget Sound Mission District, reported in November, 1854, six Circuits, including among other points, Olympia, Seattle, and Chehalis. There were a few members—at Seattle and Dwamish River but ten and at Port Townsend and Gamble not one—nevertheless, Roberts was confident that the harvest would be plenteous.[119]

Through the remainder of the period the Oregon Conference was a needy missionary field. In 1891 the Conference Committee on Missions made an impassioned appeal for an increase in the missionary appropriation.* Numerous areas invited missionary service, including some whole counties without either pastor or church building. Within a new District in southern Oregon in 1891 a strip of country over two hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide was without even one Methodist preacher.[120]

The Oregon Conference was given permission by the 1872 General Conference "to divide their territory into two Conferences." Action on division was taken by the Conference and on July 30, 1874, the first session of the Columbia River Conference† (first called the East Oregon and Washington Conference) was convened at Walla Walla, Washington Territory. Its four Districts—Walla Walla, Dalles, Grande Ronde, and Indian Mission—had twenty-eight appointments scattered over a vast expanse of territory, to fourteen of which pastors were appointed, fourteen remaining to be supplied. Full members numbered 1,100, four hundred of whom were Indians affiliated with the

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* The committee stated that the Presbyterian Board had recently "appropriated nineteen thousand dollars within the bounds of the Oregon Conference. This appropriation, when distributed, gives from $300 to $900 to each man. Thus they are able to put men of ability and experience where we are compelled to use local preachers as supplies. This puts us at a great disadvantage and retards our work."—*Minutes, Oregon Conference,* 1891, p. 42.

† The Columbia River Conference as organized included "all of the State of Oregon lying east of Cascade Mountains, except Lake County; all of Washington Territory lying east of the Cascade Mountains, and all of Idaho Territory lying directly north of the State of Nevada." (*G. C. Journal,* 1876, p. 371.) By 1895 the number of Traveling Preachers in effective relationship had increased to 54; full members to 6,228; churches to 75; and Sunday schools to 124.—*Minutes, Columbia River Conference,* 1895, pp. 8 f., 41 f.

Society at Simcoe. Other than this church, the largest Society was at The Dalles, with eighty-seven members.[121]

Deficiency in pastoral supply was keenly felt by Presiding Elders and others. The Spokane District in 1884 had twelve charges. Circuits were long and to maintain existing appointments was all that any pastor could do and in most cases more than he could do well. As one reported:

> But new towns and settlements are springing up within the bounds of every circuit. . . . They want the Gospel. The interests of Methodism demand that it be provided for them. But to serve them the pastor must discontinue as many other places and the fruit of past labor be lost.
>
> * * * *
>
> Out beyond this occupied field in Spokane Dist. we have five large Counties some with a population of probably 400, others with 800 or more and not a preacher nor a dollar in this part of our work. This year there should be no less than five active men in this new section of country and each man should have $200 to $250 appropriation and barely live with this amount.[122]

The Missionary Society appropriation to Spokane District that year was $1,575. Even with such missionary aid as was given, pastoral support was on a bare subsistence level. On Spokane District twelve pastors were paid in 1886, excluding house rent, $3,630., or to each $302., a fraction less than 83 cents a day, or seventeen cents per person for a family of five for food, clothing, medical attention, and all other expenses. The Conference asked for an increase of $3,000. in the appropriation for the next year but the Missionary Society was able to grant only $1,000. additional, making the total for 1887 $5,500.[123]

In 1884 Oregon Conference again petitioned for division and the General Conference established the Puget Sound Conference* to include "all that part of Washington Territory lying west of the Cascade Mountains and north of the Columbia River," an area of more than thirty thousand square miles. Already, by 1884, it was estimated that not less than thirteen thousand people had settled in the several fertile valleys of the area and the opening up of the country by four new lines of railroad greatly stimulated the growth of population. In six of the counties the Methodist Church had no organized work and many of the Circuits were too large and needed to be divided. The new Conference responded with vigor to the challenge of the situation and growth was rapid. In 1887 the Presiding Elder of the Seattle District stated:

> Four years ago within the bounds of what is now the Seattle District, we had

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* Puget Sound Conference was organized at Seattle on Aug. 21, 1884, with two Districts—Seattle with twenty-one appointments, and Olympia with thirteen. At the first session transfers were received from the California, Oregon, Upper Iowa, Nebraska, Genesee, and Idaho Conferences, eleven in all, but with this reinforcement nine appointments remained to be supplied. (*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1884, p. 224.) At the close of its first year the Conference reported 1,638 full members, 37 churches, and 58 Sunday schools with 2,506 pupils. Ten years later (1895) with five Districts, church membership had increased to 7,842; number of churches to 118; and Sunday schools to 147, with 10,127 pupils.—*Ibid.,* Fall, 1885, p. 349; *ibid.,* Fall, 1895, pp. 567 f.

> eight charges with a membership of 666. Now we have twenty-five charges and a membership of not less than 1500. Then we had ten churches; now we count twenty-seven . . . . During these four years we have taken in new territory till the area covered by our work is twice as large as it was at the beginning. Yet there are regions beyond that are calling loudly for help.[124]

The depression that reached its peak in 1893 attained serious proportions on the West Coast early in 1892. The population of many new towns was depleted. Church Societies which had incurred heavy indebtedness in erecting houses of worship found many subscriptions worthless and pastors' salaries remained in whole or in part unpaid. Despite these difficulties the Church was able to hold its own and in some places continued to make substantial gains.[125]

CALIFORNIA MISSION

While en route to the Oregon Mission William Roberts landed at San Francisco on Saturday, April 24, 1847, 148 days out of New York. On Sunday morning a religious service was held on board the Whiton and later Roberts preached in an adobe hotel facing the plaza, the first Methodist sermon in San Francisco. Before resuming his voyage Roberts organized a Methodist Class and a Sunday school, and with James H. Wilbur gained as much information as possible concerning California—its climate, population, and the prospects offered for missionary work.[126] In a letter to the *Missionary Advocate* Roberts reported:

> It is computed that there are three thousand emigrants in this country from the United States; fifteen hundred of whom came in during the last season. It now remains to be seen what the piety of the church will say as to sending the gospel to those thousands of human beings for whom Christ has shed his precious blood.[127]

On September 29, on request of Bishop L. L. Hamline, a special meeting of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society considered the establishment of a California mission. A resolution was adopted favoring occupation of "that field of Labor as soon as practicable." [128]

In February, 1848, gold was discovered in the valley of the Sacramento River. For three months little excitement was manifested, then a wild rush began. Settlements in other parts of the territory were deserted; stores, farms, and homes abandoned; sailors left their ships; soldiers deserted their garrisons; farmers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, judges, and criminals crowded the mining camps. Within a few months emigrants began to arrive from Oregon, Hawaii, Mexico, and South America; later from the eastern states, Europe, the South Seas, Australia, and China. During 1850-53 not less than eighty thousand men arrived in California. There was no home life, since in the mining counties only about 2 per cent of the population were women. Without the restraints of civilized life gambling, robbery, and murder threatened to become almost universal.[129]

Meeting on June 13, 1848, the Board of Managers appropriated $2,000. for the California Mission and at the same time decided to send two missionaries to the field "as soon as practicable." In October the Corresponding Secretary reported that Bishop Waugh had appointed Isaac Owen* of the Indiana Conference as missionary, and at a later meeting announced the appointment of William Taylor of the Baltimore Conference.[130]

The Class formed by William Roberts in April, 1847, was disrupted by the excitement of gold discovery but toward the end of 1848 a new Class was organized. Chauncey O. Hosford, a Local Preacher, instituted preaching at Hangtown (Placerville) in the summer of 1848, and at San Francisco preached regularly during the winter "in a boarding-house kept by a Mr. West," where he is supposed to have organized a Class.[131] Roberts became very impatient at the slowness of the Church authorities in meeting the need for California missionaries. "Does a missionary Church," he asked,

> once defined to be 'Christianity in earnest,' need more than eighteen months to select from her crowded ranks three or four men, and send them across the continent to accomplish a work which relates not to the gain of gold, or extension of territory, but to the salvation of precious souls from the deep damnation of hell![132]

In the early summer of 1849 Roberts, as Superintendent of the Oregon and California Mission, visited California. At San Francisco the Rev. T. Dwight Hunt, recently arrived from Hawaii, was busily engaged in gathering "the odds and ends of all the Churches into a society." Since his labors were acceptable to all and there was no Methodist pastor at hand Roberts did nothing toward forming a separate Methodist Society. Asa White,† a Local Preacher, had reached San Francisco May 10, 1849, with a blue tent which he pitched on the ground later chosen as a site for the Powell Street Church, and engaged in evangelistic preaching.[133]

Leaving San Francisco on June 26 Roberts went on to Sacramento, Stockton, San Jose, and other principal places, and also visited the mines, preaching wherever opportunity offered. At several points he secured lots on which to erect churches. Before leaving Oregon he had assembled lumber for a church building, and had it framed and shipped. It arrived before he left California.‡

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* Isaac Owen (1809-66) attended his first religious service at fifteen—a Camp Meeting at which he heard God's call, united at once with the Church and was licensed as an Exhorter. He was received on trial in the Indiana Conference in 1835 and appointed to Otter Creek Mission (*Gen'l Minutes*, 1835, p. 298). For four years he was financial agent of Indiana Asbury University, leaving the position to accept appointment to the California Mission. He had a major part in the plans for the founding of a Methodist university on the Pacific coast. Ceaseless in missionary labors, he felt that he could not spare time from the work to attend the General Conference of 1856 to which he had been elected a delegate. He did, however, serve as a member of the 1864 Conference. "He was a plain, earnest, indefatigable minister, devoted to all the interests of Methodism" and no man did more than he to establish the Methodist Church on the Pacific coast.—Matthew Simpson, Ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism*, pp. 687 f.; C. V. Anthony, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31.

† Asa White brought with him his family, consisting of his wife, two sons, eight daughters, six sons-in-law, and thirty grandchildren. The blue tent became a legend in California Methodist history. After San Francisco it was set up in front of the plaza in Uniontown (later Arcata), Humboldt County, where it housed the pioneer religious group in the north coast counties, and finally "stood in Napa County near the present St. Helena."—Leon L. Loofbourow, *In Search of God's Gold . . .*, pp. 35 f

‡ On his return to Oregon, Roberts called together "the preachers in the employ of the mission . . .

On July 29 he wrote:

> We need six men at least to do the work here, and, I think, in almost every case the people will support them. . . . There is a great work to be done. The agencies of hell are at work; let us haste, with the institutions of piety, to hold them in check . . . .[134]

Representatives of several other denominations including the Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Protestant Episcopal Churches were by this time on the ground, busily engaged in forming church organizations and making preparations for building.[135]

Traveling by sea William Taylor arrived at San Francisco on September 21, 1849, and Isaac Owen, "after a long and tedious journey of about eight months, by the overland route," reached Sacramento on October 21. Taylor soon completed the organization of the Powell Street Church in San Francisco. Its first Quarterly Conference, held on November 30, passed a resolution which relieved the Missionary Society of responsibility for the pastor's support. The congregation was housed in the chapel shipped from Oregon and on January 1, 1850, sixty-nine members were reported. In December, 1849, having selected a station on the Plaza, near a saloon, Taylor began regular street preaching.[136]

The way had been prepared in advance for the beginning of Owen's ministry in Sacramento. William Grove Deal, M.D., a Methodist layman, active in all good works, had gathered together a considerable group of fellow Methodists to whom he preached regularly. When Roberts visited the city on July 15, 1849, he organized them into a Society. Shortly after Owen's arrival a chapel which Taylor had brought from Baltimore was shipped to Sacramento, erected, and dedicated. In November, 1851, Owen was appointed Presiding Elder.[137]

Increasingly impressed by developments in California the Board of Managers sought to increase the missionary force, on January 5, 1850, recommending "to the Bishop having Charge of Foreign Missions" the appointment of two additional missionaries; on September 11, 1850, "three additional missionaries"; and on September 17, 1851, as many more missionaries for California and Oregon, not to exceed ten, "as he [the Bishop] may deem necessary." Bishop Morris, who at this time was in charge of foreign missions, had difficulty in finding candidates with the required qualifications. In June, 1850, the *Christian Advocate* stated that several had offered themselves but some were too young, others too old, and still others willing to go for a limited period only, leaving their families behind. Men of mature minds were wanted, in good health, from twenty-three to thirty-five years of age, married, and accom-

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on the 5th of September, 1849," and organized the Oregon and California Mission Conference. No member of the California Mission was present. Isaac Owen was appointed to Sacramento City, Stockton, and Columa Mill; William Taylor to San Francisco; and Chauncey O. Hosford to Yamhill, Ore. —William Roberts, report, *Thirty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1849-50), pp. 16, 19.

panied by their families. To this call scores of ministers responded and on July 25 announcement was made that six had been transferred to the Oregon and California Mission.[138] Additional transfers were made later, in all not less than twenty-four within the three years 1850-52, a noteworthy company —among them men who for many years were to have a fruitful ministry and exercise a creative influence not only on the development of Methodism but also on the shaping of the commonwealth of California.* Even with this large reinforcement Taylor and Owen were not satisfied and felt that the Missionary Society was not sufficiently considerate of California's interests. On February 18, 1852, John P. Durbin wrote to S. D. Simonds and Owen expressing sorrow that they "pertinaciously" adhered to this attitude.

> It is without any good cause. On the contrary the opinion here is, that we give to the Pacific too much in money & men; and I can attest, that concern for you has well nigh broken down Bishop Janes and has much wearied me: we are still endeavoring to supply you with men, and are robbing the work at home to do this.[139]

On June 8, 1852, the Bishop wrote informing Owen that "the Conferences on the Pacific Coast are no longer Mission Conferences, but regular Conferences." Thus within five years of founding, this mission developed into the California Annual Conference. The first session was convened † at San Francisco on February 3, 1853. Reports were received from thirty-one charges with 1,274 members in full connection. The charges were divided into three Districts, Isaac Owen to continue as Presiding Elder of the San Francisco District, J. D. Blain to take the Sacramento District, and John Daniel the Marysville District.[140]

One of the first missions to be established following the organization of the Conference was at Los Angeles. The missionary, Adam Bland, arrived on February 16 and the following day rented "a one story-house with two rooms," one for himself and his wife, and the other for a place of worship and schoolroom. He found in the city one Baptist, one Episcopalian, and one Presbyterian, but "not one Methodist." By April 8 his congregation had increased "to about fifty persons," the Sunday school had enrolled "over twenty-five scholars," and Mrs. Bland's school—opened February 29—had more than tripled in size. With "a good deal of opposition" he succeeded in raising $1,000. on subscription for a church building.[141]

Immigrants continued to pour into California. Henry C. Benson wrote in

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* Especially outstanding were such men as Edward Bannister, pastor, Presiding Elder, and college president; Martin C. Briggs, editor, moral crusader, political leader, and university president; Henry C. Benson, in earlier days missionary to the Choctaw Indians, graduate in medicine, Presiding Elder, and editor; and Charles Maclay, pastor, member of the California Legislature, and advocate of theological education.

† Pastors were appointed to thirty-two charges, leaving seven to be supplied. Sunday schools numbered twenty-eight with 662 pupils. Twenty-six of the charges had churches, and ten also had parsonages. Five years later (1858) full members had increased to 2,739; the number of charges to eighty; and Sunday schools to seventy-three. Missionary appropriations to the Conference this year were as follows: to the American work, $8,075.; German missions, $2,548.; Southern California and Arizona, $950.; total, $11,573.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1853, pp. 155 f.; *Minutes, California Conference,* 1858, pp. 12, 14, 29 f.; C. V. Anthony, *op. cit.,* pp. 115, 199.

1852 that thousands were coming every week, that a multitude were crossing the plains and that on one day of the preceding week "no less than seventeen ships arrived in San Francisco, with over 2,000 immigrants." The demand was unceasing for recruits to the preaching ranks. Almost half the appointments of the Marysville District were without preachers in 1854 and many more were wanted in other Districts.[142]

On his return from a temporary stay in the Sandwich Islands in 1855 the Rev. W. S. Turner reported that a Methodist Class of English and Americans had been formed there, the members of which pleaded that a preacher be sent to them, promising to support him. At the 1855 California Conference Honolulu was made a regular appointment and Turner was assigned to the charge.[143]

Following the close of the Civil War the Church expanded rapidly, the membership increasing from 3,879 in 1865 to 8,029 in 1875, the number of charges from ninety-nine to 154, and members of Conference approximately doubled.* The Missionary Society continued mission appropriations throughout the period, in 1870 contributing $4,000. to twenty missions, in 1880 $3,000. to twenty-three missions, and in 1895 $7,112. to sixty-seven missions. In 1872 the General Conference authorized division and in 1876 the Southern California Conference was organized with two Districts,† the Los Angeles with A. M. Hough as Presiding Elder, and the Santa Barbara, with P. Y. Cool in charge. The missionary appropriation to the Southern California Conference in 1876 was $2,500., distributed to sixteen missions. In 1895 mission appropriations were made to sixty-four missions totaling $5,778.[144]

NEW MEXICO MISSION

The 1848 General Conference in authorizing the creation of an Annual Conference in the Oregon country, apparently wholly unmindful of the geographical sweep of the action, included within its boundaries—as elsewhere stated—Oregon, California, and New Mexico. At the second session of the Oregon and California Conference, in September, 1850, a New Mexico District was authorized, concerning which the *Minutes* record, "E. G. Nicholson has charge of the work in this district, and resides at Santa Fe." [145]

John P. Durbin, in a letter to Enoch G. Nicholson, a member of the Pittsburgh Conference, dated July 22, 1850, said:

> Your mission is at present to the population in Santa Fe & its vicinity, which speaks the English Language. The progress of the Mission must determine whether its attention will be turned at all to the Spanish population.[146]

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* In 1895 the California Conference had 171 Circuits and Stations with 16,316 members, exclusive of the Chinese and Japanese Districts.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1895, pp. 484 ff.

† When organized the Southern California Conference had twenty-seven Stations and Circuits, 1,257 full members, thirteen churches, and twenty-two Local Preachers. (*Ibid.*, 1876, pp. 110 f., 276.) In 1895 its three Districts with 113 charges reported 13,299 members in full connection, 117 churches, and 85 Local Preachers.—*Ibid.*, Fall, 1895, pp. 531 f.

By November, 1850, Nicholson had established his household in Santa Fe, had organized a small Methodist Society, and had fitted up a chapel for public worship. Shortly afterward the removal of the nearby army post "curtailed the business of the city, and . . . reduced the American population." This, together with the failing health of the missionary's wife, caused Nicholson to return to the East and the mission was temporarily suspended.[147] On June 3, 1853, the Board was influenced by two new factors to reopen the mission. A young man, Walter Hansen, a native of Mexico thoroughly conversant with the Spanish language, was found in New York. Also, an ex-priest of the Roman Catholic Church, Benigno Cardenas, a convert to Protestantism, was brought into contact with the Missionary Society. Both were willing to do evangelistic work in New Mexico. Thereupon the Board reinstated Nicholson as Superintendent. Accompanied by Hansen and Cardenas, Nicholson departed for New Mexico early in the autumn. Cardenas was employed as a colporteur and encouraged also to engage in evangelistic activities. He soon formed congregations in Peralta and Socorro and made converts in Polvadero, Manzano, Torrion, Algadones, and other places. After a few months Hansen's connection with the mission was terminated at his own suggestion. Nicholson explored the possibilities of extension of the mission among both the Spanish population and the English-speaking people and returned to New York to report to the Board. In June, 1854, his connection with the work in New Mexico ceased "at his own request on account of the state of his health." During the year divergent reports concerning Cardenas reached the Board, whereupon Dallas D. Lore was designated as Superintendent and sent out to examine into his work. He arrived in Santa Fe on July 24, 1855. His letters to the Secretary were not encouraging, and in some respects disquieting. He was able, however, to organize a Class of nine persons at Socorro and one of fourteen members at Peralta, and a Circuit of four appointments, and returned to the East. On the basis of his reports the Board decided that "there was not sufficient ground for the continuance of the mission," and in November, 1855, the General Missionary Committee appropriated $1,250. for its closing during the next year.[148]

A resolution passed by the 1864 General Conference called attention to the fact that there was "not one Protestant minister" engaged in preaching the Gospel among the 90,000 Mexicans and Americans in New Mexico and requested the Committee on Missions to consider "the necessity and propriety of establishing a Mission and Mission School" in both New Mexico and Arizona but no immediate action resulted. In 1865 John L. Dyer, then a Presiding Elder in Colorado, proposed to extend the boundaries of his District to include the territory and appealed to Bishop Kingsley to secure a suitable man for work among the Mexicans, but the Bishops were unable to find anyone able to preach in Spanish whom they considered competent and trustworthy.

Whereupon Dyer took it upon himself to make his headquarters in Elizabethtown, New Mexico, and in the course of a year to preach at Cimarron, Taos, Mora, Tipton, Walters, Cherry Valley, Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and elsewhere. At the Colorado Conference of 1868, much to his surprise, Dyer heard his name "read out for New Mexico [Rio Grande] District." Three appointments were listed, all "to be supplied." During 1869-70 he traveled "almost all over New Mexico," making his home in Santa Fe, and preaching in Albuquerque, Socorro, and Fort Craig. In 1869 he importuned Thomas Harwood, whom he had known in the West Wisconsin Conference, to comply with Bishop Ames' request that he come to New Mexico and was immensely gratified when he responded favorably. "He took my place," wrote Dyer in his autobiography, "and I have reason to thank God that the result has been so good."[149]

In 1872 the New Mexico Mission was created and from 1872 to 1884 Thomas Harwood was its Superintendent. At the end of three years in the superintendency he wrote:

> Our progress is slow, for we are not laboring among a people where 'a nation is born in a day.' But when we call to mind that during the year our membership has increased nearly fifty per cent; and our Church property about the same—that our Sunday-school scholars and Church members, during the past four years, have more than twice quadrupled—that our ministerial strength has come up from one to eleven, including six native helpers, (all our preachers save one preach in Spanish,)—when we thus contrast our present *status* with our past we rejoice and take courage . . . .[150]

In 1884 the General Conference divided the New Mexico work into two separate missions: the New Mexico English and the New Mexico Spanish. S. W. Thornton of the Colorado Conference was appointed Superintendent of the English language mission. After four years of faithful service he resigned on account of illness in his family and was succeeded by T. L. Wiltsee of the Central Ohio Conference. He reported at the close of his first year (1889) having "preached 170 times . . . and traveled about 20,000 miles." In 1890 he was released that he might take charge of the newly formed Navajo Mission and Thomas Harwood was reinstated as Superintendent until the Bishop could find "some one to superintend the work." At the 1891 annual meeting of the mission Charles L. Bovard of the California Conference was appointed.[151] During his first year he made a careful survey of the territory, by personal inquiry and visitation, seeking to discover unoccupied communities. He found a number of places large enough for several Protestant churches where Methodism was already represented by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He questioned the policy of attempting to organize a second Methodist Society in these communities. In such populous centers as Albuquerque, Eddy, and El Paso [Texas] he proposed an aggressive program. He was sensitive to the feeling of the General Missionary Committee relative to the "seemingly slow advances toward self-support," and sought to clarify the situation.

> Owing to the long distances here, between population centers, it is impossible to arrange large circuits. Unlike the . . . missionaries who . . . labor in the agricultural Northwest, when one of our men leaves a town he must be prepared to feed his own horse, [and] furnish his own bed and board until he gets back. No friendly latch strings are hanging out along his journey at convenient distances. Many of our trips—like the eighty-five-mile trip from Eddy to Roswell, and the fifty-five-mile trip from Springer to Catskill—do not even afford enough vegetation to build a decent camp fire. So it happens, just the reverse of pioneering in most sections, the circuits are the most expensive kinds of evangelizing.

The Superintendent acknowledged that only twelve or thirteen charges* in "an area of about one hundred and twenty-three thousand square miles" would appear to "indicate a lack of push and conquest" but he reminded the Missionary Society that the American population of between "fifty and sixty thousand" was divided into lines of settlements which followed "tortuous railway lines and valleys, separated by mountain chains . . . from ten to thirteen thousand feet" in height, which made the method of "forming circuits pursued elsewhere . . . impracticable," and agreed with Bishop Walden in counseling "the concentration of effort and money in the populous centers." The missionary policy, he felt, should be one of centralization, using a high grade of ministerial supply which would appeal to the type of "social and intellectual life represented in . . . [the] cities and towns." [152]

NEW MEXICO SPANISH MISSION

The earliest attempt to establish a Methodist mission among the Spanish-speaking population in the Southwest was made, as we have seen, in the early fifties and terminated in 1856. Twelve years later the Bishops recommended "the establishment of a mission for the benefit of the Spanish-speaking population in . . . [the] south-western territories and in Mexico." The General Missionary Committee made an appropriation for the purpose and a missionary was selected but because of declining receipts the Board of Managers indefinitely postponed the undertaking.[153]

From the time of his arrival in New Mexico in 1869 Thomas Harwood undertook to preach in Spanish as well as in English. In 1871 he reorganized the Society at Peralta which had been first organized by D. D. Lore in 1855. As Superintendent of the New Mexico Mission created by the 1872 General Conference Harwood organized Societies among both Americans and Mexicans. Progress in the Spanish work at first was slow but by 1884 he had succeeded so well that a separate Spanish mission was organized. At its first session the mission had twenty-three charges with 408 full members, ten churches, and fifteen Sunday schools.[154]

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* The New Mexico English Mission in 1895 reported 721 full members, 2 Local Preachers, 14 churches, and 17 Sunday schools with 1,206 pupils.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1895, p. 598.

Harwood early decided that nothing would contribute more to missionary progress than mission schools. In 1886 six elementary schools had been established, with 225 pupils, and two academies, the "Kit Carson Seminary" at Taos and the "Socorro Academy" at Socorro, each with a Biblical department.[155] He illustrated the necessity of the schools for the education of the native preachers:

> A mistake once made by one of our native preachers, which cost the superintendent of the mission some $20, . . . [concerned the problem of how many adobe blocks] can be made for $50 at $7 per thousand. And still another gave up in despair the solution of the problem, What will be the cost of five oranges at five cents each? . . . This last question was not important, as we can get along with our work without oranges, but we have to make adobes, or sun-dried brick, to build our churches, and it is important the preacher should be able to make his own calculations. The American reader will wonder at such ignorance, but marvel not at this when twenty, or even ten, years ago sixty per cent. of all our people, ten years of age and over, could not read, and eighty per cent. of the women were unable to read.[156]

The geographical extent of the mission was extended until in 1891 the Superintendent reported that it embraced "all of New Mexico, Southern Colorado, West Texas, and the State of Chihuahua, in Mexico." By far the larger part of the work, however, was in New Mexico. The principal towns occupied in Chihuahua were Dona Ana, Las Cruces, Silver City, Hillsborough, and El Paso. Realizing a necessity for reading and study materials in Spanish, beginning in 1879 Harwood published a paper—*El Abogado Cristiano*—Sunday-school lessons, and many thousands of pages of tracts in the Spanish language.

In 1892, by authority of the General Conference, the mission was made a Spanish Mission Conference, the first to be organized in the United States. In that year two Districts were established, increased in 1893 to three, the Albuquerque, the Las Vegas, and the Santa Fe, with Harwood as Presiding Elder of the Albuquerque District and Superintendent of the Mission Conference as a whole. Schools continued to be maintained but only when there were "no public schools, or in places where the teachers of the public schools . . . [were inferior and unable to teach the] more advanced Protestant children." [157] In 1889 the Territorial Legislature passed a law "making the [public] schools nonsectarian," after which they improved very rapidly.

By 1895 the twenty-three charges of 1884 had increased to thirty-two, with almost a threefold growth in membership.* Even more notable was the increase in number of Spanish-speaking pastors from twelve to twenty-six, concerning whom Harwood said, "all . . . have been dug up out of this New Mexico soil, and the most of them out of the hard soil of Romanism." [158]

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* At the 1895 meeting of the New Mexico Spanish Mission Conference the three Districts reported 1,684 full members; 8 Local Preachers; 21 churches; and 37 Sunday schools, with 1,055 pupils.—*Ibid.*, Fall, 1895, pp. 582 f.

ARIZONA MISSION

In February, 1859, Horace S. Bishop of the Newark Conference and David Tuthill of the New York East Conference were transferred to the California Conference and sent as missionaries to Arizona,* referred to by the *Missionary Advocate* as "a mining district in the Southern part of New Mexico." Under date of April 6 Bishop reported having preached "in three or four different towns to attentive, intelligent congregations, about one-third composed of Mexicans, some of whom can understand a little English, and others perfectly ignorant of what I was saying." On April 13, Tuthill wrote that he had selected Tubac as his headquarters as "a central point, nearer the mines than any other," and therefore a convenient location. To reach all the people within a distance of 150 miles he thought it would be necessary to preach in at least six different places. At the Conference session of September, 1859, Tuthill and Bishop were given appointments within the California Conference and in 1860 Bishop was recorded as having "withdrawn from the connection." Evidently there were those in the 1860 General Conference who felt that California was not overly concerned for Arizona's interests since it authorized the Bishops, if they should consider it advisable, to constitute the Arizona and New Mexico missions "a Mission Annual Conference at any time" during the quadrennium, and further—until such a Conference should be organized—the Arizona mission should be "treated as a foreign mission," and that the Board's appropriation should go directly to the mission, and not to the California Conference.[159]

The 1864 General Conference, with a resolution before it which directed attention to the lack of Protestant ministry in Arizona and New Mexico, requested its Committee on Missions to report on "the necessity and propriety of establishing a Mission and Mission School" in each territory. The committee, however, did not act and several years passed before any further official action was taken. In 1869 Charles P. Cooke, a Local Preacher and city missionary in Chicago, of his own accord went to the Pima Reservation, was employed as a government teacher, and at the same time labored diligently as a missionary.[160] Finally, in 1872, G. A. Reeder of the North Ohio Conference was appointed by Bishop Simpson Superintendent of a reconstituted Arizona Mission. Shortly after his arrival in the territory he wrote to the Missionary Society:

> I may state that there is not a Church finished in Arizona by any Protestant

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* The Arizona territory, the greater part of which was earlier a part of New Mexico, was not organized as a territory of the United States until February, 1863.

> denomination, and only one commenced, as far as I have yet been able to learn. . . . I have not yet met with one living member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[161]

The "utter disregard of the majority to all the claims of religion, and their non-attendance upon the means of grace when they have the opportunity," tempted Reeder to discouragement. At Yuma, town of twelve hundred inhabitants, he preached three evenings in the schoolhouse to a maximum of about twenty hearers. On Sunday morning, following a Saturday night dance, his congregation consisted of eight persons. He then resolved to make "a new departure."

> I next took my position on the chief corner of the town, having the wholesale liquor establishment for my 'backing,' all the leading saloons near by, and a score of liquor dealers and drinkers within hearing. Here I preached seven times . . . . More than one came saying, 'I have not heard a sermon before for twenty years.' The street seemed to be *the* place.[162]

In 1874 Reeder resigned and returned to his Conference, leaving "the names of *forty-six* members and probationers."

> having held five protracted meetings and one camp-meeting; having preached four hundred and twenty-two sermons and traveled fourteen thousand miles, and spent the nights of two years traveling, or laying in my blankets, on boards, or the bosom of the earth.[163]

With Reeder's departure from the field only one missionary remained, D. B. Wright, a supernumerary member of the Troy Conference, stationed at Prescott and, beginning in 1877, J. M. Winnega, at Florence. The Missionary Society reported that it was without report or statistics of the mission for 1876-77 and that little was done during the years 1876-78 but "to hold the ground." [164]

G. H. Adams of the Colorado Conference was appointed Superintendent of the mission and pastor at Prescott in 1879. He arrived at his appointment on September 5. Soon afterward the Missionary Society reported that the Sunday school, previously a union school, had been organized "as a school of the Methodist Episcopal Church," the church building improved, and the erection of a parsonage begun. Two years later Adams was able to announce that the mission had

> made more advancement in the way of accumulating church property during the . . . year than in all the former years of her history combined. Two years ago we had but one church—namely, at Prescott. Last year we erected two . . . at Globe City and at Tombstone. . . . Since last March we have built three, . . . at Phoenix, Pinal, and Tucson. . . . We now own in Arizona about $35,000 worth of church property . . . . All the leading towns are now supplied by Methodist houses of worship.[165]

Numerous difficulties were encountered, not least of which were depredations from hostile Indians, including the killing of at least a thousand defenseless people, which retarded immigration and business progress. Cost of living was very high, averaging more than twice that of living in the East. Finally, constant change in missionary personnel crippled the mission. In 1883 Adams reported that of all missionaries appointed at the annual meeting of 1881 not one remained except the Superintendent.[166] Deficiency in missionary supply was a continuing difficulty year after year.

In the summer of 1890 serious illness compelled Adams to resign the superintendency. He was succeeded by George F. Bovard of the Southern California Conference. In his first annual report he announced the organization of a Class of twelve members, followed by the erection of a church at Williams. Two years later (1893) he reported a net increase for the year of 175 in Church members,* eight new Sunday schools organized, and noteworthy increases in benevolences, in pastoral support, and in value of church property.[167]

UTAH MISSION

The settlement of Utah began with the entrance of Brigham Young and his band of Mormon disciples into the Great Salt Lake Valley in July, 1847. Before the end of 1848 the Mormon settlement had increased to some five thousand people. The population in 1850 was 11,380; in 1860, 40,273; in 1870, 86,786. By 1890 the total was more than two hundred thousand. The bulk of the population during the early period was made up of native-born Americans, supplemented by a growing stream of European immigrants, the fruit of Mormon missionary efforts. There were also a few Indians, and a still smaller number of Chinese who came over the mountains from California. The completion of the Central Pacific Railroad in May, 1869, which made possible transcontinental travel by rail, was immediately followed by increasing emigration of "Gentiles" into the Utah Territory.

The Board of Managers in 1855 referred to its Committee on Domestic Missions the question of establishing "a mission among the Mormons in Utah." After consideration the committee stated that it regarded

> the establishment of a mission in the territory of *Utah* desirable and of binding force upon the Church, provided the *Bishop* upon whom devolves its institution and appointments, can command the services of not more than three men, nor less than two, of such piety, zeal and energy as shall give good promise of success.
>
> *Resolved,* That the sum of Two Thousand Dollars be placed at the disposal of the Bishop for Commencing Said Mission.[168]

Evidently the Bishop was unable to find men of the required qualifications as there is no record of the founding of a Utah mission during the years immediately following. Also in 1855 the California Conference listed two charges in Utah—Salt Lake City and Carson Valley—but left them to be supplied. California's action may have provided the stimulus which led the 1856 General Conference to include Utah within the bounds of that Conference. Despite the General Conference action no appointment in Utah appeared in the 1856 California Conference *Minutes*.[169]

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* The Arizona Mission reported in 1895 eighteen Circuits and Stations with 571 full members, 13 churches, and 21 Sunday schools with 1,204 pupils.—*Ibid.*, Fall, 1895, pp. 400, 597.

All efforts to get missionary work under way in the territory were ineffectual * until 1869 when Lewis Hartsough, a supernumerary member of the Central New York Conference who was serving as Presiding Elder of the Wyoming District of the Colorado Conference, made a Utah tour, preaching in Wasatch, Corinne, Ogden, and Salt Lake City. At the November meeting of the Board Utah was placed under supervision of Bishop Ames, and Hartsough was made Superintendent of the Utah Mission. In December he returned to Salt Lake City and during the winter "opened up" such places as he could reach. He was encouraged in his effort to gain a foothold for Methodism by Judge Hawley of Salt Lake City, the Rev. N. Reasoner (agent of the American Bible Society), C. C. Nichols, a Local Preacher "who was railroad agent at Uintah," and a number of others. In the summer of 1870 Hartsough felt obliged "to return to the East," and Gustavus M. Pierce, whom he had enlisted for missionary service in Utah, succeeded him as Superintendent of the mission.[170]

On May 8, 1870, Pierce arrived in Salt Lake City. In his first annual report he listed a Class formed at Salt Lake City on May 20; Sunday schools organized in that city on June 12, with 140 members, at Corinne, September 25, with sixty members, and at Ogden, October 2, with sixty members. Three ministerial appointments had been made: W. C. Damon, pastor at Corinne and principal of Corinne Seminary; A. M. Donelly, pastor at Ogden; and C. C. Nichols, pastor at Salt Lake City. Salt Lake City Seminary was opened on September 12 with the Rev. Erastus Smith as principal, three teachers, and ninety pupils. In another year, Pierce said, "I believe . . . the whole of Utah, from Bear Lake Valley, one hundred and fifty miles north, to St. George, three hundred and fifty miles south, will be open to missionary labor. There are at least *forty villages* of respectable size in the Territory." [171]

The Superintendent's report for 1871 was somewhat less optimistic in tone. Three ministers had been added to the missionary force and fourteen more were asked for the year ahead. Classes had been organized at Corinne, Ogden,

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* The General Missionary Committee in 1858 endeavored to give impetus to the inauguration of a Utah mission by making a contingent appropriation of $1,500. for Salt Lake City. In 1859 it made a further attempt by appropriating $2,000. "contingent for Arizona and Carson Valley in Utah." Both actions were without result. The war years were without significant development although in 1864 Utah was made an appendage to the bounds of the Nevada Conference. (*G. C. Journal,* 1864, p. 220.) In 1867, at the Nevada Conference, Bishop Thomson attached Salt Lake City to the Austin District and asked S. L. Trefren, whom he had appointed Presiding Elder, to visit the city and report on the advisability of establishing a mission there. Trefren advised against the attempt. The General Missionary Committee, however, for 1867 appropriated $6,000. for Idaho and Utah, and in 1869 made an appropriation of $2,000. exclusively for Utah. The increased population of non-Mormon settlers finally brought an end to the long delay.

Evanston, and Tooele, with an aggregate membership of 120. But the mission was stated to be "peculiar and difficult." Yet, the report concluded, "with faith in God, we move on, and expect the victory." [172]

A decade passed with little or no progress made.* Beginning with 1882 the tide changed. In October Thomas C. Iliff entered upon the superintendency of the mission together with the pastorate of the First Church, Salt Lake City. In response to the appeal of Bishop Wiley and the Missionary Secretaries the General Missionary Committee adopted the policy of a largely increased appropriation—from $7,500. to $12,500.—making possible a corresponding increase in personnel.† By 1885 fourteen day schools were in operation in Salt Lake City, Ogden, Grantville, Provo, and ten other towns. In his report for this year the Mission Superintendent said:

> This school work will be a necessity till the Territory or general government makes such provision as ought to have been made years ago. When we have a proper public-school system in Utah the Church will be mostly relieved from this primary work of education. But even then there will be a demand for higher education which the Church must supply.[173]

The most ambitious of the schools was the Salt Lake Seminary located in the central part of the city. It included five departments, with special instruction in music and art. Associated with the school was the Methodist Home, built by the Woman's Home Missionary Society, with rooms for boarding twenty-five pupils.[174]

In the later eighties evidence began to appear of increasing "restlessness and dissatisfaction among the Mormon people" and more readiness to receive the Gospel message. Congregations increased in size and "the people, generally, [were] more ready to talk" with missionaries and teachers about religion. Growth between 1884 and 1890 was notable. Missionaries increased from ten to twenty-eight; teachers from sixteen to thirty-seven; number of churches from eight to thirty-five; Sunday schools from eight to thirty-six; day schools from seven to twenty-eight; members and probationers from 210 to 1,310.[175]

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* In 1872 General Conference authorized the organization of the Rocky Mountain Conference, the second Conference of this name, to include Utah, Montana, and Idaho Territories "and that portion of Wyoming Territory not included in the Colorado Conference" (*G. C. Journal,* 1872, pp. 303, 425). The Conference met in its first session at Salt Lake City on Aug. 8, 1872. Three Districts were formed: Salt Lake District, with eight appointments; Corinne District, with seven appointments; and Helena District, also with seven appointments (*Minutes, Rocky Mountain Conference,* 1872, p. 8). The 1876 General Conference empowered the Rocky Mountain Conference to divide into two Conferences if it should so decide (*G. C. Journal,* 1876, p. 380). The ensuing Conference (July 27-30, 1876) voted to divide into the Utah Conference, to include the Territory of Utah and parts of Wyoming and Idaho, and the Montana Conference—also to include parts of Wyoming and Idaho (*Minutes, Rocky Mountain Conference,* 1876, p. [13]). Utah continued as an Annual Conference until 1880 when by its own request its status was changed to that of a mission, to include all the territory of the former Conference "except the portion extending into the Territory of Wyoming" (*G. C. Journal,* 1880, p. 369). In 1892 the mission was further delimited when the English-speaking charges in Idaho became a part of the Idaho Conference and the Western Norwegian-Danish Mission Conference absorbed "eight preachers, fourteen churches and Sunday schools."—*Seventy-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1892), p. 323.

† T. C. Iliff: "The Missionary Society, the Board of Church Extension, the Woman's Home Missionary Society and hundreds of individual friends made it possible for us to support thirty preachers, thirty to forty Mission teachers and to build twenty-five churches. The Missionary Society appropriation for general and school work, English and Scandinavian, from 1888 to 1890 reached $24,000 annually. The Board of Church Extension from $5,000 to $10 000; The Woman's Home Missionary Society, $6,000 to $10,000; a grand total annually of from $35,000 to $45,000."—In *Minutes of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Utah Mission . . . ,* 1895, p. 16.

At the 1891 annual meeting announcement was made that the officials of the Mormon Church had "officially declared against the practice of polygamy," but belief was expressed that discontinuance of the practice was "for political advantage only" and that the rightness of polygamy as a principle continued to be widely held.[176] By 1892 the public school system had been developed to a point where it became possible to close a number of Church primary schools, but others were opened where need still existed. The mission intended to maintain at least one school of high grade and in 1893 recommendation was made that Salt Lake Seminary be developed, under the management of a board appointed by the mission. However, the financial crisis of that year made the realization of the plan impossible and in January, 1894, the seminary was closed.[177]

Various factors contributed to the slow growth in Utah. A principal cause was the predominance of the Mormon Church and the actively hostile attitude of its leaders toward all evangelical denominations.* From the beginning of Methodist missionary work worship services and day schools were maintained against bitter antagonism.† Mormonism was compactly and thoroughly organized and possessed the power and adroitness to resist successfully all missionary efforts. Utah, declared Bishop Fowler, "is the hardest mission ground into which the Methodist plow has ever been thrust." [178]

In the opinion of J. D. Gillilan, who for years served as secretary of the mission and for a time was Presiding Elder, another factor was the unadaptability of the Circuit system to a mountain region when during the long winter season deep snows in the high mountain valleys made maintenance of Circuit schedules impossible. ". . . wherever success of any consequence has been attained," he said, "it has been where we have the resident pastor," making possible frequent visitation and regular weekly Class meetings.[179] Perhaps the most important factor of all was the continually changing personnel. Some of the missionaries remained at their posts for only a few months, others for only two or three years, in either case not long enough to acquaint themselves thoroughly with prevailing conditions, determine the methods of evangelism likely to be most successful, and to institute an ongoing program. Only one missionary remained in Utah for as long as ten years in the period 1870-80; and a second for nine of the ten years. Of the other thirteen two were in the mission for four years, six for three years, three for two years and two for one year. The situation was made more serious by the seeming impossibility, caused by lack of funds and of recruits for missionary service, of filling the vacancies caused by transfers out of the mission. In 1876 twelve of the twenty charges listed in the two Districts were left to be supplied; the next year the number of appointments was reduced to thirteen; and in 1878 to six. These conditions improved somewhat in later years but in 1890, with charges in Utah, other than the Scandinavian work, again increased to sixteen, four were left to be supplied.

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* The Congregational Church was the first evangelical denomination to establish a church in Utah. Its work was begun in 1864. In the twenty-three years 1872-95 "the Congregationalists . . . expended in Church and school work $500,000, and this year (1895) $19,000. They have seven churches . . . ." "In 1869, Dr. Sheldon Jackson opened the Presbyterian work at Corinne . . . . The Presbyterian [Church] leads all others in the expenditure of money; . . . $881,000 . . . from first to last. . . . They have 29 churches . . . ." "We are told that . . . [the Protestant Episcopal Church, under the leadership of Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle] has spent between $250,000 and $300,000 on school and Church work in Utah." The Baptist, Lutheran, and Disciples of Christ Churches "came later, having expended to date a total of $200,000 and making a creditable showing in church buildings, membership, [and] Sunday school[s]. . . ."—*Ibid.*, pp. 14 f.

† In the presence of G. M. Pierce in 1870, in a tabernacle sermon, Brigham Young declared: "If any of these so called officers try to arrest me and bring me before the d----d cussed hounds of the law the government has sent out here to lord it over us, I'll send them to hell cross lots, so help me God." (*Gospel in All Lands,* May, 1888, p. 196.) A few years later Joseph F. Smith, another prominent Mormon leader, said in an evening service: "I would rather my children were allowed to play in a yard where there is an open well; [or] . . . to play about where the rattlesnake was known to be; . . . , than hear of them growing up and sent to the schools of these outsiders." (L. A. Rudisill, report, *Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1881], p. 287.) At certain times there were, however, examples of a spirit of lessened antagonism and some willingness to cooperate. H. D. Fisher relates that when he was in the employ of the American Bible Society as superintendent for Utah, Idaho, and Montana he held meetings in a number of Mormon tabernacles with full approval of Bishops and other officers of the Mormon Church.—*The Gun and the Gospel, Early Kansas and Chaplain Fisher,* ch. XXXI.

At the close of the period (1895) the Utah Mission had two Districts, the Salt Lake District with sixteen Circuits and Stations, and the Ogden District with three charges. There were twenty churches, 1,048 full members, and twenty-four Sunday schools with 2,076 pupils.[180]

IDAHO MISSION

At the 1864 session of the Oregon Conference C. S. Kingsley, a supernumerary member, was assigned to Idaho City where he held religious services and built a church, thus providing a center from which missionary operations might be carried on. At the 1865 Conference Kingsley was superannuated. On October 23 William Roberts* arrived on the field and established headquarters at Idaho City. The difficulties which he encountered in the territory seemed to him greater than he had previously experienced in his "twenty years . . . on the Pacific Coast," including "exorbitantly high rates of living and travel," the instability of the population in what was then predominantly a mining region—people remaining only long enough "to make their pile" and then leaving—and, finally, the "large proportion of Irish Romanists," hostile to Protestantism. At the 1866 Oregon Conference Roberts was appointed Superintendent of Idaho Missions. He visited in the course of the year Boise City, Centerville, Placerville, Pioneer, and Owyhee—finding in the last place "a very neat church [which had been recently erected] . . . on the union principle." His general conclusion was that the population and "prospective importance of Idaho" justified the current missionary expenditure but not any considerable immediate increase. During the year the church erected by Kingsley was sold to the county for a courthouse, with the reservation that it might continue to be used as a church. Roberts' superintendency terminated in 1869. At the 1869 Oregon Conference he was appointed to Portland and the Idaho Mission disappeared from the *Minutes*.[181]

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* At the 1865 Oregon Conference (Aug. 10-15) William Roberts was appointed for the third year Presiding Elder of the Willamette District. This year Idaho was constituted a Third Class Mission of the Interior Department under supervision of Bishop Kingsley who on Sept. 20 changed Robert's appointment to "Missionary to Idaho."—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1865, p. 154; *Forty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1865), p. 161; William Roberts, report, *ibid., 49th* (1867), pp. 128, 129 ff.

With the organization of the Rocky Mountain Conference in 1872 three Idaho Circuits—Silver City, Salmon River, and Boise City Circuit—were included in the Corinne District with J. M. Jamison[*] as Presiding Elder. Of these, the first two were "without money or preachers." The following year the name was changed to Idaho District, with five appointments: Boise City, Idaho City, Payette, Rocky Bar, and Silver City—all Circuits. In 1874 Jamison reported to his Conference that congregations in all the charges had been large.[182]

> Many new societies have been organized in different sections of the country, which promise to grow and exert a moral and religious influence on the surrounding country. . . . . . . the church is being permanently established throughout the Territory.[183]

In 1875 eight appointments, three of them new (Boise Circuit, Lewiston, and Fort Hall Indian agency), were listed in the District, of which two were left to be supplied.[184]

In 1876 five of the Idaho missions (Idaho City, Boise Circuit, Boise City, Payette, and Lewiston) were by change of boundaries transferred from the Rocky Mountain Conference to the Columbia River Conference.[†] Two or three charges were included in the Montana Conference.[‡] Silver City and Rocky Bar disappeared from the *Minutes*. This same year the southern part of Idaho became a part of the Utah Conference.[§]

The 1877 Columbia River Conference included as one of three Districts Grande Ronde and Boise with nine Circuits and Stations. By 1881 appointments had increased to seventeen. In 1883, with the District divided into two—the Grande Ronde and the Boise, containing a total of twenty-three Circuits and Stations—the Conference adopted a memorial to the 1884 General Conference asking for division into two Conferences, the eastern to be called the Idaho Conference.[185]

In 1884, in accordance with General Conference action, the Idaho Conference* was formed with two Districts, Boise City with twelve Circuits and Stations, and La Grande with twelve.† The Conference embraced a vast area, the Boise City District alone including in 1889 a region approximately as large as the state of New York.

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[*] J. M. Jamison states: "I preached in the Court-House [Idaho City], morning and evening . . . ." Also, "As there had never been a regularly organized Methodist Church in the city [Boise City]—nor in the Territory—we announced that . . . we would organize the first Methodist Church in Idaho Territory, which I did (November 17, 1872) and on the following Saturday, the 23rd of November. I held the first Quarterly Conference ever held in Idaho . . . ." (In *Fifty-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1872], pp. 150-52.) In making these statements Jamison ignores, or is unaware of, Kingsley's work in Idaho City in 1864-65; that the courthouse in which he (Jamison) preached was formerly a Methodist church; and that Roberts had established a Sunday school there (1866-67), held Methodist services, and in all probability organized a Methodist Society.

[†] "Columbia River Conference shall include . . . all of Idaho Territory lying directly north of the State of Nevada."—*G. C. Journal*, 1876, p. 371.

[‡] The "part of Idaho not included in the Columbia River Conference and lying north of the forty-third parallel, including Fort Hall Indian Agency" shall be a part of Montana Conference.—*Minutes, Rocky Mountain Conference*, 1876, p. 13.

[§] The "part of Idaho not included in the Columbia River Conference and lying south of the forty-third parallel of north latitude . . . shall be a part of Utah Conference. (*Ibid.*) From time to time a few Idaho appointments appeared in the Utah Conference *Minutes*.

> It is a region of vast valleys and great mountains. It includes nine counties in Southern Idaho, and a part of Malheur County in Oregon. Much of its territory is yet unsettled, and consequently the distances to be traveled to reach the various appointments are very great. . . . [The Presiding Elder] has traveled in several cases, in his own conveyance from 150 to 200 miles to hold a single quarterly meeting.[186]

In a statement on "Our Missionary Needs," made in 1891, H. K. Hines and S. M. Driver said:

> Our work in the Idaho Conference is almost purely missionary work. The field is so vast in area, and its towns and cities so small and so widely separated, and the country so sparsely occupied by farmers and ranchmen, that it is likely that there is no field in American Methodism where our ministers do their work under more disadvantages than in this Conference. . . . The number of church members scattered over this wide field is so small, that, even if they were wealthy, it would be impossible for them to give anything like 'a comfortable support' to the families of the pastors appointed to labor with and for them. These pastors must receive a considerable part of their support from the missionary appropriations, or the people must be left without the gospel . . . . a large proportion of the people within our bounds are immigrants struggling with the difficulties of a country hard to reclaim to the purposes of productive industry . . . .[187]

In 1891, eleven years after its organization, the Idaho Conference, with twelve of its twenty-three appointments in Oregon, had only 1,162 full members, twenty-seven churches, and thirty-eight Sunday schools with an enrollment of 2,059.[188]

DAKOTA MISSION

At the 1860 session of the Upper Iowa Conference S. W. Ingham, a recent graduate of Cornell College, was appointed "to that portion of the country lying between the Big Sioux and Missouri Rivers in the proposed territory of Dakota." The Dakota Mission was attached to the Sioux City District. On Sunday, October 14, Ingham conducted at Vermillion the first Methodist services held in the Dakota country, five months before the Territory of Dakota was created. On January 13, 1861, a Methodist Society was formed in Vermillion, "the first religious organization of any kind in the territory." During his two years' pastorate Ingham visited and preached in Richland, Fort Randall, Canton, Sioux Falls, and other points, but the only Classes formed were at Vermillion and Richland.* From 1868 to 1872 Dakota Territory was included within the boundaries of the Des Moines Conference, and during 1872-80 in the Northwest Iowa Conference.† During the late sixties missionary work in the region was sporadic because of the lack of preachers. However, Societies were organized before 1870 in Yankton, Elk Point,‡ and Canton. In 1873, at the second session of the Northwest Iowa Conference, the Dakota District was formed with eleven charges in addition to those already named, with five unsupplied. In 1876, the grasshopper scourge struck Dakota so severely in many sections as to cause a general exodus from the region. In consequence, at the 1876 Annual Conference the Dakota District was discontinued by the Presiding Bishop, several appointments canceled, and the remaining charges attached to the Sioux City District. Bennett Mitchell felt that this was an unnecessary retreat. Bishop Foster, he said, certainly "was not an expansionist. He seemed not to have a clear vision of the coming growth and glory of the Dakota land." In 1879 the Dakota District was reconstituted with nineteen charges (two additional in Iowa).[189]

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* At its first session the Idaho Conference reported fifteen charter members of Conference, and three probationers; ten Local Preachers; thirteen churches with 632 full members; and twenty Sunday schools, with 761 pupils.—*Minutes, Idaho Conference,* 1884, p. 15.

† A portion of Idaho Territory remained in the Columbia River Conference until after 1895. —*G. C. Journal,* 1892, p. 415; *ibid.,* 1896, p. 772.

Beginning in 1879-80 Dakota again enjoyed a period of marked advance. Some estimates of increase of population during 1880-81 were as high as forty thousand. This rapid population growth greatly stimulated Church extension. The General Conference of 1880 authorized the organization of the Dakota Mission, "to include all that part of Dakota Territory south of the Minnesota Conference, and east of the Black Hills Mission." Organization was consummated at Yankton on September 23, 1880. Wilmot Whitfield, who during the preceding year had been Presiding Elder of the Dakota District, was appointed Superintendent. Charges were listed to the number of twenty-eight but men were available for only ten. Members in full connection numbered 1,299.[190] During 1880 new Societies were organized in places where no churches had previously existed. A typical example was the Ashton charge where the pastor reported having organized a Circuit "where a few months before there had been only unbroken prairie, the joint inheritance of the rabbit, the wolf and the wild Indian." Of the the thirty-three Circuits and Stations, ten had "only just been formed." In twenty-four towns specifically mentioned by the Superintendent of the mission, twelve had churches already built and in eight others there were definite plans for building.[191]

At the third session of the mission an additional District was created and at the fourth session (1883) the mission was divided into four Districts. Increase of population was stimulated by the building of two branches of the C. & N. W. R. R. and also of the C. M. & St. P. Lewis Hartsough, in appealing for increased appropriations from the Missionary Society, wrote:

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* The *General Minutes* (Upper Iowa Conference) for six years (1862-67) list "Dacotah" to be supplied. Doane Robinson in his *History of South Dakota* states that for one year Jason L. Paine served the mission. Beginning in 1865 Yankton is also included in the *Minutes;* in the first year "to be supplied"; in 1866 and 1867 with C. W. Batchellor as pastor. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1862, p. 164; *ibid.,* 1863, p. 188; *ibid.,* 1864, p. 177; *ibid.,* 1865, p. 141; *ibid.,* 1866, p. 137; *ibid.,* 1867, p. 233.) At intervals Dakota appeared as an appointment in the Nebraska Conference—in 1864 "to be supplied"; in 1869, Joel Warner; in 1873, again "to be supplied."—*Ibid.,* 1860, p. 61; *ibid.,* 1869, p. 88; *ibid.,* 1873, p. 62.

† "Des Moines Conference shall include . . . that portion of Dakotah Territory east of the Missouri River, and south of Fort Randall." (*G. C. Journal,* 1868, p. 310.) "Northwest Iowa Conference shall include . . . Dakota Territory."—*Ibid.,* 1872, p. 424.

‡ The Methodist church at Elk Point was dedicated in 1871. There were at that time only four other Protestant church buildings in Dakota Territory, two Episcopal, one Congregational, and one Baptist. —B. Mitchell, *op. cit.,* p. 2.

> They [the railroads] bring 5 crowded trains daily. These trains are often broken into 2 or 3 divisions of 8 or 10 cars each, all crowded. In the Huron Land District . . . during 5 months preceding April 1st . . . 1,507,000 [acres were surveyed] and settlers . . . precede the surveyors. Nearly as much more is doing in the Aberdeen Land District, ...[192]

The 1884 General Conference authorized the formation of the Dakota Annual Conference,* which was organized on October 8, 1885. "During the years immediately following Methodism kept pace with the rapid increase in population." Later a reaction set in, caused by the depression of 1893-95, in conjunction with a succession of crop failures on account of drought. However, in 1895—the Conference having changed its name in 1892 to the South Dakota Conference when the new state was created—reported 8,847 members, 129 churches, and 193 Sunday schools with an enrollment of 10,598.[193]

In the meantime the North Dakota Mission had been organized. The 1884 General Conference detached that portion of the Minnesota Conference within the Dakota Territory and from it constituted a mission. The first session of the North Dakota Mission† was held in Fargo, October 2-5, 1884. Superintendent G. R. Hair wrote to the Missionary Society in his report:

> The majority of these charges are circuits, with from 3 to 6 preaching appointments, so that we number from 70 to 75 separate congregations. Our Sunday school work is developing rapidly. A gratifying increase of our denominational schools can be reported. We have 18 or 19 in successful operation; while our people are a working majority, in several places, in Union schools. These Union schools are a necessity in new communities, until suitable places can be secured for separate denominational work.[194]

At the same session of General Conference (1884) permission was given for organization as an Annual Conference. On October 16, 1886, the Conference‡ was organized with twenty-one charter members. It began under the handicap of lacking by twenty-three a sufficient number of preachers to supply its forty-seven charges. Salaries were on a meager level and continued so to the end of the period. In 1895 the missionary appropriation to the Conference was $4,073. Including this aid, cash salaries received by the pastors ranged from a maximum of $1,500. (Fargo, First Church) to a minimum of $80. Of seventy-three pastors thirty-three received less than $400. and eleven received less than $200. for the year. Salary claims of all pastors amounted to $42,715. but on this total deficiencies at the close of the year were $6,785. Under these conditions tenure of Conference membership tended to be brief, in 1895 seven ministers transferring to other Conferences and only one coming into the Conference by transfer. While conditions were not conducive to rapid growth church membership gradually increased, reaching a maximum of 4,229 in 1895.[195]

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* Minutes of the first session, held at Blunt, S. D., Oct. 8-12, 1885, show that in five years the number of charges increased almost fourfold: from twenty-eight to ninety-four, and full members three and a half times: from 1,299 to 4,497. However, the acute shortage of preachers still continued with forty-one charges remaining without pastors at the close of the Conference session.—*Gen'l Minutes*, Fall, 1880, pp. 305, 433; *ibid.*, Fall, 1885, pp. 304, 455.

† The North Dakota Mission was organized with two Districts, Fargo and Grand Forks; in all, twenty-four pastoral charges, twelve with a resident pastor. At the first session charges were increased to thirty-one but of these it was necessary to leave twenty to be supplied.—*Ibid.*, Fall, 1883, p. 274; *ibid.*, 1884, p. 314.

‡ The North Dakota Conference had at its organization in 1886 thirty Local Preachers, 2,341 full members, thirty-one churches, and seventy-one Sunday schools with 2,876 pupils.—*Ibid.*, 1886, p. 480.

BLACK HILLS MISSION

Public attention was first prominently directed to the Black Hills when in 1874 General George A. Custer led an exploring expedition into the region which resulted in the discovery of gold. Settlers immediately flocked into the country in large numbers. In 1876 the Sioux Indians were induced to cede title to the Black Hills lands. In the General Conference of that year E. H. Rogers of Nebraska offered a resolution calling upon the Committee on Boundaries "to inquire into and report such action as may be necessary to supply the region known as the Black Hills with Methodist preachers," but the Conference failed to act.[196] However, at least one preacher was already busy about the Master's business in the Black Hills country. H. W. Smith, an ordained Methodist minister, attempting to make his way on August 20, 1876, from Deadwood to Crook City to preach, was ambushed and killed by Indians. In 1878 James Williams, at the seventh session of the Northwest Iowa Conference, was appointed to Black Hills and the following year a Black Hills District was organized with Williams as Presiding Elder. At the 1880 General Conference the Black Hills Mission was formed, Williams continuing his supervision as its Superintendent. At its formation the mission had five missionaries; 110 church members, including probationers; one church; and three Sunday schools with 160 pupils.[197] Methodist Societies were formed at Central City in 1878, at Crook City (Whitewood) in 1879; at Lead and at Custer in 1880; and in 1881 at Rapid City.[198]

Concerning the natural wealth and attractiveness of the region the mission Superintendent wrote in 1882:

> A large portion of . . . [the region] is first-grade agricultural land, capable of producing all the cereals in a degree unsurpassed both in quantity and quality. The southwestern portion is hilly; these hills contain a great variety of minerals. Gold, silver, and mica are found in abundance. Large coalfields are here. Salt, gypsum, and petroleum abound. These hills are covered with fine forests, and inclose fertile and well-watered valleys, which are being rapidly occupied by an enterprising and

> industrious population. . . . This mountain air and our famous hot springs make the Black Hills a favorite resort for health and pleasure seekers. Though . . . the nearest railroad is two hundred miles distant, yet thirty thousand people have found their way here, and our prospective railroads will bring to us many thousands more in the near future.[199]

By 1886 charges had increased in number to eleven, and although missionaries' salaries were "very small," every charge was supplied. An extensive church- and parsonage-building program was also under way with both a church and parsonage at each of five centers and churches at four additional places.[200] Need for a school under church auspices led in 1890 to the founding of Black Hills College[*] at Hot Springs but the institution had only an ephemeral existence.

Under the authorization given by the 1888 General Conference for any mission, by a majority vote of its members present and voting, to organize itself into a Mission Conference, the Black Hills Mission on September 1 of that year became a Mission Conference. Although the population of the region failed to increase between then and 1895 the advance of the Church continued,[†] registering growth during the seven years of 126 per cent.[201]

WYOMING MISSION

On Sunday morning, September 20, 1867, W. W. Baldwin of the Colorado Conference held services in the City Hall, Cheyenne, preaching what is believed to have been the first Methodist sermon in Wyoming. Following the services Dr. D. W. Scott, a practicing physician and a Local Preacher, organized a Methodist Society. On October 6 a Sunday school was begun with the doctor as superintendent. Later Scott was also appointed pastor of the Society, services being held in the schoolhouse. In August, 1868, A. Cather of the Philadelphia Conference was appointed Presiding Elder of the Dakota District (Colorado Conference) and pastor at Cheyenne and Laramie. In 1869 the District was renamed Wyoming, two Circuits were added, and Lewis Hartsough was appointed Presiding Elder and pastor at Cheyenne. He immediately established preaching appointments at Laramie, Carbon, Point of Rocks, Rock Springs, Green River, and Bryan.[202] From 1872 to 1876 a part of Wyoming was included in the Rocky Mountain Conference, and from 1877 to 1879 in the Utah Conference with appointments at Evanston, Green River (1874-75; 1878), and Rock Springs (1879). From 1880 to

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[*] Black Hills College, housed in "a fine stone structure," was opened on Sept. 11, 1890, with six members of faculty, John W. Hancher, president, and forty-five students. In addition to campus and buildings an endowment of $50,000. was secured. This promising beginning, however, soon ended in failure.—*Seventieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1888), p. 352; *ibid., 72nd* (1890), p. 280; *ibid., 73rd* (1891), p. 287.

[†] After eight years as a mission and seven years as a Mission Conference the Black Hills had twenty Circuits and Stations with 1,097 full members; eleven Local Preachers; forty-one Sunday schools with 1,957 pupils; twenty churches and nine parsonages. Salaries ranged from $1,200. (Deadwood) as a maximum to a minimum of $225. However, on fourteen of the twenty charges the salary for 1895 was not paid in full, deficiencies ranging from $18. to $247.—*Minutes, Black Hills Mission Conference,* 1895, pp. 15 f., 35, 37.

1887 all Wyoming appointments, with one exception, were in the Colorado Conference. Sun Dance was in the Black Hills Mission (1884-87). Methodist Societies were organized: at Laramie in 1869, in Evanston in 1870 (or 1871), and in Rawlins in 1876.[203]

Not until 1888 was the Wyoming Mission established. In that year the Colorado Conference met at Cheyenne when the mission was set up with D. L. Rader as Superintendent, and eleven appointments listed, four of which were left to be supplied. It had five churches, five parsonages, 329 members, exclusive of probationers, and ten Sunday schools. A year later the Superintendent reported thirteen Circuits and Stations.[204]

When he retired from the superintendency four years later (1892), Rader reported:

> I have traveled on the railroad about 57,300 miles, on stage about 4,750 miles, in private conveyance about 4,725 miles, and on foot about 1,100 miles. I have slept on the ground and have done my own cooking 87 nights, have preached 713 times, delivered 63 free lectures, . . . baptized 117 children and 142 adults, preached at 27 funerals, solemnized 15 marriages, dedicated 5 churches, and raised over $5,000 on preachers' salaries, ...[205]

Growth in the seven years 1888-95 was comparatively slow. Full members increased only to 726 and the number of churches from five to sixteen. Three of the appointments of 1888 no longer appeared on the list but seven that were new had been added. All but two charges had regular pastors. Some of the difficulties in the administration of such a pioneer mission, Superintendent N. A. Chamberlain felt, were not generally known or appreciated by the Church:

> We have lack of practical Methodist leadership and in the number of men and women needed for successful stewardship. Many come to us who are not trained with us. Our members are so few that the greater part of our salaries have been raised by 'suppers' and the kind gifts of others. Charges with twenty members, all poor and struggling with high prices, raise four hundred dollars which would in the East raise but forty dollars. . . . It should be said that our 'laymen' are nearly all women.[206]

MONTANA MISSION

The first regularly appointed Methodist missionary to Montana was the Rev. A. M. Hough, a member of the New York Conference, pastor of the Lexington Avenue Church, New York City. Remarking to Bishop Janes in the early summer of 1864 that his health had failed, Hough was advised by the Bishop to go to Montana as Superintendent of the mission to be established there, adding, "It may save your health and your life." On July 3, 1864, he received his appointment from Bishop Clark. At Atchison, Kansas, the end of his railroad trip, he was joined by E. T. McLaughlin, a probationer of the Nebraska Conference, appointed to be his collaborator. Delayed for two months by an Indian outbreak on the western plains they left Atchison on October 5 on their stagecoach journey of 1,700 miles.

> By advice of the agent of the stage company and other friends, we armed ourselves with some weapons not mentioned in the gospel panoply which Paul recommended Christians to put on. We must have looked like a traveling arsenal as we moved out of Atchison, with guns bristling from the doors and windows of the coach, and a revolver strapped to each man, besides two fully-equipped United States soldiers on the top. But by the good providence of God we were not attacked, ...

Traveling via Salt Lake City the party reached Virginia City (Alder Gulch), Montana, on October 23, 1864.[207]

Local Preachers and other God-fearing laymen had been busy declaring the Gospel tidings in the Montana country for some months in advance of the missionaries' arrival. Several Methodists had organized themselves into a Class in Virginia City in the winter of 1863-64 under the leadership of William Florkey. "About the first of June, 1864," William James, an ordained Local Preacher, and three other Methodist laymen "came to Alder Gulch from Boise City, Idaho," at once "built a small church in Junction City," and maintained "regular preaching and Sabbath school." Hugh Duncan, engaged in mining operations near Junction, the first Methodist preacher to sink permanent roots into Montana soil, preached for the first time in Junction in July, 1864. There were also Methodist services held in Bannack in January, 1864.[208]

On January 1, 1865, Hough wrote to the Missionary Society:

> Our religious prospects are far better than I dared hope before I left the East . . . . We dedicated . . . [a] church in Montana Territory on November 6 [1864]. In a few weeks we found it too small to furnish even standing room for all who sought entrance, so we have taken out one end of the building, and are putting on twenty-five feet addition. . . . We now number about ninety members.[209]

By the spring of 1865 Hough saw his field of labor in a different perspective. In the beginning of the year "at least two-thirds of the people" of Montana Territory resided in and about Virginia City. By April 15 not one-third remained. "The report of new and rich [gold] discoveries came, and a stampede commenced and has not stopped yet." Two years before, Bannack had "from five thousand to eight thousand inhabitants; now it does not number two hundred persons." Just as in California and Nevada, swift changes in the mining communities interfered with permanent Church growth.[210]

The Superintendent also had difficulty in finding men who were content to stay with the missionary task in Montana. McLaughlin, who had been at Diamond City, returned to the East and on January 1, 1867, Hough reported that the missionary who succeeded McLaughlin had "left the work," leaving him entirely alone. Not even Virginia City or Helena, the two most promising charges, had a pastor. He had organized a Society of eleven members at Bozeman in Gallatin Valley, "the garden of Montana," where a church had been built by W. W. Alderson, a Local Preacher, but as yet no Conference member was available for the charge. George Comfort arrived in Virginia City in April, 1868, but about the same time A. M. Hough himself, because of his wife's ill health, "felt obliged to resign and remove to Southern California," leaving Comfort as the only Traveling Preacher. During 1868 and part of 1869 he labored alone save for limited aid from Local Preachers, and was successful in completing churches at Helena and at Bozeman. In July, 1869, S. G. Lathrop of the Rock River Conference having been appointed Superintendent of the mission, Comfort was designated "missionary-at-large." He held services at intervals for five months in Beaverhead Valley, Bannack, and Sheridan, and then returned to New York. Lathrop's tenure also was brief. In the fall of 1871 he went back to Illinois. Meanwhile J. A. Van Anda of the Nebraska Conference and T. C. Iliff[*] of the Ohio Conference had arrived in Montana as missionaries, the former in the spring of 1870, the latter one year later. In the summer of 1872 Iliff built a church in Missoula, hauling the lumber for it himself.[211]

With such a migratory population and a sporadic ministry it is easily understood why the Methodist Societies had a precarious existence and registered an extremely slow growth. At the first session of the Rocky Mountain Conference[†] in August, 1872, the Montana Mission reported three ministerial members and one Local Preacher; ninety-five full members; one church completed and three in process of construction; and five Sunday schools, with 275 pupils. The one District (Helena) listed seven appointments, all Circuits, of which three were left to be supplied.[212]

Despite the tragic lack of personnel the 1876 General Conference passed an enabling act permitting the Rocky Mountain Conference to divide into two bodies. Action was promptly taken and on August 2-5, 1877, the Montana Conference[‡] met in its first session at Bozeman. For four years the little band of six or seven men struggled to maintain their Conference organization but the attempt was hopeless. When the 1880 General Conference met the Committee on Missions recommended that the Conference be reduced to the status of a mission. The recommendation was adopted, the Montana Mission to include so much of Montana as was included in the Montana Conference, excepting "a small portion of the south-east corner, more easily reached from the Black Hills Mission." [213]

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[*] T. C. Iliff: "I joined the Ohio Conference in October, 1870, and five months later was appointed missionary to Montana by Bishop Clark. In company with the best girl Ohio ever gave to a Methodist preacher, I . . . [arrived] at Corinne [Utah], April, 1871. After five days' and four nights' travel by overland stage, we arrived at Helena, Montana, . . . April 15, 1871."—In *Minutes of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Utah Mission* . . . 1895, p. 16.

[†] See page 245, first note.

[‡] The Montana Conference at its organizing session consisted of four men, of whom two were Presiding Elders. On the Helena District ten appointments were listed, of which seven were left "to be supplied"; of the eight appointments on the Butte District, all except one, to which the Presiding Elder was assigned, were left unfilled.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1877, p. 80.

The turn of the decade was a decisive period in Montana history. During the seventies the placer mining excitement of earlier years had died down; the gold miners and adventurers had moved on to other fields; and the warring Indian tribes had been reduced to submission. Farming settlements were few and small, ranching on a large scale had not been developed, and there was little immigration into the country. At the 1879 Conference only four preachers and one layman were present. But in the early eighties the scene rapidly changed. In his report for 1883 Superintendent F. A. Riggin could scarcely restrain his enthusiasm:

> The growth of Montana during the past year has been marvelous. The Northern Pacific Railroad . . . has just completed its road, ... It has also constructed two branch lines in Montana, and contemplates the construction of others next season. The Union Pacific Railroad has run its branch into the southern border of Butte, and down the Deer Lodge, and intends to traverse other rich valleys of our mountain land. . . . Towns from 500 to 2,500 inhabitants have sprung up and demanded immediate attention.

Three years later Riggin was still more enthusiastic:

> I am traveling incessantly . . . and yet such changes are taking place in the outgrowth of various localities that the grandest conceptions I have been able to form of their development have been transcended time and again. During my short experience in this region the population has sextupled. Cities that were small collections of unimportant log-cabins and temporary structures, with a few score or hundred of inhabitants, have grown to 10,000 and 20,000 . . . .[214]

So great was the change that the 1884 General Conference enacted legislation permitting the Montana Mission again to organize as an Annual Conference. Advantage was not taken of this legislation until 1887 when on August 17-22 the Montana Annual Conference was reorganized with twenty-nine men on the Conference roll. Twenty-seven preachers were appointed to the thirty-seven Circuits and Stations of the three Districts, with eleven left to be supplied. An influential factor in the growth of Methodism during this period was the strengthening of the missionary personnel. From the seven men of 1880 the mission increased to twenty-five in 1886. The missionary tenure also increased in length. In this latter year F. A. Riggin was able to say that he had a record of fourteen years' missionary service in Montana. By 1895 church members,* not including probationers, numbered 1,891.[215]

By authorization of the 1892 General Conference the North Montana

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* In 1895 the Montana Conference had forty-three churches but many of the Societies were small, some with fewer than forty members. Sunday schools numbered 67, with 4,077 pupils.—*Minutes Montana Conference,* 1895, pp. 59 f.

Mission was organized on October 8, 1892, W. W. Van Orsdel,* Superintendent. On July 1, 1872, he had arrived at Fort Benton on the Missouri River steamboat, The Far West, impressed with the conviction that "God had work for him to do in . . . Montana." He soon began to make his influence felt. With no other commission than his sense of a divine call he began to preach wherever he could find an open door, whether it was a miner's cabin, a town bar, or a city church. He attended the Annual Conference of 1876 as a Local Preacher; and in the same year was elected to General Conference as a lay delegate. Largely as a result of his aggressive evangelistic effort, by 1892 thirteen appointments had been established in northern Montana. In 1894 Van Orsdel wrote to the Missionary Society:

> Two churches have been built, one at Glasgow, the other at Chinook. The church at Havre has been completed, and an addition built to the church at Great Falls; a new parsonage has been built at Havre . . . . Over six thousand dollars have been raised and expended on churches and parsonages this year.[216]

In 1895 the mission reported 560 members in full connection, fifteen churches, and thirty-two Sunday schools. Van Orsdel's program is described in his report for the year:

> The work has made it necessary to travel fifteen thousand miles in the bounds of the Mission, with an average of one service for each day in the year. Three new churches have been built . . . . Two new parsonages have been built . . . . Ten thousand dollars has been raised and paid on new churches and parsonages, old indebtedness, and improvements. . . . Special revival meetings have been held in nearly all the charges, and some bright converts won for the Master. . . . We believe in, and have class meetings. 'A real, earnest Christianity along Methodist lines' is our watchword.[217]

NEVADA MISSION

During its first year as United States territory Nevada was a part of California, called "the Washoe Country." In September, 1850, most of the area was incorporated in the newly organized Utah Territory. In March, 1861, the mineral wealth of the Washoe country having become known, Congress created the Nevada Territory and three years later (March, 1864) passed an enabling act authorizing the establishment of a state government. On October 31, 1864, Nevada was declared a state. The first settlement in the Washoe country was made in the Carson River Valley in 1849 but immigration in the area was slow and the census of 1860 registered a population of only 6,857.

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* William W. Van Orsdel (1841-1919) was born at Hunterstown, Pa. He was admitted on trial in the Nebraska Conference in 1883 and appointed missionary to Montana. In 1887 he was transferred to the Montana Conference and appointed to Benton and Great Falls. In 1890 he was made Presiding Elder of the Great Falls District. Six times he represented his Conference in the General Conference. "He was one of the most loved of men, and he was a minister in whom not only those of his own faith, but of all church beliefs had the most implicit confidence."—*Christian Advocate,* XCIV (1919), 49 (Dec. 25), 1540 f., 1554; *Minutes, North Montana Conference,* 1920, pp. 60 f.

Jesse L. Bennett, a Local Preacher, known as the Father of Nevada Methodism, "held religious services in the Carson Valley at Genoa and Eagle Ranch," in 1859. He "preached the first sermon heard in Virginia City," at a street service, in 1860. Also in 1859 A. L. S. Bateman "was sent to Carson Valley" by the California Conference. Abortive attempts had been made earlier, in 1855 Carson Valley having been listed in the *Minutes* but "left to be supplied," and in 1857 Ira P. Hale, assigned to the appointment, had apparently failed to reach the field. In 1861, however, he was preaching at Esmeralda and Mono. No Nevada appointment was recorded for 1858. Again in 1860 the Carson Valley Circuit and Walker's River were designated "to be supplied." But finally in 1861 the Nevada Territory District was formed with N. R. Peck as Presiding Elder and from then on the work was continuous. In that year ten appointments were listed but preachers were available for only five. In 1863 Nevada was recorded in the *Minutes* of the California Conference as the Washoe District, with Adam Bland as Presiding Elder. Of the fifteen appointments only seven received pastors. This was a fruitful year with churches begun, "others completed, and the general work extended." [218]

The 1864 General Conference in response to a memorial from the California Conference passed an enabling act authorizing the organization of the Nevada Annual Conference.* The Conference was organized at the 1864 session of the California Conference in San Francisco, September 21-October 2.

For twenty years Nevada maintained its status as an Annual Conference and then in 1884, by General Conference authorization, resolved "itself into a Mission." At no time during the two decades did it have more than twenty-eight charges.[219]

During the entire period the state had a floating population, which reached its maximum of 62,266 in 1880. Ten years later it had 16,465 fewer people than at the beginning of the decade. It had only three towns of considerable size: Reno, Virginia City, and Carson City. About one in four of the population was foreign born, mostly English, Irish, German, Italian, and Chinese in approximately equal proportion; and about one in eight, Indian.

Of the several denominations the Methodist Episcopal Church was much the strongest, having more churches than all the others (including the Roman Catholic). In the six years 1889-95 the Methodists "built six new churches," and had "the seventh under headway." [220] The long distances between stations made the task of the Superintendents difficult, and intensive supervision impossible. In his annual report for 1890 E. W. Van Deventer stated:

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* The Nevada Conference, when organized, included within its area "all of Nevada and Utah Territories and that part of New Mexico west of the Rocky Mountains." (*G. C. Journal*, 1864, p. 220.) It had two Districts, the Washoe and the Humboldt. At its first session, held at Virginia City, Sept. 7, 1865, the Conference reported 267 full members on thirteen charges; 17 Sunday schools with 803 pupils; 11 Local Preachers; and 4 churches. With seventeen charges listed, nine preachers in addition to the two Presiding Elders were appointed; eight charges left to be supplied. (*Gen'l Minutes*, 1865, pp. 246 f.) In 1872 the Nevada Conference boundaries were changed to include only Nevada and the portion of California "east of the west summit of the Sierra Nevada Mountains." (*G. C. Journal*, 1872, p. 422.) However, for a brief period in 1872, the "Palisades Circuit Missions" in Nevada were included in the Utah Mission but in August, 1872, were transferred to the Nevada Conference. (*Minutes, Rocky Mountain Conference*, 1872, p. 15.) No further change was made in boundaries of the Conference or of the Nevada Mission up to 1896.

> I have traveled by railway 5,410 miles; with my own conveyance and by stage, 2,400; in all, 7,810 miles. This traveling has been done in a variety of ways—in the buggy, on the cars, on foot with my knapsack on my back, on snow-plows, snow-shoes, flangers, tram-ways, bob-sleds—the bobbing of which passes description—on the stage—sometimes the stage on me; in either case the fare paid was all the same. Journeys were made through rain-storms and snow-storms. I spent one night, with my wife in the buggy, by the side of a lake, while the rain poured down in torrents all night long, going thirty-six hours without anything warm either to eat or drink. From all these things the Lord delivered me without so much as a scratch upon my person.[221]

The work in Nevada was begun as a pioneer enterprise and it was still such at the close of the period. Many of the preaching appointments in 1895 were in mining camps "and wayside inns, in private dwellings as well as in schoolhouses, halls and churches." The Societies were few in number,* with small membership, and deficient in local leadership. In his report for 1892 the Superintendent paid high tribute to his colaborers, declaring that no "more efficient, heroic, and self-sacrificing band . . . ever toiled in a mission field, either home or foreign, . . . [standing fast] at their posts of duty with an unswerving fidelity for Christianity . . . ." [222]

INDIAN MISSION

By action of the 1880 General Conference the organization of the Indian Mission, "to include the Indian Territory," was authorized. Its area was indefinite since the so-called "Indian Territory" was never an organized United States territory nor until 1889 were its geographical limits definitely defined. The Missionary Secretaries stated that it did not differ from other Indian missions except that it would be "administered as a foreign mission," and not by an Annual Conference. It began in a small way on an appropriation of $500. The Superintendent, J. M. Iliff, reported in 1882 to the Board:

> The Indian Mission, while being reported as a separate work, is not so in fact. The appropriation for its support has been insufficient to sustain it independent of other work; and, while a missionary was kept in the field for a part of the year 1881 . . . I have failed to find a supply for the ground occupied last year, . . . and have supplied only the Wyandotte Mission, by connecting it with Baxter Springs, Kansas charge. There have been in this mission during the year thus far 8 conversions, an increase of 3 members and 6 probationers, and a good degree of spirituality.[223]

The next year the Superintendent further stated that parts of two Circuits of the South Kansas Conference in the northwestern corner of the Cherokee Nation, inhabited almost exclusively by freedmen,* had been cut off from Kansas and left to be supplied by the Indian mission. Iliff found supplies and organized three charges—"Snow Creek Charge, in the Verdigris country, with four appointments," the "Island Ford Charge, in the Grand River country," with three appointments, and Pryor's Creek charge in the southwest part of the Cherokee Nation,† with two preaching places.[224]

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* In 1895 the Nevada Mission had one District, with 23 Circuits and Stations, 17 missionaries, 979 full members, 30 churches, and 40 Sunday schools with 2,336 pupils.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1895, pp. 401, 597.

Two years later (1885) the mission was said to be "fairly successful." Six charges were listed with nineteen appointments, of which one was the Osage Agency. The work was sorely hindered by the bitter jealousy and antagonism existing between former northern and southern soldiers. The population of the territory, however, was rapidly increasing both in the unoccupied central region designated by the Indians Oklahoma ("the beautiful land") and in the eastern region occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes. Three railways by 1887 had built lines through the territory and numerous new railroad towns had been established. The mission Superintendent declared that it was his policy to secure property and at once organize a Methodist Society in each town.[225]

On March 21, 1889, the mission was organized as the Indian Mission Conference,‡ with five "full members and two probationers." At the first session nineteen appointments were listed, of which fourteen were "to be supplied." Its area embraced the entire Indian Territory.[226]

By virtue of authority of the 1892 General Conference the Indian Mission Conference was reorganized as the Oklahoma§ Annual Conference on December 14-19, 1892. At the close of its first year, with four Districts, the Conference reported eighty-eight appointments, 4,462 full members, and fifty-eight churches. This remarkable growth is accounted for by the great influx of settlers which followed the opening of the Oklahoma district to settlement in April, 1889.[227]

Foreign Language Missions

No existing situation in America or abroad presented a greater challenge to Methodism during this half century than the immense flood of foreign immigrants. In 1852 in their Pastoral Address the Bishops said: "The largest expenditures for home missions . . . [are among the immigrants] who with a tide that has never yet ebbed, are flowing by thousands to our shores." [228]

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* According to Iliff an area of three hundred square miles in the northwestern part of the Cherokee Nation was inhabited "almost exclusively by freedmen." Near the center of the nation there was also a large colony, and scattered smaller settlements, with an estimated population of 2,400. "These freedmen have the right of occupancy, but have not been recognized as citizens by the nation . . . . They are industrious and are making good farms and raising stock, and are more prosperous than their Indian neighbors; with a few years more of prosperity they will be able to sustain their own institutions—the church and school."—J. M. Iliff, in *Sixty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1883), p. 222.

† In addition to the Methodist Episcopal mission, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Southern Baptists, and the Friends were "working with some success with the Cherokees."—*Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), p. 269.

‡ When organized the Indian Mission Conference reported 504 full members, seven churches, and nineteen Sunday schools.—*Gen'l Minutes*, 1889, p. 227.

§ Laurence F. Schmeckebier: "In 1890 the western part of the old Indian Territory became the organized Territory of Oklahoma, the eastern part of the country of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Quapaw Agency remaining an unorganized area, although still retaining the name Indian Territory.

In 1835 William Nast had been appointed "German missionary" to inaugurate a program of German language missions in the Ohio Conference. Three years later at the New York Conference Charles H. Williamson received appointment as "missionary to the French population in the city of New York." These appointments marked the beginning of a comprehensive program of foreign language missions in American Methodism.* These also were Conference missions, maintained as a religious ministry to immigrants and children of immigrants who continued to use their native languages and those who, even after they had learned to speak English, much preferred religious services in their native tongues. They were an expression on the part of the Protestant Churches of a friendly, neighborly spirit toward foreigners in contrast to the latent deeply rooted prejudice against immigrants, particularly those who continued to use their native language.† This intense and unreasonable antagonism greatly increased the difficulty of maintenance of foreign language missions. Nevertheless, the Missionary Society steadily expanded its program, so that in 1883 it was able to say that Methodism was exercising a religious ministry among immigrants of almost every nationality—Welsh, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, German, French, Portuguese, Chinese, and others. "At no portion of the Church's history," the *Report* declared, "has there been more heroic work done than is now being done." [229]

MISSIONS TO THE FRENCH

Despite the futility of earlier attempts to maintain effective missions among the French, in July, 1851, John B. Cocagne of the Black River Conference, French by descent, was transferred to New York City to revive the earlier work begun by C. H. Williamson. He won a few adherents but not a sufficient number to insure the establishment of a permanent Society. Some members of the French Class affiliated with the Duane Street Church; the remainder with other English-speaking churches, and the mission was suspended.[230]

In Detroit in 1851 several French people became interested in Protestantism and desired to hear the Gospel preached in their own language. In May a mission was established, with Thomas Carter of New York City in charge. Sunday afternoon services were held in the Second Methodist Episcopal

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In 1907 Indian Territory and the Territory of Oklahoma were combined to form the State of Oklahoma."—*The Office of Indian Affairs; Its History, Activities and Organization,* p.91.

* See Vol. I, 271 ff.

† Beginning in 1852 the General Missionary Committee and the Missionary Society made separate appropriations to the several foreign language groups. (*Thirty-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1852-53], p. 16.) Of some appropriations, such as that made to the New England Conference in 1881 for French work in Springfield, Mass., no account is given in the published reports of the Missionary Society.

Church. A Society was organized and within a brief time twenty-four persons were enrolled. In May, 1852, the *Christian Advocate* announced that the French were "to build this fall [in Detroit] the first French Methodist Church in the United States." In April, 1853, the basement auditorium and adjoining Sunday-school classrooms were occupied. Attendance at the week night and Sunday services at times crowded the room. Within five years of Carter's ministry a church edifice and parsonage were erected and a large Sunday school maintained, but he did not succeed in building up a stable Society. When in 1856 he left for Buenos Aires the church had in its membership only thirty-four persons, of whom more than half were probationers. John B. Cocagne followed him as pastor. Unfortunately, soon after, he lost his life at sea en route to France and the mission came to an untimely end.[231]

Other French missions were established in various parts of the country. Much of the work, however, was sporadic and failed to produce tangible or permanent results. The immense immigration of French Canadians into New England in the eighties* presented a unique opportunity but at no time was the missionary effort commensurate with the need. Missions were begun in the New England Southern Conference in Fall River, New Bedford District; in the Norwich District, and the Providence District; and at various points in the New England and the New Hampshire Conferences. The uncertain development of the work is seen in such typical statements as that of E. Tirrell, Presiding Elder of the Norwich District: the French work has not been a success; "the lack of means, and, chiefly, the lack of efficient leadership have operated against the work"; and that of S. O. Benton of the Providence District: the "migratory habits of our French population, coupled with the fact that converts from Romanism are forced to change residence in some instances because of persecution, prevents the building up of societies, and renders it difficult to estimate how much of success really is achieved." The French mission at Woonsocket, Rhode Island, the membership of which was composed exclusively of converts from French Canadian Roman Catholicism, was the largest of any French Canadian Methodist Society. Work among the French in the Troy Conference was begun in 1856, but no permanent Society was organized. By 1887 it was estimated that the French-speaking population within the bounds of the Conference numbered almost 50,000 yet only desultory missionary work was carried on.[232]

For several years a French mission was maintained in the Central Illinois Conference with only meager success.† In 1885 the mission in New Orleans, the earliest foreign language undertaking of the Missionary Society (1820-21),* was revived by an appropriation of $500. In February, 1886, work commenced. Pacifique J. Robidoux was transferred in 1887 from the Central Illinois Conference, and was assisted in 1889 by Bruno Boetzinger, French-speaking pastor of First German Methodist Church, and several others. During 1889 they held ten services each week, with an average attendance of thirty at the indoor services and seventy-five at those held outdoors.

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* See p. 4.

† The mission had four preaching places, Kankakee, Papineau, and Frenchtown, Ill., and Brazil, Ind. In 1887 fifty members in full connection and sixteen probationers were reported. The missionary appropriation in 1888 was $1,400. By 1890 most of the congregation having removed "to Chicago and elsewhere," the Missionary Society recommended that the mission "be operated from Chicago and by the Rock River Conference." (*Seventy-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1890], p. 341.) In 1894 the Society in Brazil, Ind., had thirty-four members. In the same year the mission in Chicago reported twenty-eight members.—*Ibid., 76th* (1894), pp. 355, 356.

> They raised some $200. and purchased a 'voiture biblique' or gospel wagon for outdoor preaching. Attached to it is a beautiful little sorrel horse, a genuine 'gospel horse,' who ought also to be classed as a Methodist, since he belongs to the traveling connection.' [233]

In 1888-89 "a beautiful little chapel in the St. Bernard district of New Orleans" was purchased and furnished. In 1890 services were held in two chapels—the Congo Square and the Nashua Chapel—and well-attended Sunday schools conducted in both. At the close of the period the Missionary Society was still convinced that southwest Louisiana and southeast Texas† with more calls from both French- and English-speaking people than could be responded to, comprised an inviting field for missionary labor.[234]

Very few of the numerous efforts met with enduring success as French language missions, although in 1895 appropriations were still made to Central Illinois, Louisiana, New Hampshire, and Troy Conferences to a total of $3,200. The policy of the Missionary Society was to encourage the French converts to ally themselves with English-speaking churches as rapidly as they acquired facility in the use of the language. This policy, together with the desire of the converts to gain for their children and themselves the social and economic advantage of fellowship with a large body of American people, was a constant drain upon the missions. Those who could speak only French found great difficulty in finding satisfactory employment and consequently did not remain long in any one location. Finally, as J. M. Reid states, a serious dearth existed of "devoted, earnest, cultivated" men, able to speak both French and English, to serve as missionaries. To say, as Reid does, that the missions "gradually faded out of existence" might easily be misconstrued.[235] The seed sown by evangelical missionaries in many instances fell upon good ground and brought forth fruit. Converts of the missions—precisely how many it is impossible to say—united with English-speaking churches. Others who did not do so encouraged their children to attend evangelical Sunday schools and many of these became earnest Christians. Still others who continued a nominal relationship with the Roman Catholic Church had a clearer understanding of the Christian faith and a stronger grasp on the verities of the Gospel of Christ.

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* See Vol. I, 208, 212.

† See Gulf Mission, pp. 320 f.

GERMAN MISSIONS

A larger number of missions were organized among the Germans than among any other foreign language group. Within a few years after their beginning under Nast's leadership*—by 1845—missions had been established in the East in the New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Baltimore Annual Conferences, and in the West and Southwest in the Pittsburgh Conference (in Pennsylvania and West Virginia), and in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Alabama, and Mississippi. Five years later (1850) the number of missions had increased to ninety, missionaries to 108. By 1870 the German Methodist Societies numbered 457 with 26,185 members. So rapid was the development that all scepticism regarding their value was dissipated and those who had opposed their beginning became ardent advocates.[236] In 1847 the editor of the *Christian Advocate* wrote:

> for our own part, we cannot help thinking the German mission is now . . . the most important interest of the Church. . . . Verily we know of no foreign field which can compare with the domestic German mission, as it regards the prospects of good.[237]

The action of the General Conference of 1844 grouping the German Societies into three German language Districts foreshadowed the organization of German Annual Conferences.† The fact that the German missions were very widely scattered and the further consideration that the measure was not unanimously favored by the German preachers themselves—at the 1852 General Conference one whole German District in Ohio being opposed—delayed the necessary enabling legislation. When the General Conference of 1864 met action could not longer be delayed.[238] On recommendation of its Committee on German Work the Conference authorized the organization of three Annual Conferences—the Central, the Southwest, and the Northwest—and gave authority to the New York Conference under its presiding Bishop to form its German work into an Annual Conference. The three were soon organized but the fourth, the East German Conference, was not formed until April 11, 1866.‡ The 1872 General Conference authorized the division of the

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* See Vol. I, 274 ff.

† Conviction steadily grew in the Church that the masses of German immigrants could be effectually reached religiously only through the medium of the German language. The Committee on the State of the Church reported to the 1868 General Conference: "For, aside from the exertions which Roman Catholicism and the Protestant bodies springing from the State Church of the Fatherland are making to maintain the German language . . . , and aside from the same exertions put forth by the vast number of German organizations, . . . the German press exerts an influence that the American public have no proper conception of. . . . So great is the influence of this German element, that the German language is taught in the public schools of several States of the Union, and the public documents are constantly published in German by State authority, ..."—*G. C. Journal,* 1868, Appendix, pp. 568 f.

‡ The Central German Conference, the first to be formed, was organized in Cincinnati, Ohio, on Aug. 24, 1864, with seventy-seven preachers as charter members. On Sept. 7, 1864, the Northwest German Conference was organized in Galena, Ill., with sixty-three members. The organizing session of the Southwest German Conference met in the Washington Street Church, St. Louis, on Sept. 29, 1864. It incorporated in its membership five German Districts, with seventy ministers, from nine English-speaking Conferences. The East German Conference was the smallest of the four, having

Northwest Conference and on September 19 the Chicago German Conference was organized.[239]

The Southern German Conference was organized in Industry, Texas, on January 15, 1874. A Methodist Class in New Orleans in the winter of 1840-41 marked the beginning of German Methodist missionary activity in Louisiana and Texas. Need for a vigorous program was created by increased German immigration between 1845 and 1850 but association of missionaries from the North with Negroes created general hostility toward these leaders of the German settlers. Numerous complications developed, as vividly narrated by Paul F. Douglass in *The Story of German Methodism*, but despite difficulties and dangers that would have daunted any but men of strong hearts and rugged faith thirteen preachers proceeded to form an Annual Conference.[240]

An enabling act was passed by the General Conference of 1876 authorizing the division of the Southwest German Conference. This was accomplished by the organization of the St. Louis German Conference on September 3, 1879, with eighty-one members, and the formation of the West German Conference a few days later by thirty-seven preachers. Of all the German Conferences the latter was one of the slowest to increase in membership. It had an almost boundless area, including the states of Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado, and parts of Missouri and Iowa, in which the German population was in widely separated settlements. Under these conditions growth of the churches was understandably slow, but by 1895 churches had increased to 117 in number, and members to 6,104.[241]

In the early eighties there was an immense influx of German immigrants into the Northwest, most of whom settled in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota—probably a larger proportion in Wisconsin than in any other region. By 1884 the area within which German churches had been planted had become so vast that the establishment of another Conference was clearly necessary. The Northern German Conference authorized by the General Conference of 1884* held its first session in Minneapolis on October 12, 1887. Eight years after organization it had ninety-two churches and 4,976 members.[242]

As early as 1855, a Methodist missionary, Augustus Kellner, appointed by Bishop Osmon C. Baker, had begun to preach to the Germans in San Francisco. The following year missions were begun in Stockton and Sacramento. Progress was slow, but in 1874 a German District was formed, G. H. Bollinger, Presiding Elder, with seven appointments in California and one—Portland—in Oregon. Full members numbered only 214. Not until 1880

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only twenty-eight charter members. (Paul F. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism* . . . , pp. 80 f.) The Chicago German Conference, set off from the Northwest Conference, with fifty members, comprised the Societies in Wisconsin, northeastern Illinois, and parts of Indiana.—*G. C. Journal,* 1872, pp. 345, 419; *Discipline,* 1872, pp. 217 f.; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1864, pp. 158 f., 228 f., 141 f., *ibid.,* 1866, p. 116, *ibid.,* 1872, p. 55.

* Creation of the Northern German Conference was made possible by the division of the Northwest German Conference, the latter retaining its former name.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1887, pp. 319 f., 301 f.; *G. C. Journal,* 1884, p. 415.

were the California missions accorded recognition by General Conference and then merely by the obvious statement that the "German work on the Pacific coast shall be connected with the Conferences within whose bounds the respective charges . . . [are] situated." In 1891, in accordance with the authorization of the 1888 General Conference, the California German Conference was organized. The Conference was never large, reaching its maximum number of Societies, nineteen, in 1898.

In 1879 Frederick Bonn was appointed to the Portland Mission. Beginning about this time emigration to the north Pacific coast rapidly increased, and a number of Methodist Societies were formed, which were linked together in 1883 in a German District of the Oregon Conference. In 1888 the North Pacific German Mission was organized, George Hartung, Superintendent, with fourteen appointments. In 1893 he reported five missions in Oregon, ten in Washington and one in Montana, including in all seventeen missionaries, thirty-five preaching places, twenty churches, and 728 members.[243]

With the organization of the California German Conference (1891) the Methodist Episcopal Church had in the United States nine German language Conferences.* Many years before (1868) the General Conference had declared that the separate German language work had already fully justified itself:

> By it the German Preachers were not, as was feared by some, estranged from the Church, but more fully engrafted into it . . . . Formed into Conferences our German Preachers have come nearer not only to their German countrymen, but also to their English speaking brethren and fellow-citizens, ...[244]

The saga of early American Methodism was repeated in the experience and labors of the German missionaries. For them conversion involved struggle and deep searching of heart and the resulting experience was profound. Many of them came to the United States as Roman Catholics and transition to the evangelical faith and life was not easy. They entered the ministry with a burning zeal for the conversion of their fellow countrymen which put "in motion all the machinery of the mission." The editor of the *Christian Advocate* on a trip to the Central West in 1847 had opportunity to meet and converse with many of the German preachers, particularly at the Ohio Conference. He found most of them to be recent converts, truly evangelical in doctrine and experience. He wrote:

> The general characteristics of the preachers of whom we speak, are distinctly of the primitive Methodist cast. There is an apparent self-conviction of the truth, both in regard to doctrines and experience, which they preach . . . . Hence there is a general singleness and earnestness of purpose to save souls by the preaching of

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* With the reorganization of the North Pacific German Mission Conference, in September, 1905, as the Pacific Annual Conference, German language Methodism in the United States completed its organizational growth.

> the Gospel—the whole counsel of God. And this oneness of purpose, and earnestness of heart, is the great secret of their success.[245]

"We have now," Adam Miller stated, "in connection with the Ohio Conference *forty-three* German missionaries, who indeed appear to be men of one heart and one mind; whose whole aim appears to be a constant effort to bring their countrymen to a knowledge of the truth."

Many of the German Districts and Circuits embraced large areas requiring extensive travel. The Pittsburgh German Mission District in 1845-46, for example, extended from Cleveland, Ohio, south to Maysville, Kentucky, and the Presiding Elder, C. H. Doering, traveled about twelve hundred miles on each quarterly round of the missions.[246] As the English-speaking Circuit Riders of an earlier generation had done, the German missionaries preached wherever they found an open door. At Monroe, Michigan, Peter Schmucker, Presiding Elder, located "an old Presbyterian Church" and succeeded in renting it for the Conference year for $30. The preacher at Detroit procured at "a reasonable rent" a "good school-house to preach in." [247] Appointed to the Second German Mission in New York City in the spring of 1847, John J. Grau began his work by holding "prayer meetings and class meetings in private houses, after the old Methodist style." In the beginning, for want of a better preaching place, he convened his hearers "under a miserable shed in the burying ground in Forty-fourth street." Within the first year a board of trustees was elected and a house on Thirty-sixth Street purchased "at a reasonable price." [248]

This last instance illustrates the enterprise of the German converts in providing places of worship. Many of them were poor but they were thrifty and industrious and contributed with exceptional generosity for the purchase or building of houses of worship. With or without Missionary Society aid no German Society was long without a church edifice. The Captina Mission Circuit, Pittsburgh District, in 1844-45 reported a membership of 150, many of whom were from Switzerland. Although "generally poor, and unable to give much money" they managed to build three neat log-house churches, one of which, named Bethel, they "located on the highest hill they could find." [249] A correspondent of the *Christian Advocate* writing in 1855 from the Quincy District, Illinois Conference, after stating that more than three hundred persons had been received on probation, continued:

> While we have a large increase of membership we are building four new churches; have finished two that had been commenced last year, and bought one, of our American brethren, at West Point, Iowa. Three of these churches are good frame buildings, three brick, and one stone, and, with the exception of two, they are nearly all paid for.[250]

Within thirty-five years from the beginning of Methodist German missions more than five hundred churches had been built and almost two hundred and fifty parsonages. By 1895 the German Annual and Mission Conferences reported 65,459 full members, of whom 9,340 were in Europe.

What had been done in the building of churches was matched by the founding and development of other religious, educational, and philanthropic institutions. Noteworthy also was the support of missions by German churches and Conferences. In 1868 the General Conference Committee on the State of the Church commented on the fact that missionary contributions per member of the German Societies were fifteen per cent higher than the average for the Church as a whole.[251]

German Methodists were a reading people. When the German Methodist church membership numbered seven thousand the circulation of *Der Christliche Apologete* was four thousand, which indicated that the paper was in practically every German Methodist home. "A religious paper taken at the rate of one to every two members of the Church," declared the Missionary Society, "is a fact nowhere to be found" outside the German missions.[252] The circulation of the Sunday-school periodicals, the *Sonntägschule Glocke* and the *Bibelforscher,* was also phenomenally large.

The pioneers of German Methodism in America, wrote Bishop John L. Nuelsen, "were men of broad German culture, who had enjoyed careful religious training." What they had received from this "training, from German intellectual discipline, from German theology," they built into the churches they founded.

> The historic mission of German Methodism in America was to represent in American . . . Protestantism the best parts of German religious life, the power of intense spirituality, the cultivation of the inner life, in the forms of a sane mysticism, the value of systematic, thoroughgoing religious instruction of the children, [and] the steadying influence of loyalty to the revealed Word of God, ...[253]

SCANDINAVIAN MISSIONS

Scandinavian immigration was distinguished from that of all other European peoples by its overwhelmingly Protestant character. While other immigrant groups were rapidly increasing the Roman Catholic population, those from Scandinavia—Sweden, Norway, and Denmark—were materially strengthening American Protestantism.

Scandinavians were highly desirable as citizens since they had a high degree of literacy, came from countries whose civic traditions, laws, and political institutions are similar to those of America; and invariably migrated with the purpose of becoming American citizens and founding permanent homes.[254] For these reasons immigration from Scandinavian countries was deliberately stimulated by state agencies for regions where increased population was desired. In the decade 1850-60 Illinois and Wisconsin received the largest number of Scandinavian immigrants, with a considerable contingent settling in Iowa. By 1870 Minnesota had moved into first place. Twenty years later (1890) the state "had within her borders 236,670 foreign-born Northmen, and enough of the second generation to make her Scandinavian population 466,365, or about one-fifth that of Denmark or Norway." Immigration into the Dakotas was not considerable until the seventies, the census of 1880 showing 17,869 Scandinavian settlers, and that of 1890 more than 65,000. Beginning about 1880 a larger number of the immigrants were city dwellers. Many of these located in the industrial centers of the East. Some, however, pushed on to the large manufacturing and business cities of the Middle West, particularly Chicago.[255]

Wherever they settled, Scandinavians furnished fertile ground for Methodist missionary tillage. In the beginning of missionary activities among the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes in various sections of the country a common practice was to establish a Scandinavian mission with the idea of grouping the three nationalities together. The mission in New York City was an exception in that while the purpose was to serve all Scandinavians the enterprise was called the "Swedish Mission." In Minnesota the Scandinavian missions at first included Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes but, after a few years, a spirit of jealousy and antagonism developed which seemed to make separate Societies necessary. Chauncey Hobart, who was for many years a pastor and Presiding Elder, describes the situation:

> This divergence and tendency to differ with each other['s] management were especially noticeable among the Swedes and Norwegians. The conference did what seemed wisest and best at the time in endeavoring to consider these often recurring differences as of secondary importance, which could, with abundant brotherly kindness, be kept in subjection if not entirely eradicated. But after a fair and earnest trial, the church was obliged to yield to what appeared to be the inevitable.[256]

Swedish Missions.—Religion played an important role in the emigration from Sweden. As George M. Stephenson writes in his *Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration:*

> It is by no means purely accidental that the confluence of various forms of dissatisfaction with the state church coincided with the beginnings of emigration from Sweden. The rationalism of Voltaire and the pietism of Puritanism and Methodism joined forces in jarring loose the moorings that hitherto had held the individual fast. Dissenters brought persecution, persecution brought indignation, indignation brought agitation, and agitation brought reforms—and also emigration.[257]

Many of the Swedish immigrants arriving in America had a natural affinity for Methodism because of their pietistic background and particularly their association with an evangelical movement which had its beginning in the preaching of George Scott,* an English Methodist preacher and missionary.

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* George Scott was sent to Sweden in 1830 by the Wesleyan Missionary Society primarily to minister to a little colony of English foundry workers in Stockholm. He was not the kind of man who hid his light under a bushel. Within a short time he learned to speak Swedish and began to preach in both English and Swedish. Crowds of people flocked to his services. He was instrumental in founding

Instead of waiting for the Annual Conferences or the Missionary Society to act in establishing missions they proceeded to act on their own initiative. In this particular the Scandinavian missions were unique.

Peter Magnus Johnson arrived in Boston from Sweden on July 2, 1857, and went on to Wisconsin where in March, 1858, he experienced a Methodist conversion. The next year he moved to Kandiyohi, Minnesota. Read in his own words what happened:

> Some people from Sweden lived here and there, but they were as sheep without a shepherd. What was there to do in both the spiritual and temporal poverty? Well, I decided in the name of the Lord to seek them out and worked up three or four preaching places. To the closest I had 13 miles to walk; to the next . . . 6 miles; and to Lake Ripley an additional 8 miles.[258]

John Linn's case was somewhat similar. On October 9, 1849, he arrived at Swede Point, Iowa, and later moved to Swede Bend. As he listened to a Swedish Methodist preacher a new light dawned in his soul and hardly had the preacher sat down than Linn was on his feet with a ringing testimony. The same day he was appointed Class Leader, and later was given oral license as an Exhorter. In 1857 he received license to preach and in 1868 was received on trial in the Central Illinois Conference and soon became Presiding Elder. When he was ordained an elder Linn suggested to the Bishop that he ought first receive him into full membership in the Church. To this the Bishop replied that "it was not exactly the thing to do, to receive a man into full membership in the church, who had already been a presiding elder in a territory that was as big as a kingdom." [259]

One of the few Swedes who had come to America in the eighteen twenties was a youth who, under God, was destined to have a major part in the founding and growth of Methodist Swedish missions. Olof Gustaf Hedström* at twenty-two shipped as a sailor on a vessel bound for South America. It was diverted from its course and in 1825 entered the port of New York where it was sold. In 1829 he experienced conversion and in 1835 he was received on trial in the New York Conference and appointed to the Charlotte Circuit. Peter Bergner, also a Swede and a zealous layman, became concerned for the spiritual welfare of Scandinavian sailors, thousands of whom

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the Swedish Temperance Society, the Swedish Missionary Society, and a widely circulated religious periodical. Following a visit to America he ran into a storm of opposition provoked in large part by printed reports of his American speeches. "He was lampooned in the public Press, spat upon in the streets, driven from his pulpit, and mobbed in his house." In 1842 he was compelled by a Swedish conventical placard, and by instructions from the Wesleyan Society, to return to England, but during the brief period of his stay he had lighted an evangelical fire that continued for decades to burn in the souls of many thousands of Swedish people.—G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,* IV, 424-26; Henry C. Whyman, "The Conflict and Adjustment of Two Religious Cultures—The Swedish and the American . . . ," typewritten ms., pp. 46 f.

* Olof Gustaf Hedström (1803-77) was born in the province of Kronberg, Sweden. Finding himself stranded in New York he had no choice but to remain in the United States. He at first found work in a tailor shop and later conducted a shop of his own in Pittsville, Pa. On June 11, 1829, he married Caroline Pinckney and in the same year, under his wife's influence, he was converted and immediately became active in Christian work. He continued in charge of the Bethel Ship Mission until 1875, when illness compelled him to retire.

visited the New York harbor every year. The services on shipboard which he began soon revealed possibilities and he turned to the Missionary Society for aid. David Terry, then a city missionary, advised Bergner to correspond with Hedström, then pastor of Plattsville Circuit, urging him to establish a Bethel Ship Mission.

Meanwhile the Missionary Society cooperated by enlisting the financial assistance of George T. Cobb, William G. Boggs, and others—most of whom were members of Asbury Church. With their aid the Society purchased an old condemned brig—the Henry Leeds, lying at Pier No. 11, North River—remodeled it as a meeting place, created a board of trustees to hold the property, and rechristened the ship "John Wesley." J. M. Reid tells the remainder of the story:

> The New York Conference convened in the Forsyth street Church, in the city of New York, on the 11th of May, 1845. Pastor Hedström, still uncommitted to this work, came to attend the conference. He was ascending the steps of the church when Rev. David Terry, who had been the chief promoter of the enterprise, lying in wait for him, seized him and guided him to the house of Peter Bergner . . . . The Pastor and Bergner exchanged a few words in their native tongue, and wept together. Then all knelt down, and prayed. . . . When they arose the doubts of Mr. Hedström were gone, and he at once said, 'I think it is of the Lord, and if the conference appoint me I will come.' . . . .
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> . . . at the close of the conference, among the first appointments read was, 'North River Mission, O. G. Hedström,' the Missionary Board having, in the meantime, made provision for the support of the missionary.[260]

The first sermon in the Bethel Ship was preached on May 25, 1845, to a congregation of more than fifty persons. A Methodist Society was organized which within a few months had a membership of forty-five of whom twenty-three were seamen and six others were either wives or mothers of seamen. The Sunday school at the same time had an enrollment of seventy-eight pupils. Hedström's custom was to meet all incoming ships from Scandinavian countries, distribute Bibles, sermons, and tracts, and invite the immigrants to visit the Bethel Ship. At the close of his first year Hedström wrote that the ship had been "a temporary asylum to several . . . families, who . . . [had] arrived . . . in destitute circumstances. Your missionary has frequently had the happiness of feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the widow and the fatherless, taking in the stranger, and in some instances it has been his privilege to 'entertain angels.' "[261]

Peter Bergner was an effective helper and for the last twelve years of his life worked among the immigrants as a Bible colporteur. When it was found that there were many Germans living in the vicinity of the Bethel, arrangements were made for a German preaching service on Sunday afternoons.

Hedström stressed the importance of temperance and frugality and it was estimated that within a few years Scandinavian seamen had deposited not less than one million dollars in the Seamen's Savings Bank alone. He so continuously counseled immigrants on where to settle that he has been credited with having no small part in determining the course of Swedish immigration. It was largely through his influence and that of his brother Jonas* that the settlement of Swedes in and about Victoria, Illinois, was built up in the later forties. He made extensive missionary journeys to Swedish settlements in different parts of the country and was instrumental in 1852 in organizing Methodist Societies in Jamestown, New York, Chandler's Valley, Pennsylvania, and Chicago.[262]

Of the immense immigration during the late forties a large part of all nationalities entered through the port of New York. In 1848 the average was more than five hundred immigrants daily. Of these the majority landed in the vicinity of the Bethel Ship with the result that not only Swedes but people of almost all nations attended religious services at the mission. Many of them were poor and unable without assistance to get to their ultimate destination. "The correspondence of this mission," he wrote in 1849, "increases every year."

> The labors of the missionary, in his study alone, when he must receive officers and crew, strangers from far and near, answer their inquiries, resolve their doubts, instruct their ignorance, and lead them to the Lamb of God, are sufficient to engross the time, and exhaust the strength of one man. The results of these labors have extended to some of the extreme parts of the earth.[263]

Associated with Hedström from time to time as coworkers were several Swedish preachers, some of whom were converts of the mission. One of his effective helpers was Sven B. Newman who transferred from the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1851 and for several years during 1851-58 intermittently rendered efficient service. In 1860, because of Hedström's failing health, A. M. Osbon was appointed Superintendent of the mission. Another efficient coworker was Ole P. Petersen, who gave himself particularly to work among Norwegian and Danish seamen. In 1873 Daniel S. Sörlin was admitted into full connection in the Central Illinois Conference and in 1874 came to New York and was made pastor of the Bethel, Hedström that year having been given the superannuated relation. Two years later Sörlin was appointed pastor of May Street Swedish Church in Chicago.[264]

In the meantime important changes had been made in plans and methods of the mission. In 1857 the old ship was sold. A new vessel was purchased which in 1876 was moved from the foot of Carlisle Street on the North River to the foot of Harrison Street, Brooklyn, and still later to Jersey City.

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* Jonas J. Hedström was converted in the course of a visit of his brother Olof to Sweden in 1833. The two brothers returned together to America where Jonas found employment as a blacksmith, first in New York and later in Pennsylvania. In 1837 or 1838 he removed to Knox County, Ill., possibly in company with Peter Sornborger. In the latter year he is known to have worked at his trade in Farmington, Ill. He became an Exhorter and later a Local Preacher on the Canton Circuit.

Gradually the mission operations were transferred from ship to shore and at last the floating chapel was sold.* Olof Hedström, against his earlier judgment, finally recognized the importance of a permanent church center for the members living in Brooklyn. He was instrumental in raising funds for the Swedish Immanuel Church, dedicated in May, 1872, which became the corporate successor of the Bethel Ship.[265]

Another group of Bethel Ship members became the nucleus of the Lexington Avenue Swedish Methodist Church in New York City. Worship services were begun in 1874 but the congregation was without a stationed pastor until 1881 when A. G. Johnson was appointed, and later it was regularly organized as a Methodist Society. After Castle Garden was established in 1855 as a reception place for immigrants, many came ashore at Battery Park, far removed from the Bethel Ship. As a means of making contact with newcomers immediately upon their arrival the Battery Park Mission was established in 1888 with Charles Samuelson in charge. The City Missionary Society provided quarters for the newly organized church, which, under Samuelson's leadership, enjoyed a healthy growth.[266]

In the early years of the Scandinavian immigration a Swedish settlement of some size was established in Chautauqua County, New York. A mission Circuit centering in Jamestown, Erie Conference, was formed about 1853 by Olif Hamren. His death in 1854 caused the work to suffer but it was revived under the ministries of J. Bredberg, appointed in 1855, and Sven B. Newman who came to it in 1859. In 1860 the Circuit had outlying appointments in Salem, Wrightsville, Columbus, and Sugar Grove, Pennsylvania. The membership of these Societies was small, consisting mostly of day laborers, industrious and frugal. A small church was erected in Jamestown, but Swedish immigration to that section of the country declined and as the young people preferred English language churches growth gradually decreased.[267]

Little missionary work seems to have been undertaken among the early Swedish immigrants in New England. One of the first Societies was in the manufacturing district of Quinsigamond, in Worcester, Massachusetts, which was maintained for some years without a resident pastor. It first appeared in the New England Conference *Minutes* in 1879 with Otto Anderson as pastor. It was left to be supplied in 1880 when Anderson was appointed to the Boston Swedish Mission. As an outgrowth of this latter Society, small churches were organized in Lynn, Malden, Lowell, Campello, and Brockton. By 1895 ten Swedish churches were reported with 1,541 members.[268]

The first outreach of the Bethel Ship Mission to the West was to Victoria, Knox County, Illinois. The connecting link was established when on December 15, 1846, Jonas J. Hedström organized a Methodist church in Victoria, of which he himself became pastor. The Society was the only

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* "The old Bethel Ship John Wesley, . . . was sold yesterday at auction for $295.15. This included the altar, bell, pews, and the old blue Bethel flag."—The New York *Tribune*, Oct. 31, 1890, p. 12.

Swedish church in the community and within a few years most of the Swedish families in the village and surrounding countryside became members. In 1854 a church building was erected.

Jonas J. Hedström possessed a genuine missionary spirit. He visited all communities settled by his countrymen and urged them to organize Methodist Societies. He "laid the groundwork" for the churches in Andover, Galesburg, Knoxville, La Fayette, Rock Island, and Moline, in Illinois, and New Sweden, Iowa. At the 1848 Rock River Conference he was received on trial and appointed to the "Swede Mission." He enlisted several other Swedish immigrants as itinerants and formed for them a schedule of visitation and preaching.

> The preachers were as a rule young and inexperienced men and needed the help of an older experienced man, one who in the beginning carried the whole responsibility for the various churches and helped to solve rising problems. . . . Coming from the rank and file of the people, simple in language and habits, serious in all his work, with a good insight in the doctrines and calm head for business, he was a born leader to whom the younger ones could look up with respect and confidence. . . . He instructed them in accordance with the discipline to visit from house to house and considered it almost a sin to go by a door that was open for them. But they should not stay long in any one place, and they were warned against long prayers.[269]

John Chandler, acting temporarily as Presiding Elder of the Rock Island District, Rock River Conference, 1853, reported four missionaries laboring "in connection with the Swedish and Norwegian missions," and three others ready to enlist in the work. Although converts were numerous, he stated, church membership did not rapidly increase because of the removal of many to new locations and transfer of others to English-speaking churches. Lack of church buildings also hindered growth as the Swedes were accustomed to churches for worship and did not relish meeting in schoolhouses. At the same time, accustomed to a tax-supported Church, they were inclined to feel that the economic resources of a small congregation were not equal to the obligation imposed by an organized church. In 1854 the Society at Andover erected a church from sawed lumber cut in a nearby forest. Two churches in other places were almost completed.[270]

The Hedström brothers held meetings in Chicago in 1852 which resulted in a religious revival and the beginning of Scandinavian Methodism in the city. In 1853 Sven B. Newman was placed in charge of the Chicago mission. He not only preached in Chicago but also established preaching places in Beaver, St. Charles, and Rockford. Three lots were bought on Illinois Street on which a church was erected in 1854—known as Scandinavian because a large proportion of the members were Norwegians.[271]

The Peoria Conference* at its first session, in 1856, included all of the

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* The Peoria Conference was formed by a division of the Rock River Conference (*Discipline*, 1856, p. 167). In 1860 the name was changed to Central Illinois Conference.—*Ibid.*, 1860, p. 246.

Swedish Societies under the head of the "Swede Mission," with J. J. Hedström, Peter Challman, Victor Witting, and Peter Newborg as missionaries. At the 1857 session of the Conference Hedström was granted the superannuated relation and Peter Challman* was designated Presiding Elder of the Swedish Mission District, which included eight missions. Challman was reappointed for eight successive years (1858-65). In 1866 the District included missions in the three states, Illinois, Iowa, and Indiana. One of the most widely extended of the mission Circuits was Andover, with nine preaching places, of which some were as much as forty miles apart.[272] In 1850 Hedström had twice crossed the Mississippi into Jefferson County, Iowa, held revival meetings, and at New Sweden organized a Society of sixty members—the beginning of Swedish Methodism in Iowa. Two additional Societies were organized in 1851. The next year (1852) Hedström reported the work in the Iowa Conference "in a prosperous condition," but without specifically identifying them spoke only of two Societies and three preaching places. In 1853 the Iowa Conference received on trial J. G. Schmidt, a Baptist preacher, and recognized his orders. His appointment read: "Mission to the Swedes," Burlington District. In 1854 Andrew Ericson was given charge of the Swedish congregation at New Sweden and was asked to exercise supervision of missionary activities over an area extending from Burlington, on the Mississippi River, two hundred miles to the west. In this same year a Society was organized in Swede Bend, Webster County, 175 miles west of New Sweden.[273]

While pastor in Chicago S. B. Newman established preaching places in Attica, La Fayette, La Porte, and other Indiana cities. These early Swedish missions owed much to John Wigren, a convert of the Bethel Ship, who in 1853 removed to Attica, Indiana, became a Class Leader and in 1858 a Local Preacher. In 1863 he gave himself wholly to the ministry and was appointed to the Indiana Swedish Mission with Beaver, Illinois, as a center. He preached also in Yorktown, Tippecanoe Battle Ground, Buena Vista, and Oxford. In 1866 he was received on trial in the Central Illinois Conference and continued in the active ministry until 1893. His energies "were especially directed toward the building of churches and parsonages and soliciting funds for various purposes." [274]

One of the first, if not the first, of the Swedish Methodist churches in

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* Peter Challman (1823-1900) was a man of exceptional energy and impressive personality. He came to America in 1846 as an apostle of the Erik Janssonist sect and became a member of the sect's communistic colony at Bishop Hill. Within a year he became disillusioned concerning the extravagant religious claims of Jansson and the dominant practices of the colony. In 1847 he went to Galesburg and soon, at the urging of Jonas Hedström, began preaching, at the same time working as a carpenter. In January, 1850, he formed a group of twelve Swedes—some of them Methodist lay preachers—to seek for gold in California. The expedition had little success and in 1851 Challman, with several others, returned to Illinois. In 1853 he was received on trial in the Rock River Conference. In 1865, after his long term as Presiding Elder, he served for one year as pastor at Bishop Hill and then—after a trip to Sweden—settled on his farm in Knox County, affiliated with the Free Methodist Church and engaged in local missionary work for the denomination. In 1884 he removed to Iowa where he renewed his affiliation with the Methodist Episcopal Church.—Ernst Wilhelm Olson, Ed., *History of the Swedes of Illinois,* Part I, 363-66.

Minnesota was formed in 1853 in St. Paul by Christian B. Willerup—a Danish missionary—who, after holding evangelistic meetings in the city in 1852, returned the next year and organized a number of the Swedish converts into a Society. In 1854 Carl P. Agrelius, formerly a minister in the Church of Sweden, was transferred to the Minnesota Conference to undertake work chiefly among the Swedes.[275]

David Brooks, Presiding Elder of the Minnesota Mission District, stated in the *Christian Advocate* of August 24, 1854, that a church for the Swedes at St. Paul was nearing completion, the Society to be under the care of Agrelius, "our missionary to the Swedes in that district." His most effective work, according to Hobart, was done "in 1855, in Chisago County"—some distance northeast of St. Paul—where "were large settlements of Swedes." He built himself "a log house on the shore of Chisago Lake, and subsisted mostly on the fish which he caught in the lake." In the summer of 1858 the first Swedish Methodist Camp Meeting was held in a grove on the shore of the lake.[276]

In 1859 in the Minnesota Conference a Scandinavian Mission District was formed, to include the Swedish missions in Minnesota, the Norwegian and Danish work in Upper Iowa, and the Rush River and Willow River Circuit in Wisconsin, with Eric Shogren as Presiding Elder. He was succeeded, after three years, by Carl G. Forsberg who gave only indifferent leadership. Progress was so slow that it caused a divided attitude within the Minnesota Conference toward Scandinavian missions, an influential factor being the failure of any of the charges to attain full self-support. A Conference committee reported in 1869:

> We find very general dissatisfaction prevails among them (the Scandinavians), and the work is in a very critical condition. We find that there . . . [have] been no additions to the ministry, growing out of their work, for several years. Young men are not encouraged to enter the ministry . . . . We do not deem it advisable that the present incumbent be returned to the superintendency of the work.[277]

While the report failed of adoption, when the appointments were made Bishop Levi Scott replaced the Presiding Elder.

In 1872 separate Swedish and Norwegian Districts were established. The Swedish District had only six charges: St. Paul and Minneapolis; Red Wing, Vasa, and Goodhue; Stillwater and Mound Prairie; Grantsburg; Duluth and Brainerd; Kandiyohi. All were in Minnesota with the exception of Grantsburg, Wisconsin.[278] In 1873 the District reported only 283 full members and 140 probationers, and three years later, the last year of its connection with the Minnesota Conference, eleven charges, of which all were Circuits, with 487 full members and 100 probationers.[279]

Missionary work among the Swedish settlers in Texas was begun about 1873 by the Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and in 1881 three Swedish appointments were listed within the Austin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, two in Austin and one at Round Rock. The 1883 *Minutes* listed an appointment also in Fort Worth and Dallas but only two in the Austin District were recorded.[280]

Methodist Societies were formed among Swedes in California in the early seventies, and in 1892 were brought together in a Swedish District. The *Minutes* for 1895 show nine charges, with 351 members. In 1881 missionary work was begun among Swedish immigrants in Oregon and Washington. This resulted in 1890 in the organization of a Swedish District in the Puget Sound Conference with eleven appointments in these two states. The membership in 1895 was one hundred and ninety.[281]

A convention of Scandinavian preachers held in the interest of missions and education in Chicago in October, 1866, called for the inclusion of all Scandinavian missions in a single Annual Conference. This was the first expression within Methodism of desire for Scandinavian ecclesiastical solidarity. No representatives from Minnesota were present. The General Conference of 1868 voted against granting the request.[282]

The Chicago fire of 1871 caused severe loss to Swedish Methodists, perhaps proportionately greater than to any other nationality because of their concentration within a small north side area. However, they soon rallied and within a few years four churches had been established: Market Street, May Street, Shurtleff Avenue, and South Chicago.[283]

By 1876 the demand of the Swedish preachers for separate Conference organization had become so strong that the General Conference of that year was constrained to yield. The organizational meeting of the Northwest Swedish Conference* was held in Galesburg, Illinois, September 6-10, 1877—the Conference to embrace the Swedish work in the Central Illinois and Minnesota Conferences. By 1893 the thirty-two preachers of 1877 had increased to eighty-five; pastoral charges from thirty-five to a hundred; church buildings from forty-four to 131; and church members from 3,643 to 8,857.

The enabling act of the 1876 General Conference provided that the "Swedish and Norwegian work in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and in the vicinity of those cities" should belong to the New York East Conference. In 1895 seven Swedish missions—one in New Jersey, two in Connecticut, and four in New York—reported 1,080 full members, five church buildings, and one parsonage. Of these, six received missionary appropriations, ranging from $240. to $760. each, a total of $3,000.[284]

Norwegian-Danish Missions.—The federal census of 1850 reported 18,074 Scandinavian-born immigrants in the United States of whom 12,678 were

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* By 1892 the Northwest Swedish Conference extended over eleven states and the General Conference of that year authorized its division into the Central, Northern Mission, and Western Swedish Conferences.—*G. C. Journal,* 1892, Appendix, p. 416.

Norwegians. According to the 1870 census there were 114,243 people of Norwegian birth, a ninefold increase in twenty years. In the sixties there were several times more Norwegian ships than Swedish arriving in the New York harbor. Not until 1869 did as many as two thousand Danes enter the United States within a single year.

Among the many Norwegian converts in Hedström's Bethel Ship ministry was Ole Peter Petersen who soon after his conversion enlisted in Norwegian-Danish missionary activities in the West and also in Norway. Later he became associated with Hedström as assistant pastor of the Bethel Ship Mission. A Norwegian-Danish mission was organized and afterward a Methodist Society was formed under the name "Bethelskib Norske Methodist-menighet," the Bethelship Norwegian Methodist Church.*

Many of the Norwegians were self-sufficient in the conduct of religious exercises. One wrote:

> We conducted our religious meetings in our own democratic way. We appointed our leader and requested some one to read from a book of sermons. . . . We prayed, exhorted, and sang among ourselves, and even baptized our babies ourselves.[285]

The stubborn belief of the Norwegian pietists in the rightness of lay preaching constituted a common bond between them and the Methodists and within the Wisconsin area a general desire very early arose for a Christian missionary which led the Missionary Society to send to them Christian B. Willerup, one of their own people who had been converted in Savannah, Georgia. He arrived in Cambridge, Wisconsin, in November, 1850, and soon thereafter in a letter to the Society told of the beginning of his work:

> I left Milwaukie for the country, and travelled West. I went out on the prairie to visit the families, and it was just like being in Norway. I heard no other language than the Norwegian—their dress, manners, customs, . . . were the same as in Norway.
>
> I commenced to preach, sometimes in the school-house in the village, (there being no church,) and at other times in private houses (Norwegian houses) on the prairie. The news soon spread that a Norwegian preacher had arrived; and wherever I preached, from that time forth, the house was always crowded.[286]

Within a year a Methodist Society with about a hundred members had been organized and nearly $1,500. was subscribed toward the cost of a church building with construction under way. This amount fell short by about $800. Urgent appeals were made to Methodist friends in the East for assistance as the missionary had pledged most of his salary and had also given judgment notes to cover deficiency. Also in 1850 Carl P. Agrelius was sent to Spring Prairie, Wisconsin, for work among the Norwegians. In July, 1851, he was received on trial in the Wisconsin Conference.[287]

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* Meetings of the Society at first were held both on the Bethel Ship and "in rented quarters on the corner of Van Brunt and President Streets," Brooklyn. Later an old church building on Van Brunt Street was donated to the Society and still later a new church building was erected on the same site. About 1892 this building was sold and a church on Carroll Street, Brooklyn, was purchased.—*75th Anniversary, Bethelship Norwegian Methodist Church, Brooklyn, New York, 1874-1949* pamphlet, pp. 9 f.

Meantime Norwegian immigration continued in increasing volume. A news item in the *Christian Advocate* of July 7, 1853, reported the arrival at Buffalo on June 25, 1853, of more than two hundred, bound for Milwaukee, possessed of "means to make a fair start on the virgin lands of the west." [288] In 1856 the Wisconsin Conference formed a Norwegian Mission District, on which twelve missionaries were employed on nine mission Circuits in the three states, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. The six Wisconsin points were Racine, Primrose, Hart Prairie, Viroqua, Richland, and Cambridge. The three others were St. Paul and Chisago Lake in Minnesota, and Washington Prairie, Winneshiek County, Iowa, where in 1852 a Methodist Society had been formed by O. P. Petersen in the very center of Norwegian Lutheranism in the state.[289]

Obviously a District whose appointments were scattered over three states could not be other than administratively unsatisfactory. After an experimental period of four years the Scandinavian missions in Wisconsin were taken into the English language Districts within which they were situated —the Racine Mission and the Whitewater and Hart Prairie Mission into the Racine District, and the Cambridge Mission into the Janesville District of the Wisconsin Conference, and the Highland, Primrose, and Viroqua Norwegian missions into the West Wisconsin Conference. The Minnesota and Iowa missions—nine in number—were incorporated into the Scandinavian Mission District of the Minnesota Conference.[290]

But neither was this arrangement satisfactory and demand soon arose for separate Norwegian Mission Districts. Not until 1863, however, did report of a "Scandinavian" District appear in the *Minutes*. The next year it was renamed "Norwegian" and had six charges. This was in the West Wisconsin Conference. In 1869 this District was transferred to the Wisconsin Conference. In 1870 the District reported 618 full members.[291]

The inclusion of both Norwegian and Swedish missions within a single District was displeasing to the Norwegians. The rising tide of nationalism in Norway was reflected in the attitude of many of the immigrants and the demand for a separate Norwegian District rapidly increased in intensity. Aside from nationalistic feeling Norwegian irritation rooted in the Swedish predominance.* The paper *Sändebudet,* intended for the entire Scandinavian constituency but printed entirely in Swedish, was an irritant. "Everything which is designated Scandinavian," wrote Andrew Haagensen of Wisconsin, "it seems, must be under Swedish leadership." He pressed the issue, citing the success of the Norwegian District in Wisconsin, and declaring that similar results would follow in Minnesota "if only the Norwegians come into their own right." In 1872 the division into separate Swedish and Norwegian Districts was made in that Conference.[292] However, the shortage of Norwegian preachers was such that of the nine appointments of the Norwegian District, four were left to be supplied. In 1874 the District with nine missionaries, eleven appointments, nine churches, and four parsonages, had 507 members in full connection, and 103 probationers.[293] Hobart was critical of the 1872 division. It left, he said,

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* C. G. Nelson, while recognizing that other causes contributed to the prevailing dissatisfaction, asserts that the difference in languages was chiefly responsible. "Often the churches were composed of both peoples, each desiring to have bibles and song-books of their own language, which was impossible. The written language differed even more than the spoken, which in such cases was too often a conglomeration of both these languages."—"Swedish Methodism in Minnesota," in *A History of the Swedish-Americans of Minnesota,* Algot E. Strand, Compiler and Ed., I, 208.

> many societies feeble and tended to cultivate a spirit of divergence which, to say the least, was contrary to that spirit which suffereth long and is kind. It also in many instances necessitated the sending of two preachers to small towns, where the two nationalities united could have sustained themselves.[294]

The great extent of the Norwegian District, including all of Minnesota and a large area of Iowa, led in 1876 to division into two Districts, the Iowa and the Minnesota.[295] In 1880 the first Norwegian Annual Conference in the United States was established by General Conference. Changes in Conference designations and boundaries were made from quadrennium to quadrennium.[*]

Influenced by Mormon propagandizing efforts in Scandinavia many Norwegian, Danish,[†] and Swedish immigrants settled in Utah Territory. In 1884 the Missionary Society estimated the Scandinavian population at 40,000 —probably an overestimate. At the 1882 meeting of the Utah Mission Peter A. H. Franklin, a native of Norway and a Mormon who had forsaken Mormonism and had united with the Methodist Church, was appointed to begin evangelistic work among his fellow Scandinavians. To reinforce the effort the General Missionary Committee appropriated sufficient funds to pay the salary of an additional missionary and to establish a Scandinavian school in Salt Lake City. The Rev. Martinus Nelson, pastor of the Second Norwegian Methodist Church of Chicago, was appointed in 1883 to superintend the program. In July, 1883, the First Norwegian Methodist Church of Salt

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[*] The Conference established in 1880 was designated the Northwest Norwegian Conference to include "the Norwegian Work in the West and North-west." In 1884 the designation was changed to the Norwegian and Danish Conference to "include the Norwegian work in the West and North-west, and all the Danish work in the United States." In 1888 the boundary was again changed to "include all the work among the Norwegians and Danes between the Allegheny and the Rocky Mountains." In addition the General Conference established the Northwest Norwegian and Danish Mission to "include the Norwegian and Danish work in the State of Oregon and Washington Territory and in Northern Idaho." Finally, in 1892 the General Conference added the Scandinavian work in Montana, California, and Utah to the Northwest Norwegian and Danish Mission Conference and changed the name to the Western Norwegian-Danish Mission Conference. (*G. C. Journals:* 1880, p. 389; 1884, p. 410; 1888, pp. 413, 417; 1892, p. 416.) In 1881 the Northwest Norwegian Conference with two Districts and thirty-two charges reported 2,321 full members, forty-one Sunday schools, and forty-three churches. In 1892 the Norwegian and Danish Conference, with four Districts, had fifty-eight charges with 4,085 full members, seventy-one Sunday schools, and seventy-five churches; and the Western Norwegian-Danish Mission Conference with four Districts (California and Montana; Eastern Washington and Idaho; Oregon and Puget Sound; and Utah) had twenty-seven charges with 567 full members, twenty-five Sunday schools, and twenty-seven churches.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1881, p. 414; *ibid.,* 1892, pp. 476-78, 582 f.

[†] Proselytes to Mormonism among the Danes were numerous because of the strong Mormon Mission in Copenhagen. Of the 30,000 Danes in the United States in 1870, some 7,000 were Mormons in Utah.

Lake City was organized.[296] Five years later Nelson reported organization of the Norwegian and Danish District of Utah Mission, with ten missionaries—eight men and two women—and fifteen teachers. The day schools had an enrollment of 555 pupils, of whom more than half were from Mormon families. During the five years nineteen churches, chapels, parsonages, and schoolhouses had been erected. The following year the first Scandinavian Camp Meeting in Utah was held, continuing for ten days. Sunday evening services were attended by more than a thousand people.[297]

The Norwegian and Danish missionary work on the West Coast was begun in Oakland, California, in 1879, by C. J. Larsen. He had come to California as a layman from the Norwegian-Danish Methodist Church in Chicago, but later was licensed to preach by the Swedish Methodist Church of San Francisco. A Methodist Class was organized and a church erected in Oakland and dedicated on June 13, 1880. This same year Larsen was received on trial in the California Conference.[298]

In 1883 Larsen transferred from the California to the Oregon Conference as a missionary to the Norwegians and Danes of Portland. He rented a hall and soon organized a Methodist Society of twelve members. Two years later he visited the Columbia River Conference and enlisted the cooperation of its members for missionary work within its bounds. The rapid unfolding of the program is told in his own words:

> In 1886 I visited Idaho, where I found a great many of our people in Blain, Moscow, and other places. On my way home I visited Spokane Falls, Wash., where also a goodly number of our people lived. Thus society after society was organized, and churches and parsonages were built and dedicated to the service of the Lord in many of the most important places. In 1888 the work was organized as a separate Mission . . . , and called the North-west Norwegian and Danish Methodist Episcopal Mission. It included Oregon, Washington, and North Idaho, and the writer was appointed as the superintendent.[299]

In his report for 1891 the Superintendent stressed the hindrances to growth in the Northwest, particularly those resulting from unemployment and the consequent trend away from the cities, where most of the churches had been established.[300]

Scandinavian Education.—Scandinavian immigrants were education-minded, desirous not only for public schools but also for the religious education of their children and for the training of the ministry. A prime interest of the first general convention of Scandinavian preachers, held in Chicago in October, 1866, was in the establishment of a Scandinavian educational institution. Reports by delegates and preachers revealed that more than $20,000. had been contributed by their churches and in individual gifts to the Centenary Celebration. The convention then voted to approve a previously proposed plan to establish a school for candidates for the ministry and "as soon as time and conditions warrant, . . . to widen our plans to include a general seminary." The 1868 General Conference approved the plan for a ministerial training school and recommended to the Church at large an additional contribution of $25,000.[301]

Unfortunately dissension led to rescinding of the action providing for a Scandinavian institution and the fund, all too limited in amount for achievement of the objective in view, was divided between the Swedes and the Norwegians and Danes. In 1870 the Swedish theological seminary began operations in Galesburg, Illinois, two students and a teacher meeting in the upper story of a private residence. In 1872 it was moved to Galva, Illinois, and in 1875, with encouragement from Northwestern University, to Evanston.*

The Norwegian-Danish Conference in 1883 authorized the beginning of class instruction in theology for ministerial students. Courses were first offered in 1885, and in 1888 a school building was completed in Evanston. For thirty-five years the seminary was in the charge of Nels E. Simonsen.

Publications in the Swedish and Norwegian languages exercised wide educational influence among the Scandinavian immigrants. The 1860 General Conference referred to the Publishing Agents a proposal for a Scandinavian paper. The Agents approved but were unwilling to subsidize publication. The preachers themselves assumed financial responsibility, Victor Witting serving until 1864 as editor without compensation. The periodical, the *Sändebudet,*† began publication in 1862 and soon became self-supporting. In New York Sven B. Newman translated and wrote some excellent tracts, and also translated some of Wesley's sermons and the Methodist ritual. A collection of hymns was compiled by Witting and in 1860 a hymnal by Jacob Bredberg. A monthly periodical, the *Missionaren,* in Norwegian, began publication in 1869 and was succeeded by *Den Kristelig Talsmand* in 1887. In 1888, *Vidnesbyrdet,* a semi-monthly Norwegian-Danish paper, was founded in Portland, Oregon, as the official organ of the Northwest Norwegian and Danish Mission.[302]

At the close of the half century the Missionary Society reported 206 Scandinavian missionaries—Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish. The total number of full members of the Church was 11,023; probationers, 1,509. Local Preachers numbered 139, churches and chapels, 193.[303] Considering the immense Scandinavian immigration in the course of the half century, the wide scope of missionary endeavor, and the extent of missionary funds contributed, growth had been decidedly slow. In part this was accounted for by serious lack in ministerial supply. Some of the lay preachers failed to continue preaching for more than a few years; others were not competent and had only limited success in their ministry; and a considerable proportion of the more effective men were sent as missionaries to the fatherland. Few young men entered the ministry and the development of agencies of ministerial training lagged. Not until the later years of the period were well-equipped theological schools made available to candidates for the ministry. The Lutheran tradition was strong among both Swedes and Norwegians and the large majority of the settlers desired Lutheran services. In eleven years, 1874-85, congregations of the Augustana Synod increased from 75 to 145 and the number of communicants more than doubled. The Lutheran attitude toward the Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational missionary activities was less than generous, sometimes sharply antagonistic, and undoubtedly prejudiced many of the immigrants.

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* The university, under the difficult financial conditions prevailing at the time, found itself unable to provide even partial support of a teacher, whereupon the seminary found refuge in the home of the president, William Henschen, in Chicago. Until 1881, location was determined from year to year. Northwestern then offered the seminary a ninety-nine-year lease on land, and friends provided funds for a building. Henschen continued as teacher and for a number of years served as president of the institution which had taken the name of Wesley Academy and Seminary. In 1883 Albert F. Ericson, after a period of study in Sweden, became dean and a teacher in the institution. In 1889 Henschen was succeeded by Carl C. Wallenius who continued in office until 1931. In 1934 the Swedish and Norwegian-Danish schools were merged and a junior college, the Evanston Collegiate Institute, was organized with T. Otmann Firing as president. It continued under that name for sixteen years when, in 1950, it became Kendall College.—George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration, 1820-1924,* pp. 259 ff.; *Kendall College Bulletin,* XIII (March-April, 1952), 5.

† *Sändebudet* was published first at Rockford, Ill.; later, beginning in 1864, at Chicago. The best known editors, following Victor Witting, were Albert F. Ericson and William Henschen.

The Methodist Movement nevertheless exercised a much wider influence among the Scandinavians than its numerical strength would indicate. Together with the other evangelical bodies it helped to meet the religious, social, and cultural needs of large groups of people, it promoted education, and it developed fraternal relations between Scandinavians and peoples of other nationalities. In many isolated rural communities it provided social centers for the neighborhood as a whole and elevated the moral tone of the entire community.[304]

WELSH MISSIONS

Near the close of the eighteenth century a considerable Welsh migration to the United States began, which gradually increased during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In the beginning most of the immigrants settled in central New York, particularly Oneida County; the remainder in New York City, in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. Later newcomers pushed westward to Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Missouri, and some even to Colorado and California. A large proportion were Calvinistic Methodists and at an early date local Societies of the Calvinistic Methodist Church began to be formed on the initiative of the immigrants themselves.* Congregational churches also were organized.

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* The Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales, the fruit of George Whitefield's preaching, was early introduced to America by immigrants. Local churches, here and there, adhering to Presbyterian polity, in 1842 organized themselves into an independent branch of the parent Church, under an Organized Assembly, which continued until 1853. After a period of autonomous rule, the state bodies, or gymanvas, decided in 1869 once again to establish an over-all organization, the General Assembly. Though continuing "Methodist" in the official title, the Church was decidedly more Calvinistic in theology and polity and frequently called itself the "Welsh Presbyterian Church." In 1920, when the English language had supplanted Welsh, the denomination united with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.—Daniel Jenkins Williams, *One Hundred Years of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism in America,* pp. 258 f., 263, 268-75, 411 f.

Not all of the Welsh Methodists were inclined to affiliate with the Calvinistic Societies. A Methodist mission was organized in Utica, the county seat of Oneida County, in 1828. This later became the center of Methodist Welsh missionary work in America. A mission was also formed in the same year in Trenton, New Jersey. Other Welsh missions were organized a little later, one in Black River Conference in 1841, and another in Pittsburgh Conference in 1843. Rees Davies, who came to America in 1844, wrote shortly after to the *Christian Advocate* that "the Gospel preached in Steuben, New York, and the neighboring districts . . . savored too much of Predestinarianism." * He found Methodism among the Welsh almost extinct, and the members in danger of being scattered.

> In this emergency I was earnestly requested to take upon me the responsible charge of the mission. After consulting with the brethren, both at Utica and Steuben, and after much prayer to God, with fear and trembling I consented to undertake the . . . responsibility. . . . The Church . . . numbers now eighty-six members.[305]

The need for extension of missionary work among the Welsh was presented to the 1848 General Conference and the Committee on Missions was instructed by the Conference to inquire into "the expediency" of increasing the number of missionaries.[306] The Missionary Society reported in 1851 missions in four Annual Conferences: one each in Pittsburgh, Oneida, Black River, and five in Wisconsin. The Pittsburgh Mission had, in 1852, three Classes with a total membership of sixty-one persons. In 1853 seven missions were listed—three in Ohio—with seven missionaries, 245 members, and ten Local Preachers.

At a conference held in Utica, New York, on June 28, 1854, twelve Welsh missionaries were present representing nine Annual Conferences: Oneida, Black River, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, New York, Wyoming, Baltimore, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Detailed reports were given on the progress of the work and a fund established for church extension.[307]

One of the fruitful missions was the Ironton Welsh Mission Circuit on the Portsmouth District, Ohio Conference, with a Society in Ironton and "three or four other societies in Lawrence and Gallia Counties." The Circuit published a hymnbook in the Welsh language. While English language Sunday-school materials were used, urgent need was felt for books, including the *Discipline,* in the native tongue.[308]

By 1868, of the missions in nine Annual Conferences in 1854, all but three had been absorbed into English-speaking churches. Again, in 1870, the Missionary Society reported that the Welsh missions had "almost entirely ceased," immigrants from Wales having been almost wholly incorporated into English language churches of various denominations. In this latter year the Missionary Society made appropriations to but one mission, that in the Central New York Conference.[309] Immigration during these years was at ebb tide, the average number entering annually through the port of New York from 1867 to 1874 being only 1,057. In the year 1876 the total was but 451.[310] Welsh missions were not so much as mentioned in the Missionary Society *Reports* for 1878, 1879, 1880.

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* In response to repeated appeals to the Wesleyan Methodists in Wales, supplemented by petitions to "their English brethren in America," missionary work was begun in central New York in 1828 by Thomas Roberts, who came over from Wales, and by D. Cydwalader who had earlier settled in Ohio. Several other preachers came in following years but little information is extant concerning the results of their work.—Rees Davies, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXII (1847), 6 (Feb. 10), 21.

In 1881 the Presiding Elder of the Utica District reported the arrival from Wales of W. R. Griffith, a member of the Wesleyan Conference, who had accepted appointment to the Utica Welsh church. "I think," he said, "we have found the right man for the place. He is young, cultured, truly pious, and full of zeal . . . . This mission has not been in so prosperous a condition . . . in many years." [311] In 1886 a "beautiful church edifice," costing $15,000., named the Coke Memorial Church, was erected by the Society, aided by churches in several Conferences. Griffith, now a member of the Northern New York Conference, proved to be a zealous, successful missionary among the Welsh immigrants. This same year he organized a Methodist Society at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, which soon increased to a membership of fifty-five. About two years after its organization the Society of forty-two members built a small church at a cost of $6,000. Also in 1887 Griffith organized in Chicago* a church of fifteen members, and three churches in the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania.[312]

Owing to the fact that members of Welsh churches readily acquired familiarity with the English language, and that the young people, particularly, preferred to attend English-speaking churches, "many of those gathered . . . among the foreign population" transferred their membership to English language Societies. None of the Welsh Societies developed a sufficiently large membership to become self-supporting and all required continuous missionary aid. The 1893 Missionary Society *Report* listed five missions receiving appropriations: Utica, $397.; Bangor, Philadelphia Conference, $595.; Chicago, $595.; Milwaukee, $198.; Wilkes-Barre, $298.[313]

MISSIONS TO THE CHINESE

Almost two decades passed after Chinese immigration to California had begun before the Methodist Church made its first appropriation for the beginning of mission work among the immigrants. In 1860 the General Missionary Committee recommended that the Board consider "establishing a mission among the Chinese in California," but no action resulted.[314] At its

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* W. R. Griffith: "We found that Jackson Street Methodist Episcopal Church was for sale. . . . Mrs. Mary Williams [a pious Welsh lady, one of the oldest members of old Clark Street Church] bought it, paid cash for it, and gave it to the Methodist Episcopal Church forever. It will cost her, when complete, about $8,000."—In *Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1887), pp. 352 f.

1864 session the California Conference appointed a committee to survey the situation and the next year after hearing the report of its committee asked for the appointment of a missionary to the Chinese in California. The General Missionary Committee appropriated $4,000. to inaugurate the work. Delay was encountered in finding a suitable candidate and it was not until 1868 that Otis Gibson, formerly a missionary in Foochow, began work as Methodist missionary to Pacific-coast Chinese. On his initiative four Sunday schools were organized within a year, three in San Francisco,* and one in San Jose. Preceding Gibson's arrival a school had been begun on October 25, 1865, in the Powell Street Methodist Church, San Francisco.[315]

Gibson was an experienced China missionary and, despite the fact that he was not conversant with the Cantonese dialect, soon had a vigorous program under way. Advance was recorded when on Christmas Day, 1870, the Chinese Mission House,† costing $30,000.,‡ deeded to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was dedicated.[316] This at once became the chief center for Methodist Chinese Mission activities in the San Francisco area.

This year (1870) the Woman's Missionary Society of the Pacific Coast was organized with the purpose to "elevate and save heathen women on these shores." Its intention was to operate as a branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society but as the W.F.M.S. made appropriations only for mission work abroad the Pacific coast women sought and obtained support from the General Missionary Society. Beginning in 1871 with a contribution of $500., the Society aided them with an annual appropriation until 1893 when the W.M.S.P.C. was merged with the Woman's Home Missionary Society.[317]

At the second anniversary of the opening of the school in the Mission House the schoolrooms were crowded. The total number of pupils enrolled during the second year was 125, with an average attendance of forty. In 1872 a second center, Foke Yam Tong Chapel, previously a storeroom in a tenement building on Jackson Street, was opened for preaching on every day of the week except Saturday. Soon the chapel was crowded at the Sunday services, and often on weekdays.[318]

From the beginning of the mission urgent need was felt for native Chinese assistance and great expectations were aroused when on January 16, 1871, Hu Sing-mi, a Chinese preacher transferred from Foochow, arrived in San Francisco. He possessed a fair knowledge of English and had the advantage of having a Cantonese wife, familiar with that dialect. Unfortunately he soon became dissatisfied and in June, 1873, returned to China. A second Chinese was employed who labored faithfully for two years and then also returned to his native country.[319]

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* Chinese Sunday schools were in existence in 1869 in San Francisco in the Church of the Advent (Episcopal); the Third Congregational Church; the Howard Presbyterian Church, the Chinese Mission House (Presbyterian); and in the Congregational Church of Oakland.—*Christian Advocate*, XLIV (1869) 47 (Nov. 25), 371.

† This was not the first Chinese mission building in San Francisco. A Chinese chapel costing $25,000. was dedicated on June 4, 1854, under Presbyterian leadership.—*Christian Advocate and Journal*, XXIX (1854) 30 (July 27), 118.

‡ *Daily Alta California:* "This institution, springing up quietly and unostentatiously in this city, in spite of the strong and bitter prejudice against the Chinese created by certain political demagogues, is a credit to our city, to civilization, and to the Church under whose auspices it is just being reared."—Art., November 22, 1870, as quoted in *Christian Advocate*, XLV (1870), 50 (Dec. 15), 395.

From San Francisco, as the chief mission center, interest in Chinese missions spread through the entire West. In 1878 Superintendent Gibson reported:

> The work is expanding and opening up on every side. Applications from all parts of the coast, and from Boston to Texas, are coming in, asking for directions how to labor among the Chinese, for books and tracts for distribution, for Chinese preachers, and for a visit from the missionary.[320]

This year A. J. Hanson, a member of the California Conference, was appointed as assistant missionary.

Missions were established in several other cities in California. What was probably the earliest Chinese Sunday school in the state was begun in Sacramento in 1865 by Mrs. E. M. Carley, and maintained until 1879. As one result of its work a number of Chinese were baptized and united with the Sixth Street Methodist Church. A setback occurred in 1891-92, caused by the loss by fire of the schoolhouse, the mission headquarters, and later by a "Highbinder war" which created disastrous excitement and fear, and even exodus from the city of many Chinese. Although serious the turmoil did not cause cessation of the mission work.[321]

A mission school and a Sunday school were opened in Chico in 1882 in which during the first year some fifty-six pupils were enrolled. In the eighties and early nineties missions were also reported established in San Diego, Los Angeles, and Stockton; and in Pasadena a mission chapel built. There were small schools also at other places, including Monterey, Alameda, and Napa City. At San Jose, in 1895, a Chinese preacher conducted a daily night school for the teaching of English, a Bible class, and Sunday worship services.[322]

In Oregon, as early as 1866, a Methodist school for Chinese was established in Portland. In 1879 the veteran missionary William Roberts also organized a Chinese school in that city. At the 1879 session of the Oregon Conference he was appointed "missionary to the Chinese." In 1880 fifty pupils were enrolled in the school, ten of whom had assumed the chief financial responsibility for its maintenance. They had supplied furnishings, paid for books, light, fuel, $150. for an organ, most of the rent, besides one dollar each per month for tuition, and had done "a good deal of missionary work." [323]

In 1881-82 the Portland Chinese Mission was left to be supplied. In 1883 in response to the invitation of the Oregon Conference, A. J. Hanson, who since 1878 had been assistant Chinese missionary of the California Conference, took charge of the Chinese work in Oregon and Washington. On

December 13, 1884, a Chinese Methodist church was organized in Portland with Chan Hon-fan as pastor and with regularly appointed stewards, Class Leader, and other officers. Besides serving as interpreter each weeknight in the school the pastor "conducted a Bible class, preached twice or three times on the Sabbath, assisted in the Sunday-school, and attended all meetings of the class and of the Chinese Gospel Society." [324]

A Chinese mission was begun about 1872 in Seattle on the initiative of a few earnest Christians. So marked was its success that in 1880 the Missionary Society appropriated $500. for more vigorous prosecution of the program under the supervision of two Christian women. The school, with five weeknight sessions each week, enrolled in 1882 about a hundred and ten pupils. In addition a Bible-training school was conducted on one evening of the week, also a Sunday school and a "social religious meeting" on Sunday afternoons. In Tacoma an evening school and Sunday school were begun in January, 1885.[325]

During the early period of Chinese immigration to the Pacific coast the immigrants consisted almost entirely of men. Within a few years the practice began of forcibly importing females, many of whom were mere children, as servants and for purposes of prostitution. Some were kidnapped and smuggled into the country, others were purchased from their parents to become unwilling slaves. Conditions were such as to awaken the utmost sympathy of Christian people but the missions as conducted had no means of meeting the situation. Finally, the Woman's Missionary Society of the Pacific Coast furnished the third floor of the Mission House as a dormitory and Rescue Home* and made arrangements also to establish a day school for women and girls. Laura S. Templeton was engaged as missionary, and house-to-house visitation was begun. The police also were informed of the asylum of refuge. Response was not immediate but slowly "one by one they came, claiming care and protection." The first, a young woman of eighteen who had attempted suicide by drowning, was brought in by the police. Writing some years later Mrs. Otis Gibson, who had been closely associated with the Society from the beginning, reported:

> The school steadily increased, until for some years we have had all that our rooms could accommodate, the number varying from twenty-four to thirty. . . . none are received for less than a year, during which time we try to teach them something of the religion of Christ, which is our first and chief aim. Then, unless they wish to return to China, we keep them until they are married.[326]

Otis Gibson was compelled, on account of ill health, to give up the superintendency of the California Chinese Mission in 1884. His death occurred on January 25, 1889. He was succeeded in 1885 by the Rev. F. J. Masters of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society, who for many years had been stationed in Canton, China.[327] Under his leadership continued moderate progress was registered.*

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* This was the only place of refuge of its kind in San Francisco for Chinese women and girls until September, 1874, when the Woman's Occidental Board of the Presbyterian Church opened a similar home.

Few Chinese entered the port of New York during these years. The Missionary Society in 1870 estimated the number for the twenty-three preceding years as approximately 414. As they were scattered over the entire area of the city little attempt was made to reach them with the Christian message until in 1878 a young Cantonese ministerial student, aided by C. S. Brown of the Five Points Mission, opened an evening school and instituted religious services. The Rev. James Jackson, formerly of the Wesleyan China Mission, arrived in New York and was appointed missionary in charge. Later he added a Sunday school, held first in Mott Street but soon transferred to the Seventh Street Methodist Episcopal Church. His report for 1881 to the Missionary Society stated:

> Since our work began in this city many schools have been opened in connection with other Churches. There are now not less than ten Chinese schools in this city and two or three others in Brooklyn. . . . it is common for the Chinese to go about from school to school, being registered at different schools as scholars, and permanently attending nowhere.[328]

The mission work in New York City was hindered by lack of permanent headquarters and adequate facilities. During 1883-94, Mary A. Lathbury was continuously associated with the mission, first as secretary of the Chinese Sunday school and later as Superintendent of the mission.† The work suffered also from the effects of a systematic and vicious attack by some of the New York City newspapers. Miss Lathbury, writing in 1893, expressed surprise at the growth in number of teachers and pupils "in spite of discouragements."

In all of the Chinese missions the chief methods of evangelization employed were the teaching of English and preaching in the Chinese vernacular. The Sunday and weekday program of the San Francisco Mission in 1873 was reported by Bishop Harris:

> The Sunday services at the Mission House consist of a Bible class, in the English language, at 10½ o'clock, A.M.; preaching in Chinese at 12½, P.M.; and a Chinese Sunday-school at 6½ P.M. We have also a chapel, or Bazaar preaching-place, in the heart of the Chinese quarter of the city, where we have preaching in Chinese every day at 2 P.M., except Saturday. . . .
>
> The schools are all of them night schools, as neither boys nor men have time to attend . . . in the daytime.

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* In 1895 six California missions (San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, San Jose, Stockton, and Modesto) reported a total of 138 members and 385 Sunday-school pupils enrolled with an average attendance of 120.—*Seventy-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1895), p. 313.

† The mission, school, and Sunday school were located successively in the Eighteenth Street Methodist Church (1883); at the corner of Seventh Avenue and Twenty-third Street (1888); and in a house at 30 East Seventh Street (1894).

The maximum number of hearers for the Christian message was secured by street preaching.

> When our Sabbath services in the mission-house have been fairly attended our largest congregation gathers on the public street every Sabbath afternoon. Hundreds of Chinese gather every Sunday to hear the Gospel in their own language.[329]

Superintendent Masters became greatly disappointed in the fact that the majority of the pupils in the evening schools took little interest in the religious services. "It is evident," he said, "that they come to our schools to learn as much English and as little Bible as they can." He became persuaded that in the program of the missions the teaching of English had been overstressed; that it was not necessary "to offer English as a bait to draw people to our preaching services"; and that the Christian religion would never become a power among the Chinese until the Churches gave less attention "to A B C schools" and undertook more thorough evangelistic work. He urged that the basis of the Methodist program be shifted from primary instruction in English to direct evangelism and that the missions "push out into more aggressive work among the masses" not reached by the schools.[330]

Mission work among Chinese was complicated by certain special difficulties against which missions to other peoples did not have to contend. Conditions of employment among them were unstable. Because of race prejudice Chinese laborers were among the last to be employed, and in slack times the first to be discharged. A. J. Hanson reported in 1884 that he had visited the mission school and had organized a class of eleven young people for religious instruction preparatory to baptism. Six months later he returned and not one member of the group could be found; all had left the city in search of employment elsewhere. In 1892 the committee on Chinese missions of the California Conference reported that of 413 Chinese received into church membership in the preceding twenty years the greater part had returned to China.[331]

Even more serious was the anti-American feeling created by the disabilities imposed upon Chinese by state and federal government legislation, and the persecution visited upon them by large numbers of American citizens dominated by prejudice and ill feeling. At the height of the anti-foreign excitement Chinese scarcely dared to venture on the American street where the Mission House was located.* The mission found it necessary to provide hospital treatment in the Mission House for church members and school pupils excluded from the public hospitals. What reply could the missionary give to those who asked why the government had broken a solemn treaty made with China, or why missionaries exhorted Chinese to prepare to go to Heaven with Americans forever when so many church members were unwilling to live in association with them a few years upon earth? Harmful also to mission work were the strife and mutual antagonisms engendered by interclass feuds among the Chinese.[332]

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* F. J. Masters: "Every week Chinese were beaten, kicked, and stoned when found alone on the streets . . . . Some were cowardly attacked and wounded while on their way to our school. Women on their way to our services had their ear-rings torn out in broad daylight. Our school windows were broken, and filthy refuse was cast through the open windows upon the heads of the Chinese while sitting at their desks. One of the senior scholars in our school, a clerk in a pawnshop, had his eye cut out one night while quietly walking to school . . . ." (In *Sixty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1886], p. 299.) Similar fiendish cruelties were perpetrated upon Chinese at Tacoma and various other places.

Native Chinese preachers were urgently needed by the missions, a need felt both by the missionaries and by Chinese converts. The great embarrassment of the California Mission, reported Otis Gibson in 1884, "is the failure, up to this date, to develop native Chinese preachers who feel called of God to devote their lives to the ministry of the Gospel among their countrymen in America." This situation continued to the close of the period. The first convert of the mission, Chow Loke-chee, became a licensed preacher, but soon thereafter returned to China. From time to time preachers were raised up within the mission but not in sufficient number to supply the need. Again in 1892 Superintendent Hanson of the Oregon Chinese Mission reported that "the crying need" was for an experienced native preacher to preach the Gospel on the streets, assist in the school, instruct probationers, and aid in other phases of the work.[333]

Despite all difficulties and unmet needs the Chinese missions of this period were fruitful in results. In 1892 a committee of the Chinese Sabbath-School Association of New York City, of which Mary A. Lathbury was a member, published a statement declaring that pastors of churches of several denominations in New York and Brooklyn had testified that "in faithfulness to their Christian duty, in devotion to the interests of the Church, and in generous contributions to the benevolent work of the Church," Chinese converts were "fully up to the level of the best American membership." Similar testimony was offered by Superintendent F. J. Masters of the California Mission:

> I have never known but one case in seventeen years when a Chinaman after professing conversion fell into open apostasy and idolatry. . . . He may take a long time to convert, but when once his mind is made up he holds firm to the end. He may not be the equal of our American members in point of knowledge, culture, and spiritual insight . . . ; but by every test of character, by . . . liberality, courage, and steadfastness, they are brethren of whom we need not be ashamed.[334]

MISSIONS TO THE JAPANESE

Methodist missionary work among Japanese began almost as early as the beginning of Japanese immigration. In 1877, when only fifty or sixty Japanese had arrived in San Francisco, Kanichi Miyama and K. Nonaka began to receive Christian instruction from Otis Gibson of the Chinese Mission, and later united with the Church. Two years later Gibson reported that six young Japanese had been baptized, of whom one had become a steward and Exhorter. An interdenominational Japanese "Gospel Society" of some thirty-three members had been formed and was holding regular weekly meetings in a rented room of the Mission House. In 1880 Gibson reported that the Gospel Society numbered thirty-six, that seven or eight Japanese had become full members of the Methodist Church and a Class of eight probationers had been formed. The next year Miyama had begun preparation for the ministry. He had been instrumental within the year in leading seven of his countrymen to be baptized and to unite with the Church. In 1884 he was admitted on trial to the California Annual Conference.[335]

By 1886 the Japanese in San Francisco numbered somewhat more than eight hundred. Of these more than one hundred were members of the Gospel Society; seventy were members of the Methodist Church, and fifty-seven were attending schools and colleges. The Christian Japanese desired a mission of their own, separate from the Chinese mission, and pledged over $2,000. toward expenses. The chapel and parsonage of the Central Methodist Church were procured as temporary headquarters at a rental of $100. per month. In June, 1886, Merriman C. Harris, transferred from the Japan Conference, took over the work and in September was made Superintendent. In 1889 the church membership had increased to 150.[336]

In 1890 Harris estimated the Japanese population at approximately three thousand.

> The population is composed of merchants, students, mechanics, laborers, skilled and unskilled. Until recently the arrivals were largely students, but more laborers have of late been coming, who find employment without much difficulty. . . . Their reputation in the city is good. Complaints against them as a people are rarely heard. On account of their engaging manners and adopting the American customs they are popular.

This year, the Superintendent stated, students associated with the mission were in attendance not only at local California colleges and universities but also at many eastern institutions. Members of the mission also were active in evangelistic work.

> The Japanese brethren have gone everywhere preaching the Gospel—in the public assemblies, the highways, byways, the hospitals, prisons, clubs, lodging houses, ranches, and gambling houses. . . . Our little church is composed of converted merchants, professional men, students, artisans, laborers, gamblers, drunkards . . . .[337]

In 1892 a site was selected for the Japanese Mission House and church. A house of fourteen rooms was moved to the rear of the lot, and on December 2, 1894, the first Japanese Methodist church in America was dedicated.[338]

During the first eighteen years of development of the San Francisco Japanese Mission (1877-95) its influence extended in many different directions. About 1883 a branch of the Japanese Gospel Society was organized in Oakland under the leadership of T. Sunamoto.* In 1889 the mission was organized into a church, which at once became self-supporting. In 1892 the church established branches at Berkeley and Alameda. An evening school also was maintained.[339]

In May, 1889, two Japanese students "went to Los Angeles and gathered the Japanese together, and through the aid of Dr. R. S. Cantine and a committee of the Sunday-school of Fort Street Church" secured a house and established a mission. From October, 1889, to April 1, 1890, the San Francisco Mission supplied financial aid. The Fort Street Church then "assumed the entire responsibility for its continuance." [340]

A branch mission opened in Sacramento in February, 1892, was organized as a church, with preaching places also in Vacaville and in Winters. Surrounding camps and ranches were visited and the Gospel preached in many places. In 1894 Superintendent Harris reported that a branch had been established in Fresno. The Japanese missionary began his work on an allowance of $12.50 per month for salary and house rent.

In the fall of 1892 the San Francisco church sent T. Kawabe on an evangelistic tour through Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, from which he "returned with great joy, having preached to his countrymen and gathered . . . many converts." In February, 1893, he opened a mission in Portland and within a few months organized a Society of fifty members. Several young men were called into the ministry and evangelists were sent out to preach to the hundreds of laborers engaged in construction work on the Union Pacific Railroad in Idaho and Wyoming. Also in 1893 a Japanese Local Preacher, M. Okamoto—then in Seattle—learned of a colony of some hundreds of laborers at Port Simpson, British Columbia. He went to them, labored faithfully among them, and succeeded in organizing over a hundred into Classes under leaders whom he had appointed.[341]

The first company of Japanese immigrants arrived in Hawaii in 1885. Hearing of the religious destitution of their countrymen, in 1887 the Japanese Methodists of San Francisco raised among themselves $200. and sent Kanichi Miyama to investigate conditions among them. He preached his first sermon in Queen Somna's Hall on October 2 and on October 10 organized a Japanese Mutual Aid Society. On May 6, 1888, he baptized three persons; and on July 15 ten others. On July 27 he organized in Honolulu a Methodist Society of twenty-eight men, eight women, and two children, and received fourteen into membership on probation. Preceding the 1888 session of the California Conference Miyama was appointed to the Hawaiian Mission, where he "labored with great zeal and effectiveness" during the Conference year 1888-89. He was assisted by Takeshi Ukai, M. Mitami, and others. A Temperance Society which enlisted three thousand members was organized; also a National Benevolent Society. In August, 1889, Miyama and Ukai returned to San Francisco.[342]

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* In 1890 he was received on trial in the California Conference and appointed to Koala, Honolulu District. Later he was transferred to the Japan Conference.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1890, pp. 354, 356.

Following the removal of the chief leaders the Society suffered serious decline. Learning of the condition of the mission A. N. Fisher, of the Genesee Conference, and his wife, who were in California for health reasons, volunteered to assume temporar supervision of the work. They took charge of the mission in January, 189, visited all of the principal islands, inspected the mission stations, acquainted themselves with the workers, and prepared a report.

> There are employed on the gar plantations of these islands about 13,000 Japanese peasants. . . . We have ny 5 Japanese ministers under appointment, and are in need of 8 to 10 more. We ive 15 preaching-places, 41 full members, 60 probationers, 7 evening schools, 8 nday-schools, with 184 scholars. There have been 219 baptisms since the beginn of our work, but we have suffered from removals and by defection through l of ministerial oversight.

The mission suffered also from too equent changes in personnel. In three years, "with an average of not mor han five workers at any one time," there had been sixteen different perso on the mission staff. Of the current force of seven persons, five had been m bers less than four months.

Fisher continued supervision of the m on as a self-supporting missionary for eighteen months and then, on advice of physician, resigned the position. During his tenure he organized five new c regations, erected two chapels, baptized seventy-four adults, received 126 probation, brought a woman Bible reader from Japan, and gave much ntion to the distribution of Christian literature.[343]

In 1891 the California Conference offered t ansfer the mission to the Hawaiian Board (an organization of native c hes in cooperation with the American Board of Commissioners for For Missions). The Board agreed to take over the mission and to be responsi r its continuance. Accordingly the transfer was made, only to be regrett year later. In 1893, the Japanese population of the Islands had increased 000. Two Japanese missionaries, K. Matsuno and T. Takahashi, were to Hawaii by the Conference to make a new beginning. The Conference asked the General Missionary Committee to make "an appropriation for E h work in Honolulu, and . . . to aid in the evangelization of the . . . Ja se now residing there." [344]

In 1895 the Japanese District * of the California Con e, formed in 1893 with M. C. Harris as Presiding Elder, listed nine n s, of which

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* The Japanese District missions reported in 1895 665 full members, three , seven Local Preachers, and six Sunday schools. They contributed for pastoral support $1,553. , benevolences $347.—*Minutes, California Conference,* 1895, pp. 92, 94, 95.

seven were within the state of California. The two others were Honolulu and Portland, Oregon.[345]

MINOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE MISSIONS

The several other foreign language missions maintained during the period were much less extensive than those which have been described.

Italian Missions.—In Philadelphia in April, 1890, a mission was established among the thirty thousand Italians of the city. After two years, the missionary, T. D. Malan, reported that sixty-two Italian Catholics "had been received on probation and twenty-six in full connection." An Italian Young Men's Association had enlisted fifteen members; a day school had been established with fifty children enrolled; a kindergarten, with about the same number; and a night school of about thirty-five pupils. According to Malan, a sewing class had been attended by over eighty women and girls and an open-air meeting had gathered almost every Sunday from fifty to five hundred hearers. In the work of the schools the Woman's Home Missionary Society cooperated. An Epworth League of nearly fifty members had for its president a young journalist of a distinguished old Roman family. The fifth year (1894) of the mission was stated to be "the most fruitful in . . . [its] history . . . in spite of great hindrances." [346]

A. J. Palmer, Presiding Elder of the New York District, New York Conference, in 1889 pronounced the inauguration of a mission among the Italians of that city probably more remarkable "than any other one work of . . . [the] year, in its immediate results and its possible influence." The missionary, Vito L. Calabrese, a located preacher of the Italy Methodist Conference, in June, 1889, began preaching in the Italian language in the chapel of the Five Points Mission every Sunday afternoon to a congregation of fifty to ninety people. During the first few months the entire support of the minister was paid by a layman, William K. Peyton. At the beginning of the Conference year 1890-91 the Missionary Society took over the mission, renting and furnishing rooms at No. 1 Varick Place. Preaching services, prayer meetings, and Class meetings were held each week. The pastor also visited Italians in prison and the people in their homes and distributed Bibles and tracts. By 1894 the Society had one hundred members.[347]

In 1894 the Presiding Elder of the Boston District reported that the Epworth Settlement at the north end of Boston was rendering "most efficient and valuable service" to the "foreign populations which swarm in that section—chiefly Italians and Jews." [348]

In 1889 a mission to the 15,000 Italian people of New Orleans was established under the leadership of Giovanni B. Giambruno. The Presiding Elder reported in 1889:

> We have three mission stations . . . . Six services each week have been held with an aggregate attendance of 120 per week. The deaconesses labor with success among the Italian homes and children, holding an industrial school two afternoons every week for the latter and a school of 40 children Sunday afternoons.[349]

The first Methodist Italian Church, New Orleans, with a modest building, in 1894 had enrolled twenty-five full members and thirty-six probationers. An Italian mission in Chicago was first listed in the 1894 *Minutes* of the Rock River Conference to be supplied. In 1895 the mission was reported in operation, conducted by Miss A. M. Johnson, and "wonderfully successful," with conversions "almost constantly occurring."

In 1894 the total appropriation* of the Missionary Society to all domestic Italian missions was $5,271.[350]

Bohemian Mission.—Although, as stated, immigration from Bohemia attained significant proportions as early as the forties it was not until the decade of the eighties that the Methodist Church undertook missionary work among the immigrants and then on a very limited scale. In 1885 S. A. Kean, a Methodist layman of Chicago, estimated the Bohemian population of that city at approximately 40,000.

> . . . more than 20,000 of them are in the neighborhood of our Halstead Street Church . . . . We have had Bohemian children in our Sunday-school for many years, but not until a little over a year ago were we able to find any one whom we could trust to preach to them in their own language.

Francis J. Hrejsa, appointed to the Bohemian mission (Halsted Street) in 1885, was diligent both in preaching and in the translating of hymns, the Catechism, and the *Discipline* into the Bohemian language. Within a short time he received about a hundred converts into church membership. In 1887 two Bohemian Societies, Bohemian First Church and Bohemian Second Church, were organized, the former reporting at the end of the next year 122 full members and the latter twenty-five. In 1892 the third Society, and in 1895 the fourth were formed.[351]

A Bohemian mission was also located in a heavily populated center of Cleveland, Ohio. A. H. Norcross, the Presiding Elder, wrote to the Missionary Society in 1885 that, while work had been started several years earlier, "the opening of 'great and effective doors' and the whitening of the field toward the harvest" had come within the last year. An important feature of the program was "a Sunday-school composed almost entirely of Bohemian children, numbering nearly 600 scholars." In 1887 the Broadway Church transferred the mission, together with property of an estimated worth of $10,000., to the trustees of the Cleveland Methodist Episcopal Church and

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* The 1894 appropriation was distributed among five missions in the following Conferences: Philadelphia, $1,335.; New York, $890.; New England, $890.; Rock River, $1,000.; Louisiana, $1,156.—*Seventy-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1894), p. 358.

Sunday-school Alliance. The mission was continued as an appointment of the East Ohio Conference. In 1893 the Conference by resolution commended "the excellent work being done at Broadway Mission" and recommended an advance of $500. in the appropriation. In that year the mission reported 277 full members and 825 pupils in the Sunday schools.[352]

A third center of missionary activity was the Coke Mission, organized in 1883, in the McKeesport District, Pittsburgh Conference. The missionary, J. C. High, in charge from its beginning, in 1886 gave this account:

> I have preached in 27 different places; have maintained preaching regularly every two weeks at 10 places; have organized and sustained 15 Sunday-schools; have given the presiding elder 5 appointments to strengthen other work. I still have 10 Sunday-schools, and five places where I preach regularly and many others at which I preach as frequently as I can. I have built churches, organized societies and Sunday-schools, circulated the Scriptures, many hundreds in the English language and as many as I can of the Hungarian, Slavic, Italian, Bohemian, and German . . . .[353]

In addition to the missionary in charge, at different times women were employed to visit the homes, instruct children, and distribute the Scriptures and religious literature. In 1891 one woman was thus engaged; in the summer of 1892, three.

In 1891 missionary work with Bohemians was begun in a small way in the East Baltimore Conference. In 1893 appropriations of the Missionary Society to all Bohemian missions* amounted to $9,550.[354]

Other Minor Missions.—An attempt was made in 1884 by C. V. Anthony to establish a mission to the Portuguese in and about San Leandro, California. He secured a missionary appropriation of $700. to inaugurate the work but could find no one who knew the language or who was willing to acquire it, and the enterprise was finally abandoned.[355] In 1891 a mission was established in the Portuguese section of New Bedford, Massachusetts, the Methodist churches of the city assuming the financial responsibility. In 1892 Walter Ela, Presiding Elder of the New Bedford District, reported a measure of success:

> In June last I organized in New Bedford the first Portuguese Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, with eleven in full membership and eight on probation. . . . Though the services are not largely attended they are awakening a deep and widespread interest among the Portuguese people.

Meetings held in Truro and later in Provincetown resulted in a few converts. The missionary first appointed to the work retired after a brief period of service but soon afterward George B. Nind, formerly a missionary in

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* Appropriations were made in 1893 for Bohemian missions in six Conferences: Rock River, $3,500.; East Ohio, $2,500.; Pittsburgh, $1,250.; Baltimore, $1,000.; Upper Iowa, $800.; Philadelphia, $500.—*Seventy-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1893), p. 296.

Brazil, was secured to take his place. In 1895 the mission reported fifteen full members, eleven probationers, and twenty Sunday-school pupils.[356]

In 1892 Clemente A. Moya came from Mexico to Brooklyn under a strong impression that he had been "called by God, to preach the Gospel to the Spanish-speaking people" of that city and of New York. After four months' labor he had succeeded in establishing preaching services in the Sands Street Church and the Washington Square Church in the New York area, and a Sunday school in the Nostrand Avenue Church, in Brooklyn. The first Spanish Methodist church of Brooklyn* was organized on January 10, 1893, with nine full members and some thirty-five probationers. Within the first year Spanish language Sunday schools were also established in the three churches.[357]

An appropriation of $1,000. was made by the Missionary Society in 1893 to the Philadelphia Conference for work among the Pennsylvania Dutch in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. The next year the missionary, William H. Zweizig, announced that he had established in June the County Mission (Lehman Street), Lebanon, with a "church class" of twenty persons, and a Sunday school of one hundred, with twenty officers and teachers. Preaching services were regularly held also at Fontana and Richland but no "denominational organization . . . [had been] effected." [358]

In 1893 an appropriation of $600. was made by the Missionary Society "for Hebrew work in New York City." This was increased in 1894 to $1,200. Arno C. Gaebelein was appointed as missionary.† In 1894 he reported "larger congregations of *regular* attendants than ever before, mostly elderly and intelligent men." By the end of 1894 five Hebrew men and one woman had been baptized.[359]

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE SOUTH

The Plan of Separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844 by the decisive vote of 144 to 22, which resulted in the division of the Church, left in its train numerous unsettled problems. No sooner had the northern delegates returned to their homes than heated and long-drawn-out controversy arose. Was the plan constitutional? Had not the General Conference exceeded its powers in providing for the division of the Church in case the Annual Conferences in the slaveholding states should so elect? Was not the plan a contravention of the Fifth Restrictive Rule which prohibited the General Conference "from abridging the rights of trial and appeal"? Did the plan not violate the Third Restrictive Rule in preventing Bishops from serving all sections of the Connection? Before the quadrennium had passed general sentiment in the Church concerning the validity of the Plan of Separation had crystallized and the 1848 General Conference, by a vote of 133 to 9, declared the plan null and void. But the separation was a *fait accompli* and no action of the General Conference could restore the unity of the Church.[360] The matter of division of the assets of the Book Concern also was out of the hands of General Conference.*

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* In 1880 at the Southern California Conference a Spanish language appointment was scheduled in Los Angeles, and in 1881, a second one in the Santa Barbara District. Both were left to be supplied. In 1883 one of the Presiding Elders reported that neither money nor men were available for the work and that it must be surrendered to other Churches. (*Minutes, Southern California Conference,* 1880, pp. 17-18, 20; *ibid.,* 1881, p. 30; *ibid.,* 1883, p. 31.) At the 1889 Arizona Mission Meeting a missionary was appointed to "Tucson, Spanish work," and next year an appropriation of $650. was made for maintenance. In 1891 attention was directed to the fact that "for a large Spanish population" the Church had not a single school or missionary, nevertheless the appointment was discontinued.—*Minutes, Tucson Mission,* 1899, p. [11]; 1890, p. 9; 1891, p. 17.

† Gaebelein held services every Saturday in the Allen Street Memorial Church. Later, services were held at 91 Rivington Street on Saturday mornings and afternoons and on Sunday afternoons. Services were conducted also on Sunday afternoons at 209 Madison Street, the headquarters of the Hope of Israel Mission.

Before adjournment of the 1848 General Conference a wide door was opened for the organization of local churches and of Annual Conferences in the South. The Committee on the State of the Church reported having received memorials signed by 2,735 persons in the slaveholding states, praying "for ministers to be sent to them" for the organization of Conferences and Districts, and for recognition as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The petitions came from western Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas.[361] In response, the Conference

> *Resolved,* that we recognize all persons in these United States, who were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844, who have not been separated from said Church by withdrawal or expulsion, according to Discipline, and who express a desire to be recognized as still under our care and jurisdiction, as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and that we regard it as our duty, as far as practicable, to supply all such with the preaching and ordinances of the Gospel.[362]

A first result of the repudiation of the Plan of Separation and of the response of General Conference to the memorials asking for ministers and churches was an immediate intensification of the effort of both denominations for the retention of the border Conferences and local churches. Particulars of the bitter struggle in Missouri and Arkansas have already been given.† An enabling act was passed by the 1848 General Conference for the Western Virginia Conference‡—the first to be organized in the border territory.[363]

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* The 1844 General Conference recommended to the Annual Conferences a change in the Sixth Restrictive Rule permitting a division of Book Concern assets. The southern Conferences voted unanimously in the affirmative. In the northern Conferences the recommendation was defeated. Resort was had by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the civil courts—to the U. S. Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York, and to the U. S. Circuit Court of the District of Ohio. The decision of the New York Court was in favor of the plaintiffs (the South), that of the Ohio Court against them. When it appeared that appeal from the New York decision would be taken to the Supreme Court the representatives of the two Churches agreed to arbitration, but the western branch of the Book Concern refused. The South then appealed to the Supreme Court in which a unanimous decision was handed down in favor of the southern Church. In the final settlement the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. received approximately $375,000. from the Methodist Book Concern, and $17,000. from the Chartered Fund.— J. N. Norwood, *The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1884* . . . , ch. VII, "The Settlement of the Property Case."

† See pp. 204 ff.

‡ The organizing session of the Western Virginia Conference was held at Wheeling during July 5-12, 1848. No Minutes of this meeting are to be found. The second session was convened at Clarksburg on Oct. 10, 1849, with thirty-four members in full connection and eighteen probationers. Appointments were made to forty-three Circuits and Stations in four Districts. There were 12,635 members in full connection, of whom 378 were Negroes; and 143 Sunday schools with 5,064 pupils. The number of church buildings was not reported. (*Minutes, Western Virginia Conference,* 1849, as compiled and printed in *Minutes, West Virginia Conference,* 1938, pp. 42, 44, 45, 63, 64.) At its

When the Civil War began, "the great body of the Methodist Episcopal Church" stood for the Union cause "as firm as a rock." "The people refused to be dragged into secession by the eastern part of the State, and out of the throes of the Civil War came the new and loyal State of West Virginia."[364]

The second border group to be formed was the Kentucky Conference. When, in accordance with the Plan of Separation, vote was taken in 1845 on resolutions of adherence to the South only five voted against adoption.* Among the laity, however, particularly in the interior of the state, there were many who were strongly opposed to division and who were anti-slavery. The 1852 General Conference decided, by a vote of 77 to 66, to establish the Kentucky Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.† Considering the divided sentiment among both the ministry and laity the growth of the Church was remarkable. Beginning with only fourteen charges and 1,865 full members, of whom 197 were Negroes, less than a decade after the close of the Civil War the Kentucky Conference had eight Districts with eighty-four Circuits and Stations and 15,636 full members.[365]

After 1851 the General Missionary Committee gradually increased the missionary appropriation to the border Conferences. During the quadrennium 1852-56 missionary appropriations to the Missouri, Arkansas, Western Virginia, Kentucky, Baltimore, and Philadelphia Conferences totaled $64,300. The largest amount, $17,800., was appropriated for the Missouri Conference.[366]

The Bishops' Address at the 1856 General Conference included a statement on what had been done by way of implementing the declaration of 1848: the General Conference "having retained its jurisdiction over conferences previously existing" in the slaveholding states and "having directed the organization of additional conferences,"

> it became our duty to arrange the districts, circuits, and stations, and to superintend them as an integral part of the Church. As the result we have six annual conferences which are wholly or in part in slave territory.[367]

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forty-ninth session, 1895, with nine Districts, 189 Circuits and Stations, 45,423 members in full connection, 251 Local Preachers, 693 Sunday schools and 41,313 pupils, West Virginia had become one of the strong Conferences of the Church.—*Minutes, West Virginia Conference,* 1895, pp. 40 ff., II-XXVI.

* The five negative votes were cast by James Ward, A. Kelly, R. G. Gardiner, J. G. Bruce, and Allen Sears. J. G. Bruce later "changed his decision." The others transferred to Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Joseph S. Tomlinson, president of Augusta College, did not wait for the formal Conference action but transferred in 1844 to the Ohio Conference. Two probationary members, opposed to the Conference decision, "were simply dropped from the roll." (W. E. Arnold, *A History of Methodism in Kentucky,* II, 302 f.) At the 1865 session of the Kentucky Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, "eighteen ministers, among whom were some of marked ability, withdrew and were received as local preachers in a Quarterly Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and at the ensuing session of the Kentucky Conference were received into full connection and duly appointed."—J. M. Buckley, *A History of Methodists in the United States,* p. 518.

† In 1849 the Ohio Conference included two appointments in Kentucky—Covington and Asbury—and in 1851 Bishop Morris created a Kentucky District with eight appointments. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1849, p. 382; *ibid.,* 1851, p. 663.) The Indiana Conference also had two Circuits and two missions in Kentucky. (*Daily Zion's Herald,* May 28, 1852, pp. 90 f.) The *Minutes* of the 1852 session of the Cincinnati Conference state that the "Kentucky Conference is to be supplied with preachers from this conference." The *Minutes* also include Kentucky Conference appointments but no record of proceedings of an organizational session. (*Minutes, Cincinnati Conference,* 1852, pp. 8, 68.) Curiously the *General Minutes* for 1852 designate the Conference as the "Cincinnati and Kentucky Conference." The first separate session was held in Covington, Ky., Oct. 14-17, 1853. In 1895 it had 22,549 full members, 276 churches, 159 Local Preachers, and 224 Sunday schools with 14,017 pupils.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1852, pp. 119, 123; *ibid.,* 1853, pp. 301 f.; *ibid.,* Fall, 1895, p. 510.

The Bishops' work of organization and arrangement of Conferences, Circuits, and Stations was advanced, albeit with some injustices and unfortunate results, by an order of Secretary of War Stanton, November, 1862, at the suggestion of Bishop E. R. Ames, to the Union commanders in the Departments of Missouri, Tennessee, and the Gulf. They were instructed to place at the Bishop's disposal "all houses of worship belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," in which a loyal preacher "appointed by a loyal Bishop . . . does not officiate." [368] Later a similar order was issued covering three other military departments.* In 1863, also, the General Missionary Committee appropriated $35,000., "in view of the magnitude and importance of the work opening in the South," and the Bishops "proceeded . . . to make a personal survey of the accessible portions," and began to appoint ministers to local communities, and to wider areas, to work among both whites and blacks.[369] Before the close of the year several missionaries had been appointed, including T. W. Lewis to Beaufort, South Carolina, and J. E. Round to New Bern, North Carolina.†

In 1864 all of the newly established missions, by concurrent action of the General Conference and the Missionary Board, were included in the recently designated "third class of Missions," and in the following year were distributed to five District Departments.‡ They became the nuclei of the Mission Conferences established later.

Memorials from Negroes praying for Annual Conferences of their own had been received and considered as early as 1848 when John P. Durbin "presented two memorials from colored members in Pennsylvania, N[ew] Jersey and Delaware, asking the General Conference to organize an annual Conference for colored members, to be presided over by one of our Bishops and by white Presiding Elders." § In 1852 the General Conference advised that the Negro Local Preachers within the Philadelphia and New Jersey Conferences be assembled annually by the presiding Bishop for the purpose of conferring on means for promoting their work and for assignment to their work. The Conference also proposed that the "Presiding Elders within whose bounds . . . the coloured churches and congregations" were located should be present for counsel. In 1860 memorials were received asking for extension[370] of the powers granted in 1852 and 1856 to the "Conference of Colored Local Preachers" which would make it in effect a regular Annual Conference. The General Conference decided that "the prayer of the Memorialists could not be granted without doing violence to . . . [the Church's] usages and disciplinary regulations." A final item in the memorials, asking that Negro preachers be admitted to membership in the Annual Conferences, was withdrawn (doubtless for expediency's sake) before the memorials came before the Conference for decision.[371] Progress by the Church toward granting Negroes full recognition and ministerial rights was slow but each quadrennium registered some advance. The Bishops' Address in 1864 said:

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* When the orders of the military departments were brought to the attention of President Lincoln he wrote to Stanton expressing embarrassment at what had been done, particularly in view of earlier statements that he (the President) had made. "I have never interfered," he had written, "nor thought of interfering as to who shall or who shall not preach in any Church, nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated anyone else to so interfere by my authority."—Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America, During the Great Rebellion . . .*, p. 527.

† During 1863-65 not less than twenty-three ministers received appointments: T. W. Lewis of the New England Conference to Beaufort, S. C.; J. E. Round, New England Conference, to New Bern, N. C.; John P. Newman, New York Conference, to New Orleans; W. C. Daily, R. H. Guthrie, and George A. Gowan, Kentucky Conference, to East Tennessee; N. L. Brakeman, Northwest Indiana, to Baton Rouge, La.; H. G. Jackson, Northwest Indiana, to New Orleans; A. S. Lakin, Cincinnati Conference, "missionary to the South"; W. Z. Ross, Ohio Conference, to Shelbyville, Tenn.; Wesley Prettyman, Ohio Conference, to Murfreesboro, Tenn.; J. P. Davis, Southern Illinois Conference, "missionary to the South"; Lucius Hawkins, Rock River Conference, to Memphis; D. J. Holmes, Rock River Conference, to Nashville; W. M. Henry, East Genesee Conference, "missionary to the South"; Joseph R. Wheeler and G. W. Hobbs, Baltimore Conference, to Portsmouth, Va.; J. S. Swaim, Newark Conference, to Florida; W. H. Tiffany, Troy Conference, "missionary to the Freedmen"; W. H. Norris, New York East Conference, to Nashville; J. C. Emerson and James A. DeForrest, New Hampshire Conference, "missionaries to the South"; William H. Pearne, Wyoming Conference, to New Orleans.

‡ The five District Departments were: (1) "Mississippi Department," including Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; (2) "Middle Department," so much of Tennessee as was not in the Holston Conference, Alabama, and western Georgia; (3) "Southern Department," Florida, eastern Georgia, and South Carolina; (4) "Northern Department," eastern North Carolina, and so much of Virginia as was not in the Baltimore Conference; and (5) "Interior Department," all interior territories not included in any Annual Conference.—*Forty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1864), pp. 102 f.; *ibid., 49th* (1867), p. 128.

§ This memorial, after "some little discussion," was referred to a special committee. The committee reported that "it was inexpedient at present to organize an annual conference for the colored

> The provision adopted by the General Conference in 1856, though an advance on former legislation, is not, we believe, sufficient to meet the necessities of the colored people. The time has now come, in our judgment, when the General Conference should carefully consider what measures can be adopted to give increased efficiency to our Church among them.[372]

A special "Committee on the State of the Work among people of Color" [*] was created by the 1864 General Conference. The committee recommended and the Conference authorized the organization of one or more Negro Mission [†] Conferences [‡] "where the exigencies of the work may demand it" with the provision that white ministers might be transferred to them "when it may be practicable and deemed necessary." To make Conference organization possible the General Conference so far suspended the Disciplinary rule requiring a probation of two years

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people," and the report was adopted. A similar memorial from New Jersey met a like fate.—*Daily Christian Advocate,* May 10, 1848, p. 2; "Journal of the General Conference, 1848," p. 130, in *G. C. Journals,* III.

[*] In its report the committee declared that "colored pastorates for colored people" were necessary to secure "a ministry adapted to their wants, encouraging their young men to enter the ministerial field, and offering motive and opportunity for general ministerial advancement." The committee further expressed opposition to separation "either with a view to union with another, or to independent organization." The General Conference cannot, it said, "consistently with its own responsibility, with their constitutional rights, or with any decent recognition of their loyalty to our Church . . . adopt any measure which shall, even indirectly look to such a result." The committee also stated that incorporation with an existing Annual Conference would be "attended with difficulties too formidable every way to be readily disposed of" and the resulting delay "incompatible with the urgent requirements of the times."—*G. C. Journal,* 1864, pp. 486 f.

[†] The status of these Conferences was not clearly determined. In practice later some were considered as regular Annual Conferences.

[‡] This action of General Conference—the sanctioning of separate Negro Conferences—was deplored by the New England Conference of 1865. "We must avoid the danger," the Conference declared, "of recognizing the distinction of color among a common church and ministry." ("Report on Reconstruction of the Church," *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XL [1865], 17 [April 27], 130.) Strong protest against separate Conferences was made by Gilbert Haven, later a Bishop. Separate organization, he contended, placed upon preachers and people an ignominious badge of inferiority which was both un-Christian and contrary to the policy of the government. "The only right and successful way is *to entirely ignore the idea of color in the organization of our Churches and conferences throughout the whole land.*"—Gilbert Haven, letter, *ibid.,* 21 (May 25), 164.

> as to allow the bishops to organize into one or more Annual Conferences such colored local elders as have traveled two or more years under a presiding elder, and shall be recommended by a Quarterly Conference, and by at least ten elders who are members of an Annual Conference.[373]

Under this provision the Delaware Conference[*]—the first Negro Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church—was organized on July 28, 1864, in Wesley Chapel, Philadelphia, with a membership of ten elders, one of whom had been employed by a Presiding Elder for sixteen years, a second for fifteen, and a third for twelve. Ten preachers were received on trial.

The Washington Conference[†] met in its first session in Baltimore on October 27, 1864, with five charter members; twelve were admitted on trial.[374]

Impressed by the need of the 3,500,000 freedmen for aid beyond the power of the Churches to render, the General Conference in 1864 urged Congress to establish a government bureau of freedmen's affairs.[375] On March 3, 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau was established as a war measure to protect and aid the freed slaves. Its administration was placed in the capable hands of General Oliver O. Howard. The Bureau was actively supported by the Methodist Church, a number of ministers and laymen associating themselves with it. Of the latter, one of the best known was General Clinton B. Fisk, Assistant Commissioner for Kentucky. His influence materially aided the missionaries working among the freedmen.[376]

In 1864 the General Conference also authorized the Bishops, "when in their judgment they deem it expedient, within the next four years to organize a Conference or Conferences in the Southern States and in the Territories." [377] This action was quickly followed by Annual Conference organization. On July 7, 1864, a convention of Methodists who had been loyal to the Union met in the Protestant Episcopal church in Knoxville to consider "the wants, prospects, and interests" of Methodism in east Tennessee. Sixty ordained ministers and sixty who were unordained were reported ready to enter a Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. One minister, William Milburn, said, "I was never connected with slavery; was not raised up to believe it was right; was taught from my boyhood, to believe it was wrong." J. L. Mann said, "It was my fortune or misfortune to be born in Tennessee. I was reared among all the influences of negro slavery, and efforts were made to make me believe it was right; but I have been an original, unmitigated, Simon-pure abolitionist. . . . I went to the Federal Army, and for sixteen months I served God and my country in the army." On June 1, 1865, Bishop Davis W. Clark [*] organized the Holston Conference with a nucleus of six preachers[†] transferred from the North.[378]

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[*] The Delaware Conference was organized with three Districts—Delaware River, Odessa, and Choptank—and nineteen appointments; 4,871 members in full connection; thirty-four churches; and twenty-one Sunday schools with 811 pupils. In 1895 it had five Districts. 127 appointments, 16,854 full members, 254 churches; and 257 Sunday schools, with 13.845 pupils. Fifty-three Societies each had less than fifty members.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1864, pp. 129 f.; *ibid.,* Spring, 1895, pp. 68 f., 187; *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXXIX (1864), 32 (Aug. 11), 253.

[†] As fixed by the Committee on Boundaries the Washington Conference embraced "Western Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, and the territory south." (*G. C. Journal,* 1864, p. 224.) It was organized with two Districts, nineteen churches, and eleven Sunday schools, with 1,234 pupils. One Society, at Anne Arundel, Md., had 1,550 members, and another, Sharp St. Church, Baltimore, 1,400 members.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1864, pp. 235 f.

The Mississippi Mission Conference[‡] was organized by Bishop Edward Thomson at New Orleans on December 25, 1865, with four Districts—one in Mississippi, two in Louisiana, and one in Texas. Of the thirty-four appointments listed, eighteen were left to be supplied. In the three states there were but five Methodist Episcopal church buildings, all for Negro congregations. Of these, Wesley Chapel in New Orleans, a commodious house of worship seating approximately one thousand persons, was built by the members while they were yet slaves. At the first session of the Conference plans were made for ministerial training by establishing the Thomson Biblical Institute. Three Negroes and one white minister were ordained as elders. At the sight of the four standing side by side, the same hands placed upon the heads of all, the congregation were deeply moved, some to tears, some to shouts. Was not this, the secretary of the Conference asked, "the commencement of a new era in the south?" [379]

Racial antagonism, in some communities amounting to persecution, made progress extremely difficult. In 1868 the tobacco warehouse occupied by the newly organized Greatman Street Church, New Orleans, was demolished by ruffians and the tables, chairs, and seats were "literally broken into splinters," yet within that year the Conference registered a net increase of 5,002 members and probationers. There were this year only eight comfortable meeting houses and most of these had been built by the Missionary Society. Twenty-two places of worship were rudely constructed shacks built of logs or rough boards. Many Societies worshiped in brush arbors, with no roof other than branches of shrubs or trees.[380]

Bishop Osmon C. Baker convened the organizational session of the South

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[*] Davis Wasgatt Clark (1812-71) was born on Mount Desert Island, Hancock County, Maine, on Feb. 25, 1812. At sixteen he joined a Methodist Class, at nineteen entered the Maine Wesleyan Seminary, and at twenty-two enrolled in Wesleyan University, from which he graduated in 1836. He was admitted on trial to the New York Conference in 1843. (*Ibid.*, III, 337.) After ten years in the itinerancy, he was elected in 1852, by the Book Committee, editor of the *Ladies' Repository*. The General Conference of 1864, on the first ballot, elected him to the episcopacy. He was a man of clear and strong moral and religious convictions, a forceful writer, and a successful administrator.—Daniel Curry, *Life-Story of Rev. Davis Wasgatt Clark, D.D.*, . . . , p. 15, *ct passim.*

[†] The six transferred ministers were: T. H. Pearne, Oregon Conference; T. S. Stivers, Ohio Conference; J. F. Spence, Cincinnati Conference; and W. C. Daily, G. A. Gowan, and R. H. Guthrie, Kentucky Conference. Forty-three preachers were received into the Conference and seven admitted on trial. Appointments were made to four Districts. Membership, white and colored, including probationers and Local Preachers, numbered 6,162; number of churches, 100; Sunday schools, 49, with 2,425 pupils. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1865, pp. 125 f.; R. N. Price, *Holston Methodism, From its Origin to the Present Time,* IV, 392.) Six years later the Conference, with nine Districts and eighty-six Circuits and Stations, reported 20,798 full members, 2,751 probationers, 206 Local Preachers, and 208 churches.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1871, pp. 254 f.

[‡] When organized the Mississippi Mission Conference had five ministerial members in full connection, all of whom were white missionaries. Eleven Negroes were received on trial. Full members numbered 2,216; Sunday schools, nine; pupils, 1,386. (*Minutes, Mississippi Mission Conference,* 1865, pp. 2, 3, 4; *Forty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1865], pp. 141 f.; *ibid., 48th* [1866], p. 115.) The 1868 General Conference revised the boundaries, limiting the Conference to the state of Mississippi. (*Discipline,* 1868, p. 270.) By the blanket resolution covering all Mission Conferences in the United States and Territories, the 1868 General Conference made the Mississippi Mission Conference a regular Annual Conference. (*G. C. Journal,* 1868, p. 130.) At the fifth session the Conference reported 25.708 members in full connection, a phenomenal increase.—*Minutes, Mississippi Conference,* 1873, p. 27.

Carolina Mission Conference[*] on April 2, 1866. The groundwork had been done principally by T. Willard Lewis at Charleston, to whom the post commander had given "the sole charge of the Methodist Episcopal Churches and parsonages" of the city, and by J. A. De Forrest who had been appointed by the Freedmen's Bureau "superintendent of all the schools in Beaufort District" and had established three preaching places. On December 31, 1866, Lewis informed the Missionary Society that, as Presiding Elder, he had organized fourteen Circuits "with from two to nine regular preaching places in each, mostly supplied by devoted colored local preachers, who are well qualified save in the 'letter.' "[381]

At a meeting of the Bishops in July, 1866, Bishop Davis W. Clark was directed to organize a Mission Conference embracing "the work in Tennessee not included in the Holston Conference, and that in Western Georgia and Northern Alabama." Accordingly, on October 11, 1866, at Murfreesboro, the Tennessee Conference was brought into existence,[†] with eighteen Traveling Preachers as charter members, including both white and colored.[382]

More than one-fourth of the population of Texas in 1860 was composed of Negro slaves, in all, 136,853.[‡] Missionary work among them, as we have seen, had been undertaken at various times and from different directions. Finally, the Texas Mission Conference[§] was organized, at the instance of the Bishops, by Bishop Simpson at Houston, on January 3, 1867. The nucleus of the Conference consisted of five Traveling Preachers. In addition, two on trial and ten applying for admission on trial were received.[383]

On June 25, 1865, what was probably the first Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church organized in Georgia after the division of the Church was formed at Flint Hill, Fannin County, by the Rev. Alexander Haren, a native of North Carolina who had formerly been a Traveling Preacher. He organized a second Society at Hothouse, also in Fannin County, on the first Sunday in July. In various other places groups of anti-slavery Methodists held meetings, and in January, 1866, at Atlanta Bishop Clark organized a "Georgia-Alabama Mission District." It was at first connected with the Kentucky Conference and later with the Tennessee Conference.[384] On October 10, 1867, Bishop Clark organized in Atlanta the Georgia Mission Conference.* Nine preachers were recognized as charter members, two others as probationers, seven were received on credentials from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and twenty-three were received on trial. Of the total of forty-one, ten were colored and thirty-one were white. Of these, twenty-six were southern men. The movement in Georgia, it may be seen, was largely indigenous to the soil. "In the main, outside of the schools," says Edmund J. Hammond,

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[*] The South Carolina Mission Conference as first organized included South Carolina, Florida, and eastern Georgia. In 1868 its boundaries were changed to include only South Carolina and "all of Florida east of the Apalachicola River." (*Discipline,* 1868, p. 273.) By the 1872 General Conference it was restricted to the state of South Carolina. (*G. C. Journal,* 1872, p. 425.) When a quarter century had passed (1895) the Conference, with six Districts and 131 Circuits and Stations, had 38,188 full members, 359 churches, and 425 Local Preachers.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1895, p. 135.

[†] The Tennessee Mission Conference, when organized, had four Districts: Nashville, McMinnville, Memphis, and Nashville Mission District, within which twenty-five ministers were appointed to charges and nine Circuits and Stations were left to be supplied. In addition, ten missionaries were assigned to the Mission District of Alabama and Western Georgia. At the end of its first year the Conference reported 4,865 full members, thirty churches, forty-nine Sunday schools, with 3,250 pupils, and ninety-four Local Preachers. At the 1876 session, preceding division of the Conference, total membership was 10,589 in full connection; number of churches, 192; Sunday schools, 195; pupils, 8,359; Local Preachers, 206.—*Ibid.,* 1866, p. 359; *ibid.,* 1867, pp. 264 f.; *Minutes, Tennessee Conference,* 1876, pp. 28-35.

[‡] Negro slaves, according to Macum Phelan, had been "rendered for taxation" in 1859 at a valuation of $85,630,748., an average value of $625.54. "The slave wealth of the state overtopped that from any other source, even exceeding the value of land . . . , and being two and one-half times the value of all the horses and cattle put together."—*History of Early Methodism in Texas, 1817-1866,* I, 459 f.

[§] The Texas Mission Conference, as organized, embraced the state of Texas. (*G. C. Journal,* 1868, p. 317.) At its first session nineteen Circuits and Stations were listed, in three Districts—the Texas Mission District, the Houston District, and the German Mission District—in which five appointments were left to be supplied. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1867, p. 9.) In 1868 the total membership reported was 2,488; churches, 16; Local Preachers, 45; Sunday schools, 10, with 1,036 pupils. In 1878, following division, the membership was 7,600; churches, 92; Sunday schools, 115, with 4,440 pupils. (*Ibid.,* Fall, 1868, p. 9; *ibid.,* Fall, 1878, p. 198.) Growth continued to be rapid, in 1895—with six Districts—the Conference reported 12,990 members; 207 Local Preachers; 194 churches; and 214 Sunday schools with a pupil enrollment of 9,818—*Ibid.,* Fall, 1895, pp. 594 f.

> this early work . . . was done by southern white men—men who had not believed in slavery, but who did believe in teaching the negro how to use his liberty wisely and in teaching his white neighbors how to respect that freedom. And these men did this work at the cost of social ostracism, financial penury, and even at the risk of life itself.[385]

The Virginia Mission Conference (at first called the Virginia and North Carolina Mission Conference) was organized in Portsmouth, Virginia, on January 3, 1867, with four Traveling Preachers recorded as members on the first day, one from the New York East and three from the Baltimore Conference. Subsequently five others were recognized as members, including two from the Methodist Protestant Church and one from the Methodist New Connexion Church of Canada. The 1868 General Conference changed the boundaries and authorized reorganization as the Virginia Conference.† Although the Conference was exclusively white in ministry and membership, since the Washington Conference included Virginia within its area intense enmity against the Church prevailed in some sections. One church in the Virginia District was burned by incendiaries in 1869. The Presiding Elder of the Abingdon District wrote to the *Christian Advocate:*

> The people sympathizing with us are poor; the wealthy are very hostile; owning as some of them do, from ten to twenty thousand acres of land, they have it in

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* The Georgia Conference included "the state of Georgia." (*G. C. Journal,* 1868, p. 311.) It was organized with four Districts and thirty-nine appointments. Members in full connection numbered 7,768; churches, 28; Local Preachers, 66; Sunday schools, 63, with 4,778 pupils. In 1876 Georgia became exclusively a white Conference. Growth following division was slow. In 1895, with three Districts, appointments numbered only 26; members, 2,791; churches, 77; Sunday schools, 52, with 1,925 pupils. Only four churches had more than 200 members, while nine had fewer than 100.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1867, pp. 269 f.; *ibid.,* Spring, 1895, pp. 131 f.

† Virginia Conference "shall include all the state of Virginia not embraced in the Baltimore and Wilmington Conferences, and also the counties of Pocohontas, Green Briar, and Monroe of the state of West Virginia." (*G. C. Journal,* 1868, p. 317.) The Conference was organized at Alexandria, Va., March 3-7, 1869, with three Districts and forty-three appointments, including fifteen to be supplied. Members in full connection numbered 3,515; churches, 38; Sunday schools, 25, with 1,309 pupils. In 1895 the Conference had 47 appointments; 7,891 members; 141 churches; 140 Sunday schools, with 7,586 pupils.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1869, pp. 18-20; *Minutes, Virginia Conference,* 1895, pp. 14-16, 31.

their power to oppress very much. They have ordered our people off the land, and from one circuit nineteen members, some of them the oldest Methodist families in the Union have been driven into Tennessee. One brother at New Garden, on Elk River, had his barn and its entire contents . . . burned because he was a member of our Church.[386]

The 1868 General Conference set apart the North Carolina section of the Virginia and North Carolina Conference as a separate Conference. Five preachers met with Bishop Ames at Union Chapel, Alexander County, on January 14, 1869, and organized the North Carolina Conference.* At the time of organization a church building program was in progress, with twelve churches built or in the process of building. At the seventh session its Committee on the State of the Church reviewed progress since separate organization. A beginning was made, the committee stated, under circumstances of great difficulty when "the fires of bitterness and prejudice" still burned fiercely; stated places of worship were closed to the preachers, and resort could be had only to schoolhouses here and there and to a few homes. Yet within eight years ninety-seven churches had been built, more than eight thousand people had been gathered into the Church and at least forty thousand more had become attendants upon its services. God had been raising up young men for the ministry and the churches had increased in self-support. The influence of the Church was beginning to be felt throughout the Commonwealth and its power acknowledged.[387]

In 1867 Bishop Clark, in accordance with the commission given him by the Bishops in 1866, proceeded to organize a Conference in Alabama.† The way had been prepared by J. J. Brasher‡ and the four associates appointed at the Tennessee Conference the preceding year. The organizing session at Talladega, October 17-20, opened "with 4 members and closed with 46." From the beginning a large proportion of the work was missionary in character. In 1877, the year after the Central Alabama Conference had been set off, twenty appointments of the Alabama Conference were missions, receiving from the Missionary Society a total appropriation of two thousand dollars. Thirty-two charges in 1887 were missions with a missionary grant of $3,400.;

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* The North Carolina Conference embraced the state of North Carolina "excepting the ten counties west of Wautauga County and the Blue Ridge," which were a part of the Holston Conference. (*G. C. Journal*, 1868, p. 314.) The Conference began with one District of twelve Circuits and Stations which included about two hundred Societies. The membership numbered 2,859 in full connection; churches, 14; Sunday schools, 48, with 2,360 pupils. (*Minutes, North Carolina Conference*, 1869, p. 11.) In 1895 with 136 churches the Conference had 8,674 members in full connection, and 160 Sunday schools with 8,166 pupils.—*Ibid.*, 1895, pp. 26 ff., 49 ff.

† The Alabama Conference was organized with seven Districts, fifty-seven appointments, 7,382 members in full connection, seventy-three churches, 132 Local Preachers, and sixty-nine Sunday schools enrolling 3,491 pupils. (*Gen'l Minutes*, 1867, pp. 270 f.) In 1895, having become in 1876 an all-white Conference, it reported four Districts, fifty-three appointments, 8,187 members, 155 churches, and 134 Sunday schools with 6,586 pupils.—*Minutes, Alabama Conference*, 1895, pp. 28, 30

‡ When in 1845 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was organized J. J. Brasher was one of those not in favor of the movement but acceded to the will of the majority. When slavery was abolished and the war had closed he protested that "there should be only one Methodist Church." When his protest failed to gain favor he proceeded, with four associates, to organize the "United Methodist Church." With the organization of the Alabama Conference he and his colabore-s united with it, bringing with them thirty-three other preachers.—Edmund Jordan Hammond, *The Methodist Episcopal Church in Georgia . . .*, pp. 110 f.

and in 1895 thirty-seven of the fifty-three appointments received three thousand dollars in missionary support.[388]

The Louisiana Conference,* "set off from the Mississippi Conference," met for organization in Wesley Chapel, New Orleans, on January 13, 1869, with twenty Conference members present. Thirteen others were received on trial. Five Districts were formed, to four of which Negroes were appointed Presiding Elders. Several of the pastors in making their reports spoke of the bitterness and opposition manifested against them by white people. Levi Johnson said he often traveled by night "to avoid meeting insult or injury." S. M. Small said that his members had endured serious persecution.

> His church and school house had been searched by persons who pretended to think that firearms were secreted there. One of his local preachers had been shot in cold blood at one of his meetings. Those perpetrating the deed then proceeded to a cabin and hung two women and one man up to the rafter till dead.

At this first session of the Conference three Societies each reported more than a thousand members; nine had less than one hundred. Ten years later 1,838 fewer members were reported than at the first session, although the number of churches had increased to 111. Among them were many small Societies, some with less than fifty members. Only Wesley Chapel in New Orleans had as many as five hundred members.[389]

Was the smaller total Conference membership the result of persecution? It would not seem so, otherwise how can one account for the much larger number of Societies? A probability is that greater attention was given to conditions of admission to membership and to more accurate reporting.

In their address at the 1868 General Conference the Bishops reported that "under the specific authority" given them four years before, nine Conferences had been organized in that part "of our southern territory" not previously included in Annual Conferences. The nucleus of white ministers in most cases consisted of preachers from northern Conferences, in all approximately fifty, who came from all sections of the North. These were supplemented by a few chaplains of the Union army who remained in the South when the troops were withdrawn. In two or three Conferences as, for example, Holston, former ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, sought admission and were received. The majority of the preachers were freedmen, many of whom as slaves had been licensed Local Preachers. The total number of Traveling Preachers in 1871, according to a computation made by L. C. Matlack, was 630, of whom 260 were white and 370 were Negroes. Lay members in the same year numbered approximately 135,000, of whom 47,000 were white and 88,000 were of African descent.[390]

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* Louisiana Conference when organized embraced "the State of Louisiana." (*G. C. Journal*, 1868, p. 313.) Twenty-nine Circuits and Stations were listed. Members in full connection were 10,572; churches, 27; Local Preachers, 128; Sunday schools, 48, with 3,604 pupils. (*Minutes, Louisiana Conference*, 1869, pp. 22 f.) In 1895, with eight Districts, members numbered 12,594; churches, 200; Local Preachers, 520; and Sunday schools, 222.—*Gen'l Minutes*, Spring, 1895, p. 234.

The Church was beset by many problems during these years. It at first interpreted its mission chiefly in terms of ministry to the freedmen. Of these, many welcomed the efforts of the Church in behalf of their religious and social welfare, as the rapid growth in church membership clearly indicates. But there were many thousands who could not be reached effectively by any existing religious agency. Freed from the outward compulsions of slavery, and possessing only limited inner moral and religious restraints many drifted from place to place with no other purpose than to be on the move. Families were broken up and children and youth often left without care.

The lack of education of the Negro ministers was a great handicap. A chief difficulty in recruiting Negroes for the ministry was finding men who possessed even a modicum of education. The Committee on Education of the 1874 session of the Texas Conference declared that the "education of our preachers and people is the one pressing need," second only "to the possession of the grace of God." The Conferences recognized that too many of both preachers and people were "fervent, but ignorant; religious, yet enthusiastic; devotional, but . . . visionary." The president of Wiley University stated in 1878 that many of the preachers were "grossly ignorant, and much of their teaching . . . worthless if not debasing." So few of the freedmen were literate that it was not until the seventh session of the Texas Conference that a rule was adopted requiring applicants for admission to be able to read and write. Presiding Elders were obligated by this action to see that their preachers were "supplied with copybooks, and all necessary instructions." The situation in other Conferences differed only in degree. In 1873 Erastus O. Haven, later a Bishop of the Church, wrote:

> The preachers seem to desire to improve; but practically, it must be acknowledged, our course of study has not been, and, indeed, could not have been, insisted upon. If the determination had been to require education first our work would have been comparatively insignificant. If now . . . education shall be neglected, we shall gradually lose what we have obtained, others will take the ground, or, as some have feared, the people will degenerate toward barbarism, and religion toward superstition and heathenism.
>
> We need seminaries, by whatever name called, where particularly teachers and preachers may be educated. We have some started under the direction of the Freedman's Aid Society, and they should be endowed and adequately supported. This is absolutely essential to make our missionary appropriations thus truly and permanently useful. We should no longer take men directly from the plantation, and license and ordain them as ministers. We must insist upon their being as well educated as the teachers whom the School Boards employ to educate the children. This rule insisted upon will create schools. Where there is a will there is a way.[391]

The complications of missionary work in the South were intensified, and its difficulty increased, by the strained relations between the ministers and lay people of the two Churches,* the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. One of the causes of offense was the attitude of northern preachers and laymen toward the Negro. While the motives of the missionaries were undeniably Christian they at the same time reflected more or less a sentimentality and lack of realization of existing social conditions. Many tended to ignore—if they really possessed a knowledge of—the effects of generations of servitude on Negro character. They were largely blind to the illiteracy, ignorance, and superstition resulting from an almost total lack of schooling. The New York East Conference in 1865 passed a resolution demanding for the freedmen, as "native born citizens," all of the "privileges, immunities, and responsibilities of citizenship . . . including . . . the protection of law and the right of suffrage," and declaring that they "would not slacken their efforts until these rights" were obtained for the Negroes. For their part southern churchmen shared the deeply rooted resentment which was the inevitable result of defeat in war, a feeling accentuated by the occupancy of numerous southern churches by northern ministers. They also bitterly resented the assumption on the part of some northern ministers that only they were the friends of the ex-slaves.

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* Hunter D. Farish: "Apart from the fact that Southern Methodists regarded the Northern occupation of the section as schismatic, they deemed the actions and affiliations of the representatives of the

Antagonism to the influence and efforts of the northern missionaries was intensified by their advocacy of certain social attitudes offensive to the South and by their sympathy with—in some instances participation in—political reconstruction policies. Some missionaries, for example, favored miscegenation and advocated legalizing intermarriage. Bishop Gilbert Haven * wrote in 1873:

"I can pardon a little the devil of slavery when I see what fine specimens of humanity it produced. If you want to see the coming race in all its virile perfections, come to this city [Charleston, South Carolina]. Here is amalgamation made perfect . . . . It is an improved breed—the best the country has today."

Missionaries also favored enforced association of races in the public schools.

The government policy of stern repression met with general favor in the North. The *Christian Advocate* declared it to be "stringent and decisive," but as "clement as it should be"; Congress had not gone "one step too far." To the South the stringency of the political rule seemed obnoxious and unjust and greatly intensified the bitterness of the long existent sectionalism. To the large majority of the white citizens the Republican party was anathema, regarded as the incarnation of all the attitudes which they despised

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Methodist Episcopal Church there sufficient grounds for excluding them from all fellowship with themselves. As a result the missionaries were socially ostracized by their co-religionists in a fashion that caused much sectional bitterness. Aggrieved at his presence and seeing in him only the politician and the incendiary, the Southerner sought to avoid contact with the missionary whenever possible."—*The Circuit Rider Dismounts, A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900,* p. 158.

* Gilbert Haven (1821-80), born in Malden, Mass., attended Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass., where he was converted at eighteen and united with the Methodists. In 1846 he graduated from Wesleyan University and became teacher and preacher in Amenia, N.Y. In 1851 he married Mary Ingraham. The same year he was received on trial in the New England Conference. During part of the Civil War he served as an army chaplain. He edited *Zion's Herald* from 1867 to 1872 when he was ordained Bishop. His scholarly mind and his talent as a writer, with an unusually fine flow of language and wit, combined with his zeal as a reformer to make him one of Methodism's most colorful and effective leaders, and possibly its most radical Bishop.—T. L. Flood and J. W. Hamilton, *Lives of Methodist Bishops,* pp. 483-98.

and hated. The northern missionaries, convinced that the achievements of the war could be conserved and their permanence guaranteed only through Republican political control, were not only committed to membership in the party but also active in forwarding its interests. Many of them used their pulpits to campaign for Republican candidates, and some became office holders. This practice, however, was in general frowned upon by the Church. The 1869 Tennessee Conference took cognizance of the acceptance by William H. Pearne of the office of Chief of Police of Memphis and formally requested his resignation "so soon as can be, without material injury to himself," and at the same time declared by resolution that it was "incompatible with the best interests" of the work "for members of this Conference to be actively engaged in partisan politics, or to hold political office." Some important state offices also were held by colored preachers during the period of Negro authority. One of the outstanding examples was that of James Lynch,* appointed in 1867 a Presiding Elder of the Mississippi Mission Conference, who in 1868 became Secretary of State in the "carpetbag" administration of the state.† Within a few years it became evident to the leaders of the Church that political partisanship and active participation in political affairs constituted a hindrance to church progress. In 1875 the Louisiana Conference recorded this resolution:

> That whatever may have been the necessities in the past requiring or justifying the holding of any political office by the members of this Annual Conference, we are satisfied the time has now passed, and from this time forth we affectionately urge our brethren to abstain from political combinations and that in case any brother persists in refusing to do this, it is in our judgment, sufficient ground for his location by the Conference.

In 1885 the Georgia Conference disavowed any alliance of the Methodist Episcopal Church with "any political party," and declared that the Church would not "allow its policy to be dictated by the views and interests of political parties or leaders." [392]

During the 1868 session of the Kentucky Conference the Negro preachers, meeting separately, petitioned for an Annual Conference of their own,

> believing . . . that the organization of an Annual Conference in the State of Kentucky, composed of colored members, would tend to a more rapid and permanent

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* James Lynch (1839-72), born in Baltimore of free parents, graduated in his eighteenth year from Kimball Union Academy, Meredith, N. H. He began his ministerial work in the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Illinois and afterward held pastorates in the District of Columbia and Baltimore, Md. For two years he was editor of the *Christian Recorder*. In 1867 he transferred to the Mississippi Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.—*Minutes, Mississippi Conference*, 1873, pp. 37 f.

† William Warren Sweet: "That the Negro churches and schools should become involved in politics during the period of carpetbag and Negro rule, . . . was to be expected. Religion and politics were strangely blended by the Negro during reconstruction. . . .

"It was natural also that the Negro should think of the agency through which he had gained his freedom as a divine agency and in that way the Republican party came to have a religious significance to him."—"Negro Churches in the South: A Phase of Reconstruction," *Methodist Review*, CIV (May, 1921), 414, 415.

> upbuilding of the cause of God among the colored people, while it could not impede, but would probably facilitate the progress of that cause among the whites . . . .

The Conference thereupon passed a resolution favoring separate Conference organization.[393] The General Conference of 1868, meeting three months later, passed the necessary enabling act and on March 2, 1869, at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, the Lexington Conference,* with an all-Negro membership, was organized. The members were reported to be "delighted with the plan of a separate Conference organization," and began the year with "an earnest determination to render the work successful." [394] As in the case of other Negro Conferences pastoral support from the beginning to the close of the period was on a poverty level. In 1882 the average annual salary of the pastors, including house rent, was only $201. Thirty-three of the 102 Circuits and Stations reported no cash salary paid. In 1895 the average salary reported was $243.; the total amount paid, including house rent, was $29,317., which was $14,968. less than the total claim.[395]

The 1868 General Conference repealed the action of 1864 which, in determining that the Conferences formed in the southern states should be "Mission Conferences," restricted their rights and privileges, and declared the Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Holston, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and North Carolina, and Washington Conferences to be Annual Conferences "vested with all the rights, privileges, and immunities usual to Annual Conferences." In anticipation of this action these Conferences had elected provisional delegates—twenty-five in number—who on presentation of their credentials were admitted to membership in General Conference. Thus for the first time in the history of the Church Negroes were seated as General Conference delegates.[396]

The 1868 General Conference also authorized the Bishops to organize new Conferences in the South, in territories not included in Annual Conferences, and on approval of two-thirds of the members, to divide southern Conferences already formed.[397]

In 1874 the West Texas Conference (biracial) was set off from the Texas Conference, authorization having been given by the 1872 General Conference.[398] At its first session in Austin, January 22-26, 1874, preachers were appointed to fifty-four charges in four Districts, seven additional appointments being left to be supplied.† The various difficulties against which many of the pastors contended in their ministry are illustrated by quotations from some of the Presiding Elders' reports:

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* Lexington Conference, as organized, had two Districts, twenty-six charges, and eighteen preachers. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1869, p. 44.) The 1872 General Conference enlarged the boundaries to include "the States of Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana." (*G. C. Journal,* 1872, p. 422.) In 1873, with eleven charges in Ohio added the Conference reported 8,142 full members; 42 churches; and 41 Sunday schools (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1873, pp. 234 f.). Over a period of twenty-two years only a slight gain in membership was registered, 884, although the number of churches increased more than threefold (to 142).—*Ibid.*, Spring, 1895, p. 228.

† West Texas Conference reported in 1875, 5,338 full members; 21 churches; and 63 Sunday schools with 3,386 pupils. (*Minutes, West Texas Conference,* 1875, p. 16.) In 1877, after division, the Conference had 4,524 members; 42 churches; and 80 Sunday schools with 3,121 pupils. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1877, p. 351.) In the next eighteen years the Church in West Texas more than doubled in membership, reporting in 1895, 9,604 members, 131 churches, and 168 Sunday schools with an enrollment of 9,037 pupils.—*Ibid.,* Fall, 1895, p. 596.

> Boerne and Fredericksburg. This brother [James Hutcherson] has found it hard to live and succeed on this work. He had to walk this large circuit for quite awhile before he could get a horse. The points are about twenty-five miles apart. He had to go home some two or three times and work to get bread for his family and has had to walk part of the way home. This is this brother's first year in the ministry and he can tell by this time whether or not he was called to preach the Gospel.
>
> Smithville. Bro. Hart has done as well at Smithville as was expected considering the fact that he had only 15 members to begin with and not a dollar's worth of church property.
>
> Hillsboro. The members formerly of our church felt they had been neglected in the past and became discouraged and united with the African Methodist Church, so Bro. Buell could not get a support and was obliged to give up the work. He has no report.
>
> Davilla Circuit. The work . . . has dragged heavily on account of financial embarrassment. The pastor . . . has been obliged to earn his own living, and for that reason could not give so much attention to his work as he desired.[399]

By 1869 the Church had in its ministry in the South fourteen Negro Presiding Elders: the Washington Conference, six; Delaware, three; Mississippi, one; and Louisiana, four, most of whom had been slaves. Their administration was characterized as "prudent, active, and successful." [400]

As early as 1869 in Georgia the division of a Conference on race lines began to be agitated. At the session of that year a resolution was introduced, signed by nine Negro preachers, asking that the colored churches be formed into separate Districts under Negro Presiding Elders and, "as soon as possible, that the colored work in Georgia be organized into a separate Conference." A step in that direction was taken by the formation of one exclusively Negro District. A memorial to the 1872 General Conference was also approved asking for "the setting off of a colored Annual Conference in Georgia." The memorial was accompanied by a petition from a convention of Negro ministers and lay members stating reasons why the memorial should be approved. The principal grounds were: (1) separate Conferences would enable them to demonstrate their capacity for self-government; (2) would relieve the Church of "even a suspicion of the spirit of caste"; and (3) would make possible holding the Conference session at locations other than Atlanta to the great advantage of the Negro work. The Negro delegates to General Conferences were not, however, unanimously in favor of division, and the General Conference took no action.[401]

Agitation on racial separation continued during the quadrennium 1872-76. Twenty white, Negro, or mixed Conferences had been organized on the border and in the South. Of these, Delaware, Washington, and Lexington were exclusively Negro in membership; Kentucky was exclusively white. Six were predominantly white—Holston, St. Louis, Arkansas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Missouri—but each had one or two small Negro Districts. Six were predominantly Negro—South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and North Carolina. Three—Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee—were about equally divided between white and Negro members, and each of these had suffered a membership loss during the quadrennium. And finally, West Texas was biracial.[402] As the General Conference of 1876 drew near the Methodist press received many communications and articles on the pros and cons of "separation on the color line," some largely sentimental and highly emotional, others factual and closely reasoned. An example of the latter was a letter from Tennessee written to the *Christian Advocate* by I. L. Chandler:

> Every effort here to unite the races in congregations or schools has proved a failure, and as we come together in our conference assemblies there is a mutual tendency to occupy opposite sides of the room. If there was a moral principle involved there is not wanting the moral heroism to suffer. But the absence of suitable representation, the difficulty in securing a place to hold our conference sessions, combined with this mutual preference each for associating with his own race, renders it greatly desirable that the Tennessee and other mixed conferences should be rearranged so as to unfetter the Church, and advance her influence among all classes.[403]

Dr. Robert L. Dashiell, in an address to the Baltimore Preachers Meeting, gave his observations on the situation in New Orleans and Texas made during a trip through the Southwest. When asked whether the colored people desired separate Conferences he stated that they held varying opinions. His own judgment was that "the colored work would be the gainer by the change." [404]

When the General Conference convened numerous memorials, petitions, and resolutions were presented from Annual Conferences, conventions, and individuals. The "matter of division," the Committee on the State of the Church had reported, had caused much excitement, discussion, and personal feeling, and "the difficulties of securing a wise and satisfactory solution of the question have been greatly increased." In the committee and on the floor of the Conference the issue provoked long discussion. Those who argued for biracial Conferences contended that "any movement toward separation would only foster . . . the spirit of caste, and increase and intensify a prejudice and hostility already too strong toward the colored people; that it would be the confession of an invidious distinction . . . wrong for the Christian Church to make; . . . ." Also, by association in mixed Conferences, the white preachers would contribute to the education and elevation of the Negro members in social and religious character. One of the strongest speeches against separation was made by Joseph C. Hartzell. He said, in part:

> It is not a question of social equality among the races. That is a question no legislation can touch, either in State or Church. It is not a question of compelling the races to sit in the same Church. That is a matter which must largely, if not altogether, be left to the people themselves. . . . It is not a question of the organization of districts in the annual conferences. . . . What, then, is the question? It is this: Shall all our ministers in the same territory in the South meet together once a year in conference, colored and white, just as we meet on this floor, and together transact the business of the Church, and receive their appointments from its Bishop. But, it is said, if we allow the people to organize Churches, and sometimes even districts, separately, why not so organize conferences? Why, sir, the difference is distinct and broad. In the one case you submit for the time being to the wishes of the localities, even though prejudice may rule, but in the other you commit the Church by legislation to a separation based upon race distinction. . . . To my mind we stand at a pivotal point, in the history of the Church. Let us do right, and our children will commend us. Separate on the color line, and we stab our friends in the South, and bring upon us the contempt of our enemies.[405]

In favor of separation it was argued that division would not be "any greater evidence of the spirit of caste than already prevails in nearly every Church and district" in the South; that the preference of Negroes for pastors and Presiding Elders of their own color was so strong that in Conferences where white and colored were about equal the churches and Conferences were steadily losing members to the Negro denominations.

General Conference decided that when the prevailing opinion was against separation that division should not be made, but in any Conference where a majority of both white and Negro members request division it should be made, "and . . . the Bishop presiding is hereby authorized to organize the new Conference or Conferences." [406] This action cleared the way for segregation, and the General Conference proceeded to authorize division of the Georgia Conference* and the Alabama Conference. In 1871 Alabama had unanimously requested the 1872 General Conference to authorize the organization of a Negro Conference but the petition was not granted. In 1876 the request was repeated with the statement that because the 1872 Conference had not authorized separation, approximately one-fourth of the Negro members had withdrawn in a body and joined the Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. The petition was granted, the Conference (1876) instructing its

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* "Georgia Conference shall consist of the Atlanta, Dalton, and Ogeechee Districts." Savannah Conference "shall consist of the Rome, Macon, Augusta, and Savannah Districts." (*G. C. Journal,* 1876, pp. 331 f., 372, 377.) "This arrangement was not entirely satisfactory to either race, . . . as neither grouping covered the entire state. Accordingly a commission from the two groups rearranged the boundaries so that the Georgia Conference should include all white work in that state and the Savannah Conference all the colored work." (E. J. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 139.) The Savannah Conference was organized on Nov. 1, 1876, in Augusta with five Districts, seventy-nine appointments, and 9,728 members in full connection. It was a Conference of small churches. Twenty-seven charges, of which ten were Circuits, had fewer than 100 members. (*Gen'l Minutes*, 1876, pp. 159, 349.) By 1895 the membership had more than doubled, the Conference reporting that year 19,697 members. The six Districts listed 117 appointments and 224 churches.—*Minutes, Savannah Conference,* 1895, pp. 29, 31.

Committee on Boundaries "to divide the Alabama . . . [Conference]* as requested." [407]

At the Holston Conference of 1875 resolutions were passed favoring separate Conferences for Negroes on the ground that they would be "for the benefit of this portion of our people." In the 1876 General Conference session a Holston Conference lay delegate proposed division, "provided a majority of the colored ministers" desired it, but no specific authorization was given.[408] A similar memorial, this time from the Negro members of the Conference, was presented to the 1880 General Conference, which authorized division on condition that a majority of both groups favored separation. At the Holston Conference session, October 20-24, 1880, "both classes, by a unanimous vote," requested division. Immediately afterward the East Tennessee Conference (Negro)† was organized.[409]

At the session of the West Texas Conference in January, 1876, a resolution proposing a white Annual Conference was tabled but at the next session, December, 1876, the Conference voted to divide, the white English-speaking group to be known as the Austin Conference.‡ The secretary, L. H. Carhart, wrote to the *Christian Advocate,* "West Texas is mostly filling up with a progressive white population, and separation seemed best. We can still do as much for the colored work as before, and be in a degree free from embarrassment otherwise inevitable." [410]

Under the blanket authorization of 1876 a movement was inaugurated in the North Carolina Conference for the separate organization of the white contingent of the membership. A small group of ministers met in Concord, North Carolina, on January 28, 1880, and organized as the Southern Central Conference.§ "It is a small body," wrote E. Q. Fuller, but it "has elements of growth." The 1880 General Conference gave it formal authorization, changing the name to Blue Ridge Conference, and enlarging its boundaries to include the portion of the state formerly in the Holston Conference.[411] In

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* "Central Alabama Conference [Negro] shall include the Dadesville, Marion, and Huntsville Districts." (*G. C. Journal,* 1876, p. 370.) It was organized on Oct. 18, 1876, at Huntsville, with four Districts and forty-eight appointments. Members in full connection numbered 5,209; churches, 41; Sunday schools, 60, with 3,037 pupils. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1876, pp. 154 f., 344 f.) The churches sustained a healthy growth, increasing by 1895 to 9,779 members; 132 churches; 149 Sunday schools, with 6,568 pupils.—*Ibid.,* Spring, 1895, pp. 128 f.

† East Tennessee Conference (Negro), organized on Oct. 23, 1880, with twenty-four charter members, began with a membership of 2,491 in full connection, 53 Local Preachers, 36 churches, and 50 Sunday schools with 2,247 pupils. (*Ibid.,* Fall, 1880, p. 416.) Fifteen years later (1895) it had four Districts, fifty-three appointments, seventy-five churches, 4,501 full members, and 100 Sunday schools with a pupil enrollment of 4,633.—*Minutes, East Tennessee Conference,* 1895, pp. 1, 8, 36.

‡ Austin Conference was organized on Nov. 15, 1877, at Dallas. Like most of the white Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South it began with a small group, nine ministers in two Districts, with ten additional appointments to be supplied. Members in full connection numbered only 400; churches, six; Sunday schools, seven, with 715 pupils. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1877, pp. 155, 352.) Growth was slow, the Conference in 1895 still reporting but two Districts; 36 appointments; 1,955 members; 18 churches; and 47 Sunday schools with 2,330 pupils.—*Minutes, Austin Conference,* 1895, pp. 2, 4.

§ In its first session the three Districts of the Conference had twenty appointments with 2,563 members in full connection. For eight appointments it was necessary to find supplies. In 1895, Districts had increased to five, with sixty-five appointments, 7,266 full members, and 146 churches.—*Minutes, Southern Central Conference,* 1895, pp. 14, 16; *Minutes, Blue Ridge Conference,* 1895, pp. 10 f.

1882 the white Circuits in South Carolina were added. In 1889 the Conference requested that many of the stronger Circuits "be left without any missionary appropriation," and that as much as possible of the amount be "applied to new places, and especially to the cities and towns of the state." [412]

At the 1876 session of the Tennessee Conference the white members presented to the Negroes an appeal for division, basing their request on the "effect of the present condition of the Conference on the white work." Although the feeling of the majority of the Negro preachers was against separation the Conference voted for it 55 to 7. At the 1877 session division was completed, and the white contingent adopted the name Central Tennessee Conference.* It met in its first session at Dickson, Tennessee, November 28-December 2, 1878. Within its three Districts forty-nine appointments were listed, of which eight were left to be supplied. Material progress in the state for a considerable time following the close of the Civil War was slow, but beginning about 1880 conditions improved, emigration from other states increased the population, and the growth of the Church was accelerated. In 1895 the Conference Committee on the State of the Church reported a need for "as many more pastors as are now in the field," but stated that increased missionary aid would be required for their support.[413]

South Carolina was one of the Conferences that challenged public opinion by persisting in biracial Conference organization. In 1880, a proposal was under consideration to extend the boundaries of the Southern Central (Blue Ridge, white) Conference into the state. The South Carolina Conference, which then had only five white members—three ministers and two teachers in Claflin University—voted to instruct its delegates to General Conference that "separate work, on the ground of color" was not wanted in connection with the Church in South Carolina. To this policy Bishop Simpson, writing in 1880, attributed the "utter failure to secure a hearing among the white people of the country," a condition he had not found elsewhere. South Carolina, he said, had only two white Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, both small.[414]

In 1880 a resolution presented to General Conference stated that a "majority of the whites, as well as a very large majority of the colored members of the Mississippi Conference are utterly opposed to any separation on the color line . . . ." The General Conference, however, passed an enabling act directing that a new Conference should be organized "when a majority of both classes" should ask for such division. No action was taken under this authorization but in 1888 the Conference in "the interest of that part of our Conference commonly known as the white work" asked that the General Conference grant authority to divide. Authority was given for division "by the vote of two thirds of the members present and voting." In 1890 the Conference was divided, not however on racial but on geographical lines.[415] The Upper Mississippi Annual Conference* met in its first session on February 2, 1891. The division did not satisfy the minority who had sponsored the memorial of 1888 and they petitioned the 1892 General Conference for transfer to some other Annual Conference. An enabling act was passed authorizing transfer to the Alabama Conference if approved by "two-thirds of the members present and voting." Assent was given by a vote of 54 to 4.[416]

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* The Central Tennessee Conference, as organized, reported 4,408 members in full connection; 96 churches; and 97 Sunday schools with 3,944 pupils. In 1895 the membership was 6,221; number of churches, 134; Sunday schools, 94, with 4,187 pupils.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1878, p. 195; *ibid.,* 1895, p. 587.

After presiding over the 1880 session of the Florida Conference† Bishop Simpson wrote:

> The Florida Conference . . . is composed of between thirty and forty members—all colored, except five. The year had been a pleasant one, but there had been no marked increase; one or two small churches had been erected, and a few new congregations formed. A large immigration of Northern people is causing a demand for our ministry.[417]

An enabling act permitting the Florida Conference to divide "when a majority of both colored and white members" ask for division was passed by the 1884 General Conference. A proposal for separation was made at the 1886 session but of thirty-eight members voting, twelve white and six colored ministers voted in the affirmative while two white and eighteen colored members were opposed. Later in the session, five ministers from other Conferences delivered addresses by invitation on "Mixed Conferences, and the Result of Dividing them." A second vote was then taken with the result that a majority of the Negro members (fifteen of twenty-five) voted in favor of division.[418] The continuing Florida Conference (Negro) met in its first session January 13-17, 1887, at Ocala.‡ The first session of the St. John's River, the resulting white Conference, at which eleven preachers received appointments, was held on January 6-11, 1887.

Agitation for the organization of a separate Conference for the Negroes of Missouri and Kansas began as early as 1872.§ The General Conference of that year instructed its Committee on Boundaries "to consider the propriety" of forming a Negro Annual Conference and, on recommendation of the committee, authorized the Missouri and St. Louis Conferences to form a Conference, provided "a majority of the colored ministers desire it." The authorization not having been acted upon, the 1880 General Conference approached the subject from a slightly different angle by passing an enabling act authorizing the Negro members of the St. Louis, Missouri, and Kansas Conferences "to organize themselves into a separate Annual Conference, when a majority of each class [whites and Negroes] at any session of these several Conferences" ask for it and the presiding Bishops concur.[419] As before, this action had no result. Four years later in the Missouri Conference a Committee on Separate Conference was constituted which recommended division as "highly expedient." A majority voted for the recommendation (40 for, 25 against), but the Negro members, given permission for a separate vote, stood 9 against to 3 in favor. The recommendation was sent to the St. Louis Conference which also favored it by a vote of 42 to 28. The 1884 General Conference re-enacted the enabling act of 1880. When the Missouri Conference of 1886 met, a change of sentiment was evident. Certain Negro members this time requested separate organization and, voting separately, approved the request 13 to 3. With this action the white members, seventy in number, unanimously concurred. In the St. Louis Conference the action was approved by the colored members, 18 for and 1 against, and concurred in unanimously by the white members.[420] The Central Missouri (Negro) Conference* met in Sedalia, Missouri, in its first session, March 24-28, 1887. In March, 1888, the Negro Methodists of Kansas† petitioned the Northwest Kansas Conference to endorse their request to General Conference either to be formed into a Mission Conference or to be attached to the Central Missouri Conference. Both Northwest Kansas and the Kansas Conference expressed approval, and when the 1888 General Conference met no less than four memorials asking for separation were presented. The Conference through its Committee on Boundaries included the Negro work in Kansas in the Central Missouri Conference. The 1889 membership of this Conference included eight elders, one probationer, and three persons listed as "miscellaneous," from Kansas.[421]

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* At its first meeting the Upper Mississippi Conference, with five Districts and eighty-eight charges, reported 15,131 members. (*Ibid.*, Spring, 1891, pp. 20, 124.) In 1895 the Conference had six Districts, the largest with twenty, the smallest with fourteen charges. Its 214 churches were valued at $99,575.—*Minutes, Upper Mississippi Conference,* 1895, pp. 30 ff.

† Florida Conference was organized on Jan. 29, 1873, with two Districts and twenty-seven appointments, of which five were to be supplied. The members in full connection numbered 1,670; churches, thirty-three; Sunday schools, twenty-seven. Bishop Ames, who presided, gave each of the two Presiding Elders "permission to draw on him for $300, provided that for every fifty dollars a church should be built."—*Minutes, Florida Conference,* 1873, pp. 1, 5-6, 9, 3.

‡ After separation the Conference had three Districts with thirty-five appointments and 2,983 full members. Twenty of the charges each had less than a hundred members. (*Minutes, Florida Conference,* 1887, pp. 3, 19, 25.) In eight years the number of appointments almost doubled (63), and membership increased to 4,195. (*Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1895, pp. 15, 126 f.) Growth of the St. John's River Conference was slower. Beginning with twenty-five Circuits and Stations and 698 full members, nine years later it reported twenty-nine charges with 1,074 members. With one exception all the Societies had less than a hundred members; twenty-one less than fifty.—*Ibid.*, 1887, pp. 9-10, 111; *ibid.*, 1895, pp. 13-14, 130.

§ Thought of a separate Negro Conference in Arkansas was beginning at this same time, resulting in the organization of the Little Rock Conference in 1878. See p. 207, first note.

Missionary work among the white population of southwest Louisiana and southeast Texas had been begun by W. H. Cline in 1888 and among the French

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* The Central Missouri Conference was organized with three Districts and sixty appointments; a membership in full connection of 5,453; eighty-six churches; and eighty-four Sunday schools. In 1895 its five Districts reported 98 appointments; 6,790 members; 134 churches; and 132 Sunday schools.—*Minutes, Central Missouri Conference,* 1887, pp. 7, 15 f., 38; *Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1895, pp. 64 f., 231.

† The Negro population of Kansas in 1870 was 17,108; by 1880 it had increased to 43,107. Most of those who migrated to Kansas in the later seventies settled in Dunlap County, in the Neosho Valley, in Cherokee County, or in Graham County. W. O. Lynch, Presiding Elder of the Colored Work on the Kansas District, which covered the entire state, reported in 1880 twelve charges with two to eight appointments each; thirteen ministers employed in the work; and "many calls from different portions of the State for more men."—H. C. Evans, Chief Editor, *op. cit.,* pp. 57 f.; W. O. Lynch, letter, *Christian Advocate,* LV (1880), 27 (July 1), 425.

Creoles by J. W. Mougey, P. J. Robidoux, and F. L. Abernathy in 1891. The Gulf Mission* was organized at Jennings, Louisiana, January 19, 1893, in accordance with authorization of the 1892 General Conference. It embraced an area 300 miles east and west and 200 miles north and south. The nine charter members of the mission included five from Louisiana Conference, and one each from Central Ohio, Southeast Indiana, Kansas, and Southwest Kansas.[422]

By 1895 the developing process of segregation, first given official sanction by the General Conference of 1864, was complete. Annual Conferences with both white and Negro ministers no longer existed in the Methodist Episcopal Church. There were still some white churches in the North and in the South with Negro members but these were few. The early practice of separately enumerating the white and Negro membership in Annual Conference reports ceased in 1850. In that year the total number of Negro members in full connection was 26,309. The seventeen Negro Conferences organized between 1864 and 1895 reported in the latter year a total membership of 226,718 full members. Traveling Preachers in full connection and on trial numbered 1,704; Local Preachers, 3,745. The largest Conference was South Carolina with 156 ministers and 38,188 church members. These Conferences were located in fourteen southern states.[423]

While in numerous instances separation of Annual Conferences was favored, as our survey has shown, by both whites and Negroes it cannot be said that in general the demand for separate Conferences was spontaneous on the part of the Negroes. In some instances strong opposition was expressed and the 1876 General Conference, as we have seen, had many memorials both for and against division.

A serious defect in the policy of the Church was its failure to recognize that segregation involved a moral principle. By some, as we have seen, this was explicitly denied. By others separation on the basis of race or color was declared to be a violation of Christian principle. "Shall the Church disregard . . . color, despise it, oppose it, remove it from her pale, and as fast as she can from society?" asked Gilbert Haven. "What else is her mission?" The fact that there were Negroes who preferred churches and Conferences of their own did not prove that they ought to be separated, he declared, since this was true only because whites all but universally refused to recognize and treat them as equals. Only a few, of whom Haven was outstanding, had the prescience to recognize that the Church's failure to recognize segregation for what it is would make her task of world evangelization immeasurably more difficult.[424]

Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society.—The work of the Freedmen's Bureau was supplemented by regional Freedmen's Aid Commissions in which the Churches were active. Very early a tendency developed for the Churches to withdraw from the Commissions and set up denominational organizations. By midyear of 1866 there was only one leading denomination other than the Methodist Episcopal Church which retained affiliation with the Commissions. This development led a group of Methodist ministers and laymen who held official positions in the Commissions to call a Methodist convention to determine the Church's course:

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* At its organization the mission, with one District, had six organized charges with some twenty appointments, 354 full members, and four churches.—*Minutes, Gulf Mission,* 1893, pp. 1, 3, 9, 15.

> If deemed best to continue our co-operation with the existing Commissions, the cause demands that the whole strength of our Church be secured to it. If a society to cooperate with our Missionary and Church Extension Societies seems to be required, it should be organized without delay. A decision should be reached at once . . . .[425]

The convention was held in Trinity Methodist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, August 7-8, 1866. It resulted in the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society,* with Bishop Davis W. Clark as President; John M. Walden, Corresponding Secretary; and Richard S. Rust, General Field Superintendent. A constitution was adopted which provided for a board of managers† and an executive committee. The object of the Society, as stated, was "to labor for the relief and education of the Freedmen, especially in co-operation with the Missionary and Church Extension Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The 1868 General Conference, on recommendation of the Society, decided that the Corresponding Secretary should be a Traveling Preacher appointed by the Bishops.‡ Rust was appointed and Walden was made Recording Secretary.[426]

The Society began its operations in the South on November 1, 1866. At the end of its first year it had schools in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Louisiana, West Virginia, Virginia, and Florida, with forty employed teachers, and three thousand pupils enrolled.[427] The 1868 General Conference gave the Society its sanction, and commended it to the Church for support, but, considering that the need for its work might be only temporary, refrained from giving it recognition as a General Conference organization. Annual Conferences were recommended to place it on their list for annual collections and ministers were urged "to secure to its treasury all the contributions of our people designed to promote the specific work in which it is engaged." [428]

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* The original name, the Freedmen's Aid Society, was changed by the 1888 General Conference to Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society to "more fully express the scope of the educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church among both races in the South."—J. C. Hartzell, report, *Gospel in All Lands,* July, 1888, p. 333; *G. C. Journal,* 1888, p. 348.

† The board of managers was composed of the Bishops, a minister and a layman from each Annual Conference which had an Auxiliary Society, and an undesignated number of other persons elected by the Society. The Publishing Agent of the Western Book Concern was Treasurer.—*Report of Organizing Convention of Freedmen's Aid Society . . . ,* 1866, p. 12.

‡ In 1872 General Conference decided that the Corresponding Secretary should be elected for a four-year term. Rust was elected, and re-elected quadrennially until 1888, when he was made Honorary Secretary. In that year J. C. Hartzell was elected Corresponding Secretary. The 1892 Conference provided for two Secretaries and elected Hartzell and John W. Hamilton.—*G. C. Journal,* 1872, pp. 301, 334; *ibid.,* 1888, pp. 340 f.; *ibid.,* 1892, p. 315.

Successive General Conferences made significant changes in the official status of the Society; that of 1872 authorizing annual apportionments to the Annual Conferences, Circuits, and Stations; and that of 1876 "a very large increase" of annual budget.[429]

Early in its history the Society decided that its schools should be open to all regardless of color. In 1878 it declared specifically, "Our schools are free to all, none are excluded on account of color, . . . and no school is exclusively colored." [430] The 1880 General Conference directed the Society to aid schools for whites in the South as much as was possible without financial embarrassment to the schools for freedmen. In 1880-81 it entered upon this new educational policy. For the quadrennium 1880-84 it appropriated for white schools $48,901. as compared with $389,085. for Negro schools.[431]

About 1884 segregation, which for years had been a vexatious problem in the Annual Conferences, became an acute issue in the F. A. S. schools. The 1884 General Conference, on recommendation of its Committee on the State of the Church, made this pronouncement:

> *Resolved,* That this General Conference declares the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church to be, that no member of any society within the Church shall be excluded from public worship in any and every edifice of the denomination, and no student shall be excluded from instruction in any and every school under the supervision of the Church because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.[432]

The problem was sharply focalized in an action of Chattanooga University, an institution sponsored by the Freedmen's Aid Society, which denied admission to certain students "for the sole reason that they were persons of African descent." The F. A. S. board of managers, on February 24, 1887, directed its executive committee "to use all proper means . . . to induce the trustees of the Chattanooga University to rescind the order" by which the students had been refused admission, and approved its efforts to secure the resignation of Professor Wilford Caulkins,* a member of the faculty. The board also threatened that if the exclusion of the students was not rescinded and the professor's resignation was not secured, the contract between the F. A. S. and the university would be terminated. The university "finally agreed to maintain the school according to the views" of the board but appealed the case to the General Conference. The Conference voted approval of the policy of the Society. The result was a large reduction in the student body of the following year, but this proved to be only temporary.[433]

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* Professor Caulkins was charged with refusal to shake hands with a Negro minister of a Methodist church in Chattanooga. The trustees of the university continued to defend the exclusion of the students. They held (1) that the Church had authorized a school for whites, exclusively; (2) that an exclusively white school would reach many more southern people; (3) that if Negro students were admitted white students would not attend; (4) that the Church had built many more schools for Negroes, neglecting its white constituency.—J. D. Walsh, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the South," *Methodist Review,* LXX (March, 1888), 257; Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood, *The University of Chattanooga: Sixty Years,* ch. 5.

The Freedmen's Aid Society followed the policy of using the students of its institutions as assistants, believing that the practice supplied stimulus "to accurate scholarship and elevated character." In its report for 1886-87 it stated that in nearly every institution "colored teachers are now employed and by their enthusiastic and faithful toil are achieving success." It also stressed industrial training, not as a means of support but as an essential part of the education most needed among the Negro people. It likewise emphasized the importance of the freedmen's contributing to the construction and maintenance of the institutions established in their behalf. "They have aided liberally," the Society said in 1870, "in building churches, erecting schoolhouses, sustaining teachers, [and] supporting the aged and infirm . . . ." In 1895 the students of the schools paid $57,653.15 in tuition and room rent.[434]

By 1895 educational institutions under the patronage of the Society numbered forty-four, including, for Negroes, a theological school, ten colleges and universities, and eleven academies, and for whites three collegiate institutions, and nineteen academies.[435]

INDIAN MISSIONS

Methodist Indian missions in 1844-45, preceding the division of the Church, numbered twenty; Methodist missionaries, including Presiding Elders of Indian Districts, forty. Of an Indian church membership totaling 4,339, by far the largest number, 3,557, were in the Indian Mission Conference.* When this Conference, following the division, decided to adhere to the South the Methodist Episcopal Church was left with only nine missions, fourteen missionaries, and an Indian membership of 778. Nine mission schools enrolled some two hundred pupils.[436]

To Stephen Olin the situation in 1846 lacked much of being satisfactory:

> There is a lamentable deficiency of statistics and other precise reliable information; and how the proper authorities are able to proceed intelligently in the work of satisfying wants so inadequately set forth and so imperfectly known, we are really at a loss to conjecture. It is equally difficult to divine how, with the unsatisfied wants which are disclosed, the Christianizing process is sustained without serious and irretrievable embarrassments. There are missionaries ignorant of any language known to their flocks, who are yet wholly unprovided with interpreters, or left to struggle on with such casual helps as the Indians happen to be able and willing to supply. Schools, which must have been established at considerable expense, lack books and teachers, without which the name of such an agency might as well be left out of the account. . . . Almost every missionary who gives any account of the state of his charge, complains bitterly of the utter inefficiency, or of the utter want of this right arm of an Indian mission. We know not by whose direction or oversight such a state of things is allowed to exist at a time when the missionary

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* This Conference included in its Kansas River District the Indian Manual Labor School and the missions to the Delaware, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Wyandot, Potawatomi, Chippewa, Peoria, and Wea; and in its Cherokee District, work among the Quapaw, Seneca, Upper and Lower Cherokee and Creek; in its Choctaw District, the Fort Coffee Academy, and the Choctaw and Chickasaw missions. See Vol. II, 171 f.

treasury is not absolutely exhausted, and when we venture to say an appeal to the Church would afford ample means for removing an obstacle fatal to all reasonable hopes of success, and, we will add, for wiping away a reproach.[437]

In his report for 1846-47 Missionary Secretary Charles Pitman called attention to the lack of suitable schools for Indian children and stated that the need had been presented to the General Missionary Committee at its 1846 meeting. This had resulted in an increased appropriation "which, though far from being equal to the demand, afforded considerable relief," and efforts had been made during the year to erect schoolhouses in some of the missions. Funds, also, were contributed by the War Department for Indian Work. Three years later the Secretary reported greater activity in evangelization. Also, individual contributions, in addition to the Board's appropriation, had enabled several missions "to purchase lands, erect necessary buildings, and avail themselves of educational privileges." There was no evidence, however, that serious attempts had been made to correct the more basic deficiencies of the Indian missions program.[438]

The passing of another year, and the advent of a new administration in the Missionary Society, saw efforts made toward the formulation of a comprehensive policy for Methodist Indian missions. The Missionary Society's *Report* for 1850-51 set forth certain governing principles: (1) government and Christian missions should be committed to a common program; (2) missionary effort should be directed "chiefly, if not exclusively, to the bands," or tribes, which are settled upon the soil; (3) the missionary should have his own house in which to dwell with his family thus affording an example of Christian domestic life, with "a neat plain church" adjoining, and a conveniently located schoolhouse; (4) in the schools instruction of the children should be in the English language: we "doubt whether the Indians will ever be raised to a good state of civilization and religion, without the use of the English language"; (5) the Church from her own and from government funds, aided by private benevolence, should purchase lands in various locations and grant the Indians occupation and use of them, thus fixing them on the soil with the missionaries and teachers.[439] The 1852 General Conference directed its Committee on Missions "to consider and report specially on the necessity and manner of extending . . . missions among the Indian tribes." * In its 1854 *Report* the Society stated that its new policy had become "more and more approved by experience, and by the concurrence of the Indian Department at Washington." It planned to give each family at Iroquois Point "from five to ten acres in a perpetual lease" on condition that it would never be sold, leased, or rented to a white man. It offered to sell any family additional land at the price paid the government for it.[440]

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* The policy of gradual expansion of Indian missions was interrupted in 1856 when the General Missionary Committee proposed a reduction of the number of missions and their concentration at fewer places in order to lessen the expense.—Report of the General Missionary Committee in *Thirty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1856), p. 22.

GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCHES

The allocation plan in time was tied in with what was known as the "reservation system" by which areas of land were set apart by the government for the sole occupancy of particular tribes,* with the provision that each tribe must remain within the reservation set apart for its exclusive occupancy. At first tribal lands were held in common. Decades later, individual allocations of land were made to members of the tribe.† In both cases dependence and pauperization were fostered by the payment of outright grants or annuities for cattle, farming implements, seeds and—in many cases—for food. By the sixties sharp criticism of government policies and administration had been heard. William H. Goode, a veteran Indian missionary, criticized government appointments to the Indian agencies.‡ He charged that instead of placing good and tried men in the position, "there have been constant changes, . . . filling the places of one set of novices and bloodsuckers with another of the same character." Charles Elliott voiced numerous objections to the "reservation system," particularly to the removal of Kansas tribes to reservations in the Indian Territory. Writing a little later S. G. Arnold declared in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* that the Indian Service "for a century [had] been a nest of corruption, peculation and fraud." [441]

Such criticisms were a factor in influencing President Johnson to appoint in 1867 a Peace Commission, headed by General W. T. Sherman, "to suggest or inaugurate some plan for the civilization of the Indian." The report of the commission "was a terrible indictment of the government's treatment of the Indians." The report led President-elect Grant to inaugurate what came to be known as the "Peace Policy": "to maintain peace among the various tribes of Indians, promote civilization, . . . relieve their necessities, and encourage efforts at self-support." Grant proposed to separate the Indian Service completely from politics and to convert it into a missionary enterprise by appointing all the Indian agents and sub-agents from lists of persons nominated by the Churches.[442] The President asked the Missionary Society to supply fourteen agents to assume administrative charge of reservations within which the Methodist Church had previously undertaken some religious work.[*] At this point the Society immediately confronted a practical difficulty. Where were men with the necessary qualifications to be found who would be willing to undertake the onerous task? Could the Society command the additional funds to support missionaries in addition to the government agents at the agencies? For obviously the intent of the program could not be realized without missionaries as well as administrators. In view of this the Society was reluctant to accede to the President's request. Finally, however, it agreed to cooperate. Nominations for agents were submitted as rapidly as competent men[†] could be found, and by 1874 [‡] the full quota was reached.[443]

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* The beginning of the "reservation system" cannot be definitely dated. From time immemorial various Indian Nations and tribes east of the Mississippi had occupied lands claimed as their own whose title was recognized by the federal government. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the famous decision of Chief Justice John Marshall, declared that Indian Nations and tribes "had always been considered distinct, independent political communities," retaining original, natural rights to their lands "with boundaries accurately described" (see Vol. II, 129 f., 134). In the case of the several settled eastern tribes removed west of the Mississippi by government, tracts of land were assigned, in exchange for their original holdings, which became known as reservations. Of the western Indians many were wandering tribes without localized habitations. One by one these tribes were forcibly removed to reservations agreed upon by treaty.

† In 1887 the Dawes Land Severalty Law was passed by Congress, obligatory upon all tribes except eleven which were specifically exempted from its operation. It provided for the survey of reservations and the allotment of tracts of 40 to 160 acres to each person; the undivided land made subject to purchase by the government for sale to settlers, the proceeds to be held by government as a trust fund for education and civilization of members of the tribes.

‡ Originally each Indian reservation was in charge of a bonded agent and the administrative organization was termed an agency. Reservations were grouped geographically into superintendencies, each with a district superintendent directly responsible to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. "About the middle of the 19th century, . . . the office of superintendent was abolished and agents became directly responsible to the Commissioner." (F. W. Hodge, Ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico,* I, 21 f.) In 1865 there were under the Department of the Interior some thirteen superintendencies and fifty-eight agencies and sub-agencies for administration of Indian affairs. In 1871, by Act of Congress, the government ceased to acknowledge or recognize any Indian Nation or tribe as an independent Nation or power with whom a treaty could be entered into, and declared the Indians to be wards of the government, subject to its control.—*16 U. S. Statutes,* p. 566, as quoted by Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain . . . ,* pp. 240, 244.

For one reason or another, however, many of those appointed failed to continue. So frequently were changes made that in 1877 only three of the agents of 1874 remained. Relations of agents with the Indians were much improved. No longer were complaints made of dishonesty in the handling of the Indians' funds or of the victimization of them in other ways which had formerly prevailed. But from a missionary standpoint the changed order left much to be desired. The Missionary Society could not, or at least did not, supply funds to the agents for religious or educational activities. Few well-trained, full-time missionaries were appointed. Year after year missions were included as charges within various Conferences and year after year were left "to be supplied." Missionaries were not readily available. Schools also were an urgent necessity but were not maintained on all reservations. In 1874 the General Missionary Committee appropriated $3,500. to be divided among seven Conferences to make it possible for Circuit preachers to act as supplies and "preach through interpreters, in some instances aided by native helpers"—precisely the condition deplored by Stephen Olin twenty-eight years earlier.

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[*] The Society of Friends had taken the initiative in urging Grant to inaugurate a peaceful, Christian policy toward the Indians. He was undoubtedly strongly influenced by their appeal and first asked the Friends to nominate members of their Society as Indian agents. The success of the policy was almost immediately evident and the next year a similar request was made to other Churches. (Malcolm McDowell, *Christian Missions Among the American Indians,* Bulletin 280, Board of Indian Commissioners.) In 1877 agents were supplied by the several religious groups as follows: Methodist, 14; Protestant Episcopal, 9; Presbyterian, 7; Friends (Orthodox), 7; Friends (Hicksite), 6; Congregational, 6; Roman Catholic, 5; Reformed, 3; Baptist, 2; United Presbyterian, 1; Free Will Baptist, 1; Christian Union. 1; Unitarian, 1.—S. G. Arnold, "President Grant's Indian Policy," *Methodist Quarterly Review,* LIX (July, 1877), 413.

[†] The agents in most cases were preachers, responsible to their Annual Conferences, to which they were obligated to report. The missions within the agencies were likewise sponsored by Annual Conferences and the missionaries—where there were missionaries—also made reports to the Conferences. Neither the agents' reports, nor those of the missionaries, with a few exceptions, were transmitted to the Society.

[‡] Agents in office in 1877 were: California, Richard C. Parker at Hoopa Valley, J. L. Birchard at Round Valley, C. G. Belknap at Tule River—all members of California Conference; Oregon, J. H. Roork at Klamath, William Bagley at Siletz—both members of Oregon Conference; Idaho, W. H. Davidson of Rocky Mountain Conference at Ft. Hall, and C. N. Stowers of Montana Conference at Lemhi; Washington Territory, C. A. Huntington at Neah Bay, G. A. Henry at Quinault, both belonging to Oregon Conference, and J. H. Wilbur of Columbia River Conference at Yakima; Montana, George W. Frost at Crow, Wellington Bird at Ft. Peck, both from Rocky Mountain Conference, and John Young of Oregon Conference at Blackfeet; Michigan, G. W. Lee of Detroit Conference at Mackinaw.—*Fifty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1877), p. 173.

In behalf of the Society it should be said that it could not get from the agents the kind of reports—or, in fact, any reports—that might have stimulated contributions.[444]

In time the "Peace Policy" proved unsatisfactory both to the Society and to the government. Supervision of the missions was left almost entirely to the Conferences within which they were located. In 1880 the Missionary Society stated that from "the fourteen agencies under our care we have in general received but little information." "The Conferences have not succeeded very well in their supervision of this department of work." None of the Conferences in the West and Northwest had sufficient men to supply all of the white Circuits and Stations. As a consequence missions were listed as appointments but more often than not were left without missionaries, or in some cases men appointed to the missions were after a year or two drawn into the regular work. In 1881, following the accession of Arthur to the presidency, under the influence of Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller, the "Peace Policy" was abrogated, and all official relation of the denominations to the government agency program was entirely sundered.[445]

From early days appropriations were made by the government for support of mission schools under sectarian auspices.* In many instances the government by agreement provided the schoolhouses and paid the teachers, making salary remittances in some cases to the Missionary Society and in others direct to the teachers. In a few instances the entire support of Indian missions was furnished by the government. The Sault Ste Marie Mission, for example, in the forties was maintained by an annual government appropriation of $1,400., the Missionary Society making no appropriation. The W. H. M. S. Indian School at Pawhuska, Oklahoma, established in 1887, in four years (1887-91) received $12,453.52 of federal funds. In 1892 the amount set apart by government for Indian education under Methodist auspices was $13,980., all of which was paid to the W. H. M. S. direct or to schools under its control.[446]

Beginning about 1888 sentiment against national and state government appropriations for sectarian education of the Indians rapidly increased in some quarters.† In 1892 the General Conference declared such appropriations to be wrong in principle and contrary to the letter and spirit of the federal constitution. By formal resolution it requested the "Missionary Societies . . . to decline to either make application to, or receive from, the national government any moneys for educational purposes among the Indians." [447]

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* L. F. Schmeckebier: "The missionary schools, known as 'contract' schools, reached their greatest extent in the fiscal year 1892, when over $600,000, or more than one-fourth of the total appropriation for education, was expended in this way."—*Op. cit.,* pp. 197 f. See also Vol. II of this series, pp. 113-17.

† Agitation against sectarian appropriations on Constitutional grounds was a principal purpose of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, of which James M. King of the New York Conference was general secretary (1894-98). The National League publicized the fact that much the largest appropriation was given to the Roman Catholic Church for its program among the Indians. During the eight years 1886-93, inclusive, "of $3,767,951 awarded to contract schools, $2,366,416 was given to the Roman Catholics." For the year 1892, of the total of $525,881. set apart for all contract schools the Catholics received $369,535; "the Presbyterians get less than $30,000; the Congregationalists a little more than $25,000; and the Episcopalians only $4,860."—James M. King, "Indian Contract Schools and the Churches," *Gospel in All Lands,* November, 1892, pp. 508 f.

INDIAN MISSIONS EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Indian missions east of the Mississippi were unaffected by the division of the Church. At that time work was carried on in the Michigan, Wisconsin, Oneida, and Black River Conferences, and a few years later missions were established in the Genesee Conference.[448]

Indian Missions in Michigan.—In a statement made to the Missionary Society in 1847 Bishop E. S. Janes estimated the Indians in Michigan at not less than five thousand. They were scattered over the state, principally in the Upper Peninsula, in small settlements, in many cases of not more than fifty or sixty, the remnants of what earlier had been large tribes. The Chippewa were the most numerous, but there were also scattered bands of Ottawa, and at least one small group of Potawatomi.

In the course of the first few years after division there were a number of missions under Church auspices. In the Conference year 1848-49 Bishop Janes visited most of those then in existence and commented on the paucity of facilities and equipment. "All the buildings occupied by the Missionaries," he stated, "are small log school houses, inconvenient for school purposes, and wholly unfit for Church purposes; consequently in the Winter they can hold no quarterly or other large meetings." The Bishop's interest was such that he undertook personally to raise funds for the purchase of lands on which the Indians might themselves build homes, schools, and churches.

> Being convinced . . . [that this was the proper policy], our missions in Michigan began to shape their course accordingly; and with the advice and active assistance and cooperation of Bishop Janes, lands were purchased in the vicinity of Flint River, by private contributions, in the name of the Missionary Society, and given to Indian families in small quantities for cultivation, or sold to them at government price; and still other lands were purchased by the Indians themselves. Thus, little Indian communities were created around each mission . . . . They built themselves small, comfortable houses . . . . But it was soon found that they could not get any more lands, and thus the growth of these young and promising Indian communities was repressed.[449]

As early as 1839 the missions in northern Michigan had been formed into an Indian Mission District. This included Sault Ste Marie* and Kewawenon. From 1844 on for a brief few years Fond du Lac and Sandy Lake in Minnesota† were also included. During these years other appointments were added to the District, though they were not among Indians.

John H. Pitezel, one of the ablest of all the missionaries of this period, who gave nine years of devoted service to Michigan Indian work, was appointed to the Sault Mission in 1843. In 1850 he described it as forming "quite a little circuit,"[450] including several groups of Indians:

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* See Vol. II, 153 f.
† See Vol. II, 162*n*.

> About six miles above [the Sault] are a few families; then again at Carp River, about 28 miles from here; next Naomikong; and the farthest, on Lake Superior, is Tequamenon River, about eight miles beyond N[aomikong].[451]

A year later Pitezel reported that the Naomikong band had made greater progress than during any previous year.

> Living on their own land they have greater encouragement to try to advance in civilization . . . . They have built some eight or ten comfortable log houses . . . . They are gradually laying aside the chase, and turning their attention to agriculture and other industrial pursuits.[452]

In March, 1854, James Shaw wrote to the *Christian Advocate* that about October 1 he had "removed to Iroquois [the new location for the Sault Ste Marie Mission] . . . as no one was appointed to it at the conference."

> There are now ten Indian families settled here, and several others are coming, after sugar-making. Several have been here to work during the winter. . . . There are now about seventy-three members connected with the mission. . . . Our meetings have been well attended, and very interesting.[453]

When twelve months had passed, Shaw, now Superintendent, stated that the mission was "in a healthy state," and he considered Iroquois Point to be "the best location that could be found in all the Lake Superior country." By 1858 the settlement had increased to thirty-three Indian families, all except three or four in possession of five-acre lots; and eighteen houses owned by the Indians with a number of others under construction. Church membership stood at seventy-five; the Sunday-school enrollment at about forty-five; and the day school above sixty. The high point in membership was reached in 1860 when ninety-five members were reported. In 1861 membership had decreased to fifty-three, remaining at approximately that level for many years. In 1887, with no expression of regret for the failure of what had begun as one of the most promising of Michigan's Indian missions, the Presiding Elder wrote to the Missionary Society:

> As white settlements are forming . . . I trust the day is not far distant when . . . [these Indian missions] can become appointments in connection with white charges and the expense to the Missionary Society lessened, if not entirely abolished.

The next year he stated that the mission at Iroquois "reports 6 members and 18 probationers." Despite its decline and the necessity often of combining the work with other appointments, the mission continued in operation through 1895.[454]

The Kewawenon Mission on the east side of Keweenaw (Kewena) Bay, established in 1833 by John Sunday, Indian missionary, and John Clark,* was likewise one of the earliest of Chippewa Methodist missions. In 1846 J. H. Pitezel, missionary-in-charge, reported sixty-four members in Society, of whom five were white settlers. The mission was maintained by an annual appropriation of $250. from the government and $450. "appropriated by the Missionary Committee of the Michigan Conference." While the Society made little or no net increase in membership from year to year, partly because of gradual diminution of the Indian population, there was among the members increasing interest in agriculture and in development of mechanical skills. Nelson Barnum, missionary-in-charge in 1848, saw a prospect of increased stability:

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* See Vol. II, 155 f.

> the Indians have bought some land on which they intend to live, and it seems probable that they will continue to improve, to pay more attention to farming, and to be, in no mean sense, a light to other bands of their degraded and deeply injured brethren.[455]

Kewawenon was fortunate in its Indian leadership. In 1865, George Blaker, trained by William Case in missionary work under the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Canada, was appointed as supply. In 1866 he was admitted to the Detroit Conference on trial and appointed to Kewawenon, continuing through 1869. After that, the fate of Kewawenon became uncertain. From year to year it was made part of a Circuit with one center of work or another: Iroquois Point, L'Anse, Pequaming. By 1890, it was connected with "two white congregations" but the Indians had "preaching once every Sabbath." The membership stood at eighty-five, and the property included a chapel and parsonage.[456]

Flint River Mission—originally called Lakeville—was established in the Lower Peninsula in 1841, under Indian leadership.* In less than five calendar years about three hundred Indians had been converted, most of whom remained faithful. In 1847 the mission included eight preaching places.† The Pehesing (Lakeville) band owned 520 acres of land in Lapeer County. The missionary built a log-house parsonage and the Indians built "ten or twelve comfortable houses," having lived previously in wigwams. At Bradley's Chapel the Missionary Society owned 240 acres; the Indians, 729 acres, and in addition 520 acres held in trust for them—the largest landholding of any band. Within two years they had constructed about twenty log houses. At Kazier Station the Indians owned "one hundred fifteen and three fourths acres of land, of which five acres . . . [were] under improvement." They also had "several horses and hogs, and two cows," and had "built eight or ten log houses." For the 1849-50 appointments the missionary personnel of the

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* See Vol. II, 169.

† The Stations of the Flint River Mission in 1847 included: Pehesing and Ne-bis-sing (Bradley's Chapel) in Lapeer County; Black River, St. Clair County; Ko-pe-ne-kah-ning in Genesee County; Pe-wah-ne-go-ing (Cazier or Kazier Schoolhouse) in Saginaw County; Oh-gah-kah-ning (Janesville); Sandy Point, and Ah-tan-wah's Place (Pe-sa-iag-a-ning).—George Bradley in *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXI (1846), 2 (Aug. 19), 7; *Twenty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1846-47), pp. 89 f.

Flint River Mission were divided between two Circuits, the Kazier and Janesville, and this arrangement prevailed until the removal of the Indians in 1856.[457]

The Nottaway Mission, also in southern Michigan, ministered in 1846 to a band of some sixty Potawatomi, the remnant of a settlement established many decades earlier. In 1846 they had "six log dwelling houses, one log school house, and a frame barn." They owned 120 acres of farm land at the settlement and "eighty acres of sugar land in Kalamazoo county, about four miles distant." The mission maintained without government aid a weekday school and a Sunday school. One half of the band were church members. In February, 1848, the missionary and his Indian interpreter visited for the first time an Indian band at Meshimnekoning in the Grand River country, about eighty miles north of the mission. White peddlers had plied Chief Muh-nut-quott and his men with whisky until they were in a drunken stupor; but after many visits the missionary succeeded in winning the chief and others. At the same time missionaries from Nottaway were reaching a number of other bands, and reporting success on a small scale. The work grew so rapidly at Meshimnekoning that M'Clure Chapel was built in 1851, and in 1852 the "Grand River Mission" was set off as a separate Circuit, with two appointments. The following year missionary O. D. White reported eighty-six members in full connection.[458] In 1856, with fifty members on the Society roll, Peter Marksman—experienced Indian missionary—was appointed to Grand River. This was the last year of work at this location.

From 1852 on the Indians of Michigan had been concerned over the possibilities of their removal west of the Mississippi. M'Clure wrote to Washington to inquire, but was assured that it was not proposed. However, the government looked with favor on what the Missionary Society had already proposed and practiced in the Lake Superior area: the settling of the "Indians in large bodies on the soil, so that they shall become farmers and citizens." In 1855 the federal Indian Department met with delegates from the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi tribes, assembled in council by the Indian Commissioner, to agree upon a treaty to accomplish this purpose. The result was a treaty providing for the allocation of specific tracts of land in accordance with the Indians' own choice, and division of the land "in severalty so that each Indian family, or proper member of the tribe, will have his own farm in his own right." The Indians were to be settled

> at two principal places: the one at Iroquois Point, on Lake Superior; and the other in Isabella County, in the lower Peninsula. By this policy there is required fewer missionaries; and the government, by treaty, provides schoolhouses, and pays the teachers.[459]

The scheduled removal did not greatly upset the established mission work in Michigan, and in fact, as indicated above, was in harmony with the Church's plan in the Upper Peninsula. Kewawenon and Iroquois Point remained in the Lake Superior District, which in 1856 became a part of the new Detroit Conference. In order to strengthen and unify the Indian program on the Lower Peninsula by preparing the Indians for removal, the Michigan Conference, under Bishop Ames' leadership, constituted in 1855 an Indian Mission District, under W. H. Brockway. This included the four missions then in existence: Kazier, Janesville, Grand River, and Nottaway.* In midsummer, 1856, Brockway fixed a time for the migration to Isabella County, "a laborious and expensive . . . [expedition]," involving a journey about "fifty miles beyond any considerable white settlement, through "a vast unbroken wilderness," most of the way heavily timbered, with no roads "better than deer paths." [460] The party, when assembled, consisted of about one hundred persons, including most of the people of the Kazier Mission.

In July, 1857, Brockway visited the newly located Isabella Mission.

> The brethren had enlarged their bark church to about twenty-five by fifty feet, which was filled to its utmost capacity with attentive and devout worshipers. Twenty children were baptized, and one hundred persons came to the communion.[461]

The *Minutes* of that year listed appointments for three missions—two of which were at the new site—Isabella, Oceana, and Saginaw (Pe-sa-iag-a-ning). The government supplied a sawmill for the Isabella County Reservation and many of the Indians built good log houses, cleared some of the land, and began to raise food crops. In addition to the land grants the government supplied annual annuities for ten years, farming implements, seeds, and cattle; and set apart an educational fund of $30,000., at the same time assuming supervision of the schools. In 1887 Isabella Mission was under the care of the preacher in charge of the adjoining white Circuit. It remained on the Conference lists through 1892, when it disappeared from the *Minutes*. In all likelihood, as was a usual enough policy, the work was combined with that of a Circuit and surrendered its name.

While the Saginaw Indians were mostly settled at the new location in Isabella County some remained on their reservation on Saginaw Bay. The latter continued to live in their old homes, worshiped in an old schoolhouse, and maintained a day school. In 1857 Peter Marksman was appointed to the mission (Pe-sa-iag-a-ning) and continued in charge until September, 1859. It continued to be listed up to 1863 in the Michigan Conference. When it was heard of again, in 1867, the old name of "Pesahganing" was resumed and Detroit Conference was responsible for the work. In 1895 the mission was still in existence, having survived with Missionary Society and Conference aid, though from 1878 on it was combined with Pinconning, which itself had been an appointment of the Flint River Mission in the 1850's.

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* In their last full report (1854) the Kazier Mission reported work at two stations, Bradley Chapel and Kazier; Janesville Mission at five, Janesville, Pinconning, "Pe-see-gun-ning" (Pesahganing or Pe-sa-iag-a-ning), Ke-che-as-sin-ning, and Hamline; Nottaway listed work among five bands; and Grand River showed two Stations, Me-shim-ne-koning and "Oo-wish-ta-yahs," in Montcalm County.—*Thirty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1854), pp. 72-78.

For a time the Oceana Mission, with a constituency of about eight hundred Indians, seemed to make considerable progress. The two principal appointments were at Pere Marquette and Pent Water on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. In 1865, with Isaac Greensky, the Indian missionary in charge, it reported 142 full members. As the mission had no church building religious services were held in the government schoolhouses. It continued to be listed in the Conference *Minutes* until 1873.

The Pine River Mission in Oceana County first appears in the *Minutes* for 1859 "to be supplied." More than a thousand Indians were embraced within its area. At two of the four preaching places meeting houses were built by "the means and toils of the Indians, unaided by anyone else." In 1866 the mission reported 150 members in full connection, and the Presiding Elder declared them to be "steadily advancing in civilization, intelligence, and piety." This mission, he said, "will soon swallow up all the Protestant missions in the Grand and Little Traverse countries." By 1873 the membership had increased to two hundred. This year Pine River was combined with Charlevoix Indian Mission as one pastoral charge. A sharp decline in the number of members ensued, only fifty-six being reported at the close of the year. Pine River did not again appear in the Conference record but Charlevoix continued through 1879.[463]

The consolidation objective of the government was not fully achieved. Various scattered bands were not affected by the treaty of 1856 and after ten years, with the treaty no longer in effect, conditions as a whole worsened. The missionary personnel was not maintained and most of the schools were closed. Settlers moved in and public schools were established but Indian children were not welcomed. In many cases the only religious services were such as could be provided by the pastors of adjoining white Circuits. At the Isabella Mission Secretary Leonard found in 1890 only four remaining congregations, no Sunday schools and "the work as a whole . . . very feebly sustained." "In Oceana County," he said, "we have no work, and the Indians have no attention except from the Roman Catholics." [464]

During this period in both Conferences of Michigan a number of other Indian missions were inaugurated with varied success. The records yield no data on them and since in these Conferences Indian work was not considered of sufficient importance to warrant a Conference committee for its consideration and supervision there is no record other than the mere appearance of their names in the *Minutes,* or an occasional reference to them in the *Annual Reports* of the Missionary Society. Apparently the Crystal Lake Indian Mission in the Michigan Conference could not be sustained after three years (1874-76). Riverton, also in the Michigan Conference, was one of the more successful missions, being initiated in 1873 and surviving up to 1893. Petoskey likewise did well, running from 1877 on with only a slight break; also Northport, begun in 1873. Elk Rapids, founded 1874, was listed under the appropriations for Indian missions steadily from 1886 through 1893, although not appearing in the appointments after 1879. However, in 1887 the *Annual Report* refers to work being carried on under A. J. Eldred and George Nada.[465] It is even possible that this work, since it first appears in 1874, was a continuation of the Oceana Mission.* Calkinsville for a number of years was part of the Isabella appointment (1882-88). It dropped out of the *Minutes* in 1889 until 1893 when it returned alone, and in 1895 was slated for an Indian work appropriation. Among the later Indian projects of the Michigan Conference was Vandecar, begun in 1889 and continued at least through 1892 when it disappears from the record—perhaps to emerge under another name, for instance, Free Soil or Kewadin, both of which appear in 1894 as Indian work. From 1889 to 1893 Torch Lake briefly served as an Indian mission; perhaps after that it too changed its name. That latter year "Leaton and Indian Mission" made its appearance in the *Minutes.* In Mason County, Scottville for a time was combined with the Riverton Indian Mission appointment, and after Riverton in 1892 fades out of the record, Scottville is listed alone. The 1890 Missionary Society *Report* stated: "We have one [Indian] congregation in Mason County attached to Scottville charge, served by Rev. J. W. Perkins. . . . There being no church building the services are held in a schoolhouse." [466]

When in 1856 the Indians in southern Michigan allowed themselves to be relocated at centers in Isabella, Oceana, and Mason Counties, they abandoned the missions which had been established for them at Bradley's Chapel and Nottaway, and as we have shown formed new missions at their new location. It is possible, though, that not all the Indians participated in the removal and that some who remained behind were Methodists. To give credence to this conjecture is the presence some years later in the Michigan Conference appointments of both a "Bradley" and a "Nottawa" Indian mission. Bradley first appears again in 1882 on a Circuit with Wayland and Moline; Nottawa shows up in 1884 combined with Waukeshma. By 1886 Bradley and Nottawa are found together on a Circuit and remain so through 1890. It is possible when the 1890 Society's *Report* referred to a work among the "Pottawattamie and Ottawa tribes" in Calhoun, Allegan, and Ottawa Counties, where a church of sixty-two members and ten probationers had been organized, it had this mission in mind.[467] The Ottawa colony had earlier been a part of the Nottaway Mission.

In Detroit Conference, likewise, missions optimistically begun were of short duration. Grand Island, for instance, seemingly was abandoned after eight years (1873-81), during which time it was always part of a Circuit; also Cedar River (1874-76) which was served with Grand Island. However, in the line of speculation, one might wonder whether Grand Island Mission simply changed its name in 1882, for in that year the Munising Indian Mission appears for the first time. Munising, in combination with other work, continued in the records through 1895. The fate of Cedar River also is not clear; at later dates it was scheduled for appropriations (1878 and 1883) but never again found its way into the appointments. Hannahville seemed a little more sturdy, and once begun in 1879 managed to keep going through the remainder of the period with missionary appropriations, although it evidently was not always supplied.

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* One is tempted to speculate upon the relations of one mission to another as an old appointment drops out and a new one appears, but in the absence of evidence no conclusions can be safely drawn.

Among the successful attempts with the Indians was the work at Taymouth, first listed in 1878, which after a couple of years of sharing a missionary with Bridgeport, thereafter was entitled to a full-time minister. It continued down through 1895. Pequaming (apparently an Indian mission) shared its lot with Kewawenon or with L'Anse from its inauguration in 1881 to 1895 when at last it appeared as a separate appointment. The Oscoda Mission first came into being in 1879 and continued for years thereafter. It is possible, too, that some work on a small scale was carried on at L'Anse, for intermittently in the 1880's the Missionary Society made appropriations for it.

Wisconsin Indian Missions.—The Oneida Mission in Wisconsin, established by John Clark in 1832,* was located in Brown County in a reservation approximately eight by twelve miles in extent a few miles north of Appleton. A census taken by the Oneida in 1847 registered 808 persons. Most of them were farmers, living on well-stocked and carefully tilled farms. A few followed other occupations, some becoming mechanics. They dwelt in frame houses, neatly painted and comfortably furnished. The mission† had two Societies, two preaching places about four miles apart, and a weekday school taught in 1847 by the missionary. Church members numbered "ninety-three Indians, three whites, and one colored," an increase of forty-nine over the 1844 statistics. Mission property included "one church worth about $1,000," an almost useless parsonage, and a library of some seventy volumes. The Missionary Society appropriation in 1847 was $285.; the government appropriation for the school, $166. In 1854 the missionary reported encouraging progress: forty received on probation in the preceding three months; two day schools—one at the mission and one in a schoolhouse built by the Indians—with ninety pupils enrolled; and a "Sunday school, doing well." His successor, writing four years later, was less sanguine regarding permanent results. The Indian character, with numerous exceptions, he found to be as "unstable as water." The proximity of Appleton and Green Bay subjected the tribe to the machinations of "vile persons in the shape of rumsellers," as "unscrupulous as they . . . [were] mean and avaricious," and many of the Indians became their victims. "We have more to contend with from this source," he said, "in trying to keep the members steadfast, than all others together." [468]

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* For early history of Oneida Mission in Wisconsin see Vol. II, 148-51.

† The Protestant Episcopal Church also had a mission, located three miles from the Methodist mission, with "a good church and school-house." An Indian language prayer book was in use.—*Missionary Advocate,* XXII (1866), 6 (September), 46.

Through the years despite hindrances and difficulties the mission developed a dependable and efficient group of Christian workers, including in 1887 seven Local Preachers, one of whom was ordained, two Exhorters, and several Class Leaders. Secretary Leonard in 1890 declared the Oneida to be "altogether superior in every way" to any other of the tribes he had visited.

> Our church has a membership of 265, with 55 probationers. A Sunday-school and prayer and class meetings are well sustained. The domestic and social relations of these Indians compare favorably with those of their white neighbors.[469]

The Brothertown Mission,* established in 1837, had in 1847 two preaching places—one among the Brothertown Indians at Manchester,† the second among the Stockbridge in the town of the same name. From 1839, when the Brothertown had been given full citizenship by Congress, they had lived under the laws of the nation and the state and had their own elective officers. Before 1855 they had sent three of their men to the State Legislature. They had long since ceased to use the Indian vernacular and had their own well-organized English language schools in which their children were given a fair common-school education. In 1858 Thomas Commuck, one of their number, wrote that intermarriage with the whites had so changed the Brothertown that "three-quarters of them would be readily considered as white, where they were not known." [470]

The status of the Brothertown Mission in 1855 was succinctly expressed by the Presiding Elder:

> They have a church of convenient size, a parsonage unfinished, and a total membership, including probationers, of about sixty. Steps are taken to repair the church and finish the parsonage. There are in the Sunday School four officers and teachers, forty scholars, . . . on the whole, a good degree of prosperity is enjoyed.[471]

No further mention is made of the mission in the *Annual Reports* of the Missionary Society. From 1858 to 1860 Brothertown was listed in the Conference *Minutes* as associated with Chilton; in 1861 it appeared as a separate charge, and thereafter was not named as an appointment, although the 1862 *Minutes* report eighty-one full members and eight probationers. It is possible that for some years afterward the Indians received the services of a Local Preacher since one remained resident up to 1871.

Significant changes were in process during these and later years.

> When the parents died, the younger generation sought brighter prospects in other employments. Some . . . [became] engaged on railroads and some on the lakes.

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* For story of the earlier history of the Brothertown Mission see Vol. II, 162-65.

† The tribe at first named their town Deansborough. Somewhat later it came to be known as Manchester. Still later it was renamed Brothertown "in remembrance of their old home."—W. DeLoss Love, *Samson Occom, and The Christian Indians of New England,* p. 328.

Others turned to trade. The foreign elements began to come in, mostly Germans, and buy out the Indians. Some emigrated farther west, to Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and even to California. At the present time [1890] there are probably not more than one hundred and fifty within the town, which has a population of fifteen hundred. Their village, located about half a mile from the lake [Winnebago], comprises about twenty houses, a schoolhouse and their town hall. . . . The tribe still maintains a unity in an organization, . . . and they have duly chosen 'Headmen'.[472]

Stockbridge was discontinued as a preaching appointment when, in 1856, the tribe moved to Shawano County. In 1863 the Superintendent of the Appleton Mission District referred in a report to the Missionary Society to the Shawano Mission which included a promising Society among the Stockbridge. They were poor, he said, and could do "but little to support a minister." [473]

A number of domestic missions in eastern Wisconsin during the early years included missionary work among both Indians and white settlers. In the case of some missions with mixed membership the official reports do not indicate the number of Indian converts.*

Indian Missions in New York.—Three Annual Conferences in New York—the Oneida, Black River, and Genesee—had Indian missions within their bounds. A mission on the Oneida Reservation was begun in 1829.† In 1845, after extensive migration to the new Wisconsin reservation, the remaining Society of Oneida and Onondaga Indians reported eighty-five members. Daniel Fancher, in charge of the mission for four years (1846-50), reported the Indian population in 1850 as 150 and the white constituency somewhat larger. Facilities included a small church, "worth probably $500., and a new school house, built . . . at the expense of the natives." A Sunday school of small enrollment was maintained. In 1856 the Society had two Local Preachers and forty-five members in full connection, two day schools in "successful operation," one with thirty-eight pupils, the other with twenty-five. The attitudes of successive missionaries toward the possibilities of missionary work varied greatly. J. D. Torrey (1856) felt that no people did as well "in sustaining religious meetings and schools" as the Oneida. A successor a few years later saw but little fruit of missionary labor and declared that there was "no prospect of an increase of Indian population, or of Indian thrift, and the Indian mission is rather a matter of benevolence than a true Gospel mission." Over a period of thirty years (1856-86) the membership decreased from forty-five to twenty-eight. In the latter year, the mission had ceased to be maintained as an independent religious enterprise and was attached to the Bennett's Corners charge.

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* In his report for 1845 on Indian missions William H. Sampson, Presiding Elder, Green Bay District, Rock River Conference, includes the Watertown, Manitowoc, Winnebago Lake, and Pewaukie Missions, although in the statistics of membership only one figure is reported, the white membership. At the same time, however, the *General Minutes* report white and Indian membership for Oneida and Brothertown Missions, which were predominantly Indian. (*Twenty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1844-45], p. 83.) This leads one to conclude that where the membership was predominantly white no differentiation was made between white and Indian members.

† For particulars concerning the Oneida Mission in New York State, 1829-44, see Vol. II, 146-48.

The year 1892 marked a change for the better. The District Superintendent reported "about forty . . . reclaimed and converted, among whom were some of the worst characters of the tribe." Two Sunday schools were maintained and also an Epworth League. The mission church was rebuilt and rededicated. The report for 1895, however, had in it a note of despair: "The Oneida Indian Mission is doing its best to save the few members of the once powerful tribe of Oneidas residing in this State."[474]

The combined mission of Onondaga and Oneida continued until 1850 when a separate Onondaga mission was established. In 1848 a "neat and commodious" church had been built on the reservation and at the close of the first year fifty-five members were reported.

A divided opinion developed in the Conference concerning the mission. There were those who felt that no appreciable improvement was taking place either civilly or religiously, but instead only gradual disintegration and decay. Others were confident that advance in moral and religious interest was discernible. In 1872 they pointed to the fact that there were three Onondaga Local Preachers, ordained men, who preached regularly and conducted social weeknight meetings, and held that larger use of Indian preachers and leaders would be productive of larger results. But by 1886 continuance of missionary effort was questioned as worthwhile, considering that the expenditure of the fund in India or Japan would certainly be more productive. The fact that the Onondaga had no written language, and hence no literature in their own tongue, was a handicap. As they were either indifferent or opposed to the education of their children the school supported by the state had only small and irregular attendance. In 1895 the mission reported thirty church members, twenty-five less than in 1845.[475]

The St. Regis Mission of the Black River Conference was founded in 1847 on the reservation* of the St. Regis Indians. In July of that year William Woodman, an Oneida Indian who had served as an interpreter among his people in Wisconsin, moved to St. Regis and began at once through hymns, exhortations, and prayers to bear witness to his faith. Interest was immediately awakened and Woodman appealed to Ebenezer Arnold, pastor of the Brasher Circuit, to come to his assistance. Although St. Regis had long been known as a strong Roman Catholic center, with a church and a resident priest, Arnold decided to add it to his weekday appointments and on August 20, 1847, preached the first Protestant sermon in St. Regis. Later he wrote:

As serious threats had been made by the Roman Catholic priest, several brethren

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* The St. Regis Reservation extended several miles along the St. Lawrence River on both sides of the boundary between the United States and Canada. The village of St. Regis, established about 1755, became the seat of the Jesuit Mission of Saint Francis Regis.—James Mooney in F. W. Hodge, Ed., *op. cit.*, II, 412 f.

> from Brasher thought it prudent to accompany me. We arrived in time at the dwelling-house where our meeting was appointed. But for fear of the threatened mob, none had ventured out but a few squaws, who, encouraged by the arrival of so many whites, scud away to rally their more timid lords, and after a long delay our audience was assembled. Four or five men, a dozen women, and a few frightened children . . . .[476]

About the middle of September nine of the Indians were taken by the kindness of members of the Brasher Circuit to a Camp Meeting at Canton, New York, where several of them were "brought from darkness to light." A Class was formed, Woodman was appointed Class Leader, and St. Regis was made a regular appointment on Brasher Circuit. Fierce persecution ensued, interfering with the growth of the Society. The Indian agent refused the use of the public schoolhouse for religious meetings. Protestants "were denied burial on the reservation and their right in the Government schools and annuities. . . . their crops were seized by the chiefs under the claim that they 'had not paid tithes to the priest.' " The appointment of a new agent resulted in alleviation of overt persecution but enmity continued and land for a church building on the reservation was refused. Finally, a location was found at Hogansburgh, on a plot which had been ceded to the whites. Here, by 1857, on a tract of two and a half acres of land, a substantial church had been built and also a parsonage. A day school was taught in the vestry of the church, with an attendance which varied from twelve to thirty pupils. The Society had eighteen members in full connection.[477]

The Missionary Society in 1866 took a pessimistic view of the condition and future prospect of the mission. Of a population of 1,100 only about forty were Protestants and of these not more than twenty were church members. There was no separate Indian Class although a few occasionally attended the white Class meeting. Perhaps three men and their wives gave evidence of genuine piety. The population of the tribe was decreasing and "rapidly becoming French from intermarriages." About this time an Onondaga Indian, Thomas LaFort, was appointed to the mission, now in the Northern New York Conference. In 1873 the Presiding Elder of the Potsdam District, stated that LaFort was much beloved by his people and that he had won "the confidence of the Catholic portion of the tribe," numbers of them having been converted within the preceding year. A different point of view was expressed by Ebenezer Arnold who in 1886 was reappointed to the mission. He felt that Indian leadership was morally and religiously ineffective. Under it, he said,

> Principle gradually gave place to fitful emotion; Bible knowledge rapidly went down; Methodist rules were totally disregarded except in connection with Quarterly Meetings; large numbers were alternately recognized as members on slight evidence and 'turned out' without evidence or trial.

Arnold had little good to say of the state and the provincial (Canadian) day schools. In 1888 there were four state schools with a fifth under construction and four provincial schools in a total population of three thousand. "Though well located, and fully supported, they . . . [were] all very small"—an average of perhaps a half dozen pupils to a school—with irregular attendance. The school session in each case was about six months. All were under Roman Catholic management. The mission was still in operation in 1893, at which time Arnold was appealing for translations of the New Testament and the catechism.[478]

At the 1854 Genesee Conference a Seneca Indian mission was formally organized at the request of a Methodist Society which had been formed at Cattaraugus. John Timmerman was appointed as missionary. Five months later he reported eighteen members and fifty-two probationers. Within eighteen months a substantial church edifice was under construction, a Sunday school organized, a Local Preacher licensed, and the membership at twenty-eight.[479] No further particulars seem to have reached the Missionary Society for a number of years. In 1865 the Society reported 190 members in the mission church.

> The mission is joined with the Gowanda Station, and the preacher serves the mission and the station also, the lack of service to the Indians being made up by an excellent Indian local preacher, Brother White.[480]

By 1871 the mission had been enlarged to include appointments on three reservations: the Cattaraugus, Alleghany, and Tonawanda. A change of Conference boundaries in 1872 brought the Alleghany Reservation within the Erie Conference. Evidence is lacking that the Erie Conference provided for carrying on the missionary work. The Tonawanda Reservation had a population of some six hundred.* There were fifteen members in the Methodist Class in 1873 and a much larger number in the congregation. More often than not the Sunday services were in the charge of the Indian Local Preacher, who also conducted Class and prayer meetings on Thursday evenings. The Cattaraugus Society was strengthened by an increase in Indian leadership, including two Local Preachers and two Exhorters. Several Classes were well attended.[481]

For a number of years the Society on the Tonawanda Reservation had wanted a separate mission of its own. The 1885 Genesee Conference granted their request, authorizing a mission to which S. S. Ballou was appointed. He described the moral and religious conditions as deplorable:

> There is no sense of virtue among the masses of these Indians. They neither marry nor are given in marriage. The majority of them live together hap-hazard, or marry by the moon, one or six or a dozen as the case may be. They retain to a large extent the pagan customs of their fathers . . . .[482]

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* In addition to the Methodist mission the Baptists and the Presbyterians each had a small church on the Tonawanda Reservation.

Ballou's tenure was for one year only and this ended the plan for a full-time missionary. The membership in 1890 consisted of fourteen in full connection and four probationers. A preaching service on Friday, and sometimes a Class meeting as well, were the only religious services. Attendance was small, "never reaching more than 40, and frequently a much smaller number." [483]

In 1890 the mission at Cattaraugus had resumed its early status as an out-appointment of Gowanda Station. Membership had declined to thirty full members and twenty probationers.* There was no Sunday school, and Class and prayer meetings were held irregularly. The church building was "in a dilapidated condition." Secretary Leonard concluded that the Missionary Society should "support a missionary who should live on the reservation and give his whole time to this work." In 1892 J. E. Williams, Presiding Elder of the Buffalo District, reported among the expenditures $322. for the salary of a preacher.[484]

INDIAN MISSIONS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

In its tabulation of Indian missions following the division of the Church, the Missionary Society listed no missions west of the Mississippi River. Within a few years, however, extensive missionary operations over a wide expanse of territory were under way.

Indian Missions in Minnesota.—A forerunner of Methodist missionary labors among the Indians of northern Minnesota was Jacob Falstrom, a converted Swedish fur trader, who on all his travels carried with him a thumb-worn Swedish Testament.† For many years he served as interpreter and unofficial missionary among the Chippewa (whose language he spoke with ease) and other Minnesota tribes. The Sandy Lake and Fond du Lac Missions, in northeastern Minnesota, were founded in 1840, and 1841, respectively.‡ Although there were some seven hundred Chippewa round about Sandy Lake beginnings were difficult and growth was slow. In 1847 Samuel Spates, the Indian missionary chiefly responsible for the mission's founding, reported that some of the Indian children in the day school had learned "to read the New Testament both in English and Indian."

> When I came among the Chippewa Indians, in 1839, many of them were not in the habit of making any provision for themselves and families by cultivating the soil. Now they raise enough potatoes for eating and planting. In this respect there

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* The Presbyterian Mission, with a church, a parsonage, and a full-time missionary, had at this time a membership of eighty-six active and seventy-three nominal members.

† Accounts vary concerning the means of the spiritual awakening and missionary enlistment of Jacob Falstrom. Alfred Brunson says: "Here [at Fort Snelling] I found him in the Spring of 1838. He at once received us and the word of life, and embraced the Savior." (*A Western Pioneer . . .* , II, 120.) Chauncey Hobart relates that Falstrom heard David King, Methodist Indian missionary, preach, went to him at the close of the sermon, and exclaimed, "My name Jacobs! I like you! I want to join you!" (*History of Methodism in Minnesota*, pp. 20 f.) Falstrom's wife was a Chippewa, the mother of nine children. The family home in later years, on a farm in the St. Croix Valley, was a house of refuge for Methodist Circuit Riders and missionaries. He died in 1859.

‡ See Vol. II, 161, 161*n*, 162. These two missions were included in the Michigan Conference until 1852, when they were made part of the Wisconsin Conference.

has been a decided improvement; and . . . the most industrious among them are the most inclined to listen to the Gospel.

Three years later the Presiding Elder commented on the thriving appearance of the mission premises. "It appears," he said, "like a rich and fertile spot in the midst of a cheerless desert." [485]

In 1850 Mille Lacs was attached to Sandy Lake. Chauncey Hobart speaks in high terms of Spates' sixteen years of faithful missionary labor at Sandy Lake Mission. He organized a church, "taught the children, visited the sick, buried the dead, and had the pleasure of seeing many happily converted." Few of the Indians at any time united with the Church. At the close of the 1855-56 Conference year the mission reported but five members and did not again appear in the Conference records.[486] Mille Lacs was not heard from either, after 1856.

At the Fond du Lac Mission in 1846 with E. H. Day and Peter Marksman as missionaries a day school had been established, with some thirty pupils enrolled; a parsonage had been built, and efforts made to construct a church. The Indian community numbered approximately four hundred. J. H. Pitezel, after visiting the mission in June, 1849, as Presiding Elder of the Michigan Conference Indian Mission District, was doubtful of the wisdom of trying to continue it. The chiefs were indolent and expected to be fed as recompense for permitting children of the tribe to attend the mission school. The ensuing winter the Indians killed and ate two of their own cattle and the mission's only cow. "So abominably lazy are most of these people," Pitezel commented, "that they had rather kill and eat cattle, than to work for food."

In 1851 Fond du Lac was reoccupied and Peter Marksman was appointed missionary. It is not certain that he filled his appointment. The machinations of a designing and desperate Indian, according to Chauncey Hobart's report, caused such dissension and loss of confidence among the tribesmen of the region that Fond du Lac was abandoned.[487]

No further mention is made of Indian missions in the state until 1893 when it is reported that a log church "has been erected at the Vermilion Indian Mission." John Clark, an educated Chippewa Indian, had been appointed as supply. In 1894 the District Superintendent assured the Conference that the "good work . . . [had] continued throughout the year, and the moral effect . . . [had been] noticed by all." [488]

Indian Missions in Kansas.—The Wyandot Mission, West, was established in 1844.* Division of the Church brought new trials to the already sorely troubled and oppressed tribe. The allocation of territory agreed upon in the Plan of Separation placed the Missouri Conference, which included all of Kansas, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. This arrangement was by no means congenial to some of the Wyandot and bitter dissension developed within the tribe. Those who desired to adhere to the Methodist Episcopal Church petitioned the 1848 General Conference to be restored to their former connection. The Conference, recognizing no way by which the petition could be granted, recommended that the Missionary Society provide a measure of amelioration. The Board of Managers authorized, "in case the members of the Wyandott Indian mission shall become members of the M. E. church," that an appropriation of a sum not exceeding $800. should be made for the support of the mission.[489] Since this action did not accomplish the desired end the dissenting group* in July, 1849, petitioned the Ohio Conference to send them a missionary. James Greeley volunteered and arrived in Kansas in November. His arrival was the signal for an outbreak of violence and persecution. While Greeley was preaching a mob stoned the church and disrupted the service. Whereupon he transferred the worship services to a vacant dwelling. In January, 1850, he was expelled from Kansas Territory by the Indian agent. Church services, however, were continued in the dwelling house and, when spring arrived, among the trees in the out-of-doors. During the year the Society built a hewn-log church, "near the Quindaro Cemetary," the second on the reservation. Meanwhile, at the first session of the reorganized Missouri Conference, September 13, 1848, the Wyandot Mission had been placed on the list of appointments, left "to be supplied." At the 1849 session, in response to the appeal of Squire Gray Eyes and J. M. Armstrong, representing the Wyandot, Thomas B. Markham, a former Indian mission teacher, and Pascal Fish, "a native assistant," were appointed as missionaries to the "Indian mission." [490] Writing in February, 1851, Markham reported ninety-three church members and twenty-five probationers, and a small Sunday school in his own house, but no day school "in all the country." This year (1851) the Indian Mission Circuit included the Wyandot, Delaware, and Kickapoo Indians. The next year (1852) saw the Wyandot Mission again included in an Indian Mission Circuit: Wyandot, Delaware, and Shawnee. William H. Goode, writing in 1854 to the *Western Christian Advocate,* viewed the situation hopefully:

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* See Vol. II, 186. For account of the Wyandot Mission in Ohio see Vol. I, 203 ff.; II, 117-26.

> Our Wyandotte Mission is prospering under the fearless and faithful labours of Rev. J. M. Chivington. I should think it would take several United States agents to drive him from the field. They are a faithful and devoted people. The majority are members of our Church, and worship in their new log meeting-house, while the minority, attached to the Church, South, keep possession of the excellent brick church.[491]

In 1855, by government treaty, the tribal organization of the Wyandot was dissolved and they became United States citizens, exercising their franchise for the first time in the March, 1855, election of the Territorial Legislature. The division of land previously held in common gave to each man, woman, and child about forty acres. The land was valuable, coveted by the whites, and many sold their holdings. This was the beginning of the end of the Wyandot Mission. Some, fearful of the corrupting influence of the whites upon their children, emigrated to the old Wyandot settlement in Canada; others, in accordance with an old intertribal agreement, joined the Seneca; and still others remained among the white settlers. "The tribe," William H. Goode[*] wrote to the Missionary Society, ". . . has dwindled to a handful, and there is but little room for increase.[†] . . . The present membership numbers about one hundred." [492]

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* When E. T. Peery, appointed at the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the Wyandot Mission, undertook to organize a Society 110 members of the total membership of 160 attended the organizational meeting. Of these, forty-one agreed to unite with the new Society. Sixty-nine, because of their devotion to their former conneetion and their opposition to slavery, were determined to maintain their earlier allegiance.—*Historical Record and Directory of the Washington Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, Kansas City, Kansas* (1890), p. 6.

These were days of partisan warfare when marauding expeditions, pillage and arson, and outrages of every sort were common events in "bloody Kansas." On April 8, 1856, in the evening, the log meeting house was burned to the ground.[‡] While the present terror reigns, Presiding Elder Levin B. Dennis said, "it is foolishness to rebuild." Worship services, however, were continued, at first in a schoolhouse near Quindaro, and later in a private residence. In 1857 two churches were built, a frame structure in the village of Wyandotte and a brick edifice in Quindaro. The mission was maintained from 1857 until 1870, by which time most of the members had removed to the Indian Territory. There a faithful remnant of the Society held the organization together until in 1880 the General Missionary Committee reinstated the mission.

> The Wyandots are a small tribe on a small Reservation in the Quapaw Agency, well advanced in civilization . . . . We have a very good church centrally located upon their Reservation . . . .

J. M. Iliff, in charge, reported twenty-one members and probationers. In 1882 the Wyandot donated a tract of three acres on which the church was located. The next year a parsonage of five rooms was built. The Quapaw mission school was placed under the superintendency of M. Finity, a Methodist minister, and regular services were held at the school.[493]

The Shawnee Mission[§] in Kansas was begun by Thomas Johnson in September, 1830. As in the case of the Wyandot, when the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was reorganized in 1848 an attempt was made to re-establish a mission among these Indians under the leadership of Abraham Still, veteran pioneer. A site[#] on the Wakarusa River was selected, farm buildings were constructed, and a school opened. At this time the Shawnee numbered approximately eight hundred. In 1849 Still was made Presiding Elder of the Platte Mission District and the Shawnee, with the Wyandot, were included in the Indian Mission. In 1851 Shawnee was again a separate mission with three preaching places and some fifty members and probationers. The missionary, Henry Reeder, was assisted by a Shawnee, Pascal Fish, a probationer in the Conference. A mission house of hewn logs was under construction.[494] This arrangement lasted for only one year. In 1852 and 1853 the Shawnee again became a Circuit appointment, this time in combination with the Wyandot and Delaware. When in 1854 William H. Goode was appointed Presiding Elder of the Kansas and Nebraska Mission District he was nominally assigned to the Shawnee Mission in order to provide him with living quarters and farm land on which to raise provisions for his large family—a wife and eight children. Associated with him was a young man who was expected to "perform the principal labors of the mission." But unfortunately the plan went awry. Before reaching his destination he was informed that the premises had been included in a tract of land sold to an Indian. At the close of this year the mission reported sixteen members. The laconic report of the Missionary Society read: "Accomplishing little for several years past." The following year (1855) the Shawnee were "supplied from the Lawrence [English-speaking] Mission" through an interpreter. With 1856 missionary work in behalf of the tribe apparently ceased since no report was subsequently printed by the Missionary Society.[495]

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[*] William H. Goode, Presiding Elder of the Kansas and Nebraska Mission District, was living at this time in "a little brick house," rented from an Indian, on the Wyandot Reservation (Nov. 4, 1854—Nov. 18, 1855). (*Thirty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1855], p. 51; W. H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion . . .*, pp. 287, 290.) He was a discerning observer and an accurate recorder of current events.

[†] Racial intermixture had reached the point where there was scarcely a full-blood Wyandot among them.—"Wyandot and Shawnee Indian Lands in Wyandott County, Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Collection,* XV, 93.

[‡] On the same evening the brick church used by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was also burned.

[§] For account of the Shawnee Mission and its outstanding Manual Labor School see Vol. II, 176-80.

[#] The mission was located on Section 8, township 13, range 21 east, Douglas County, near the mouth of the Wakarusa River.—Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas,* II, 294.

A meager program was projected among two or three other Kansas tribes, notably the Delaware and the Kansas. A mission to the Delaware was one of the nine established by the Missouri Conference in 1832.* With a reservation which included a large tract of the most fertile land in Kansas† they had improved in methods of agriculture while steadily decreasing in population and making little or no progress in education or in religion. Although not a single member of the tribe was known to possess a slave, most of them—following the separation—adhered to the southern branch of the Church. Much of the credit for keeping together the little remnant who dissented belongs to Charles Ketcham, long a preacher and one of the leading men of the Nation. He was a respected member of the Missouri Conference, of much influence among his own people. With no church or parsonage, the Society of ninety-two members and probationers in 1851 had no choice other than to worship in private houses or in the woods. Membership rapidly declined until in 1855 the missionary reported that only nine remained, and that the mission was "feeble and accomplishing little."

The work among the Kansas (Kaw) Indians also was extremely limited in scope and even less effective. In 1850 a school was established at Council

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* See Vol. II, 170, 180-82.

† For boundaries of the Delaware Reservation see Vol. II, 181.

Grove with T. S. Huffaker in charge, in an attempt to revive the mission abandoned in 1842.* Huffaker is reported to have stated that "all his efforts and arguments failed to have any effect in removing the deep-seated prejudice of the Indians against receiving an education." [496] Missionary work among them ceased in 1854.

Richard P. Duvall, a member of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference, was appointed missionary to the Sauk and Fox in 1860. At the close of his first year he reported twenty church members including white members of the agency, and two Sunday schools. He responded to the call for volunteers and for a little more than a year served in the Union army. On his return he resumed his work as an Indian missionary, but soon became discouraged for lack of support and resigned. Such interest had been created, however, that the Indian agent, Sauk Chief Keokuk, and other Indians, attended the 1866 session of the Conference with an urgent request for a missionary, an appeal which the Conference considered itself unable to grant.

"In 1867 the Sauk ceded their land in Kansas and in exchange were given a tract in Indian Territory." By 1870 only 387 of their number had relocated. More were persuaded to move as the years passed but the tribe was greatly decimated by disease and unhappiness. "In their strange surroundings the Indians displayed a somewhat rebellious spirit; they rejected the innovations of civilization and even refused the construction of a church desired by the more enlightened members of the tribe." As late as 1890 they were still rejecting civilized ways, though some small advance had been made.[497]

Nothing seemingly could be done among the Kickapoo; Ke-en-e-kuk † continued to have a strong hold on his followers. In 1854 the tribe arranged to cede almost all of its Kansas property to the government, and a later treaty opened up the remaining land to railroad building. After many vicissitudes and much traveling about, some of the tribe agreed to settle on a new reservation in Indian Territory, and some—the followers of Ke-en-e-kuk—remained on a small strip in Kansas. Among the latter were a large band of Potawatomi.[498]

Oklahoma Indian Missions.—The Ponca Indians were a small tribe, of less than four hundred, whose reservation was in Oklahoma on the Salt Fork of the Arkansas River. A mission among them was begun in 1884 by the Woman's National Indian Association, wholly supported by the Plymouth Congregational Church of Brooklyn, of which Henry Ward Beecher was then pastor.

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* The Kansas Mission was sharply criticized by C. B. Boynton, a member of a commission sent to Kansas in September, 1854, by the American Reform Tract and Book Society to explore and report upon Kansas conditions and resources: "The 'Mission' is merely a school, the Kaws not consenting to have the Gospel preached among them. They send a few of their children irregularly to a school, in which little or nothing is, or can be done. The name of 'Mission' does not very well describe the thing; and this, we think, is not the only 'Mission,' in Kansas to which the same remark would apply. It would do no harm, if this whole subject of Indian missions were somewhat more closely investigated by the churches. . . . the matter would be stripped of much of the heroic, and the romantic, with which it has been so largely invested."—Copy of letter, Aug. 9, 1854, in "Webb Scrap Books," I, 89, in Library of Kansas State Historical Society.

† See Vol. II, 183 f.

In 1887 the mission was taken over by the W. H. M. S. and assigned for support to the Troy Conference Society. As the government maintained a school, attended by some two hundred pupils, the Society supplied the services of an evangelistic missionary. In 1890 the missionary was the Rev. S. G. Bundy of the Indian Mission Conference who in addition to his work with the Ponca also held religious services among the Tonkawa and the Otoe, neighboring tribes. He was later succeeded by J. E. Irvine and his wife, formerly associated with William Booth in the London Christian Mission. He found families, white settlers as well as Indians, whose children of ten or twelve years had never before seen a preacher or heard a prayer. The dead were buried without any kind of religious service, not even a prayer because, as one man said, "there is no one to pray." At the close of his first year Irvine was unwilling to estimate results. "We are . . . sowing seed for future harvests," he wrote, whose final outcome could not be predicted. The missionary preached regularly on Sundays at Ponca and Otoe and, besides, held services on Sunday and Wednesday evenings at his home. He also purchased a tent for use in evangelistic meetings. The mission premises of twenty-four acres were improved by a wire fence around the entire tract, a high board fence to protect the house, a cistern and well, and an orchard of peach, apple, plum, cherry, and apricot trees.

In the *Fifteenth Annual Report* of the W. H. M. S. (1895-96) Mrs. H. C. McCabe, secretary of the Bureau of Indian and Frontier Work, stated that the Ponca Circuit embraced "a wide range of country wholly destitute of the gospel" including many whites as well as Ponca, Otoe, and "remote Osages." The missionary service of Mr. and Mrs. Irvine was "tireless and abundant, and the harvest . . . [would] yet appear." [499]

The Osage Reservation was located in northern Oklahoma, adjoining Kansas on the north and the Arkansas River on the west. A visitor to the agency in 1885 found 1,580 Indians, among whom were 340 children between seven and fourteen years. Of the total number about seven hundred were able to speak English. Of the sixty government employees, six were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The agent asked for a missionary toward whose support he promised $150. and a residence. A "fine chapel" also was available for religious services. He reported that there had not been a missionary on the reservation for years.[500] In 1886 the Woman's Home Missionary Society appropriated $1,000. for opening missionary work among them, an action which was later reconsidered. In 1888 a missionary was sent to the tribe by the Society, a mission house purchased at Pawhuska, the capital of the Osage Nation, for $650., and fifteen boarding pupils enrolled. The government agreed to pay $125. per capita for support of twenty-five boarding pupils, and seven dollars per term for day pupils. A year later the number was increased. A school building was erected, two cottages purchased, and the Adelaide Springer Osage Mission established, "so named by the Upper Iowa Conference, which gave $1,100. in one year for . . . [the cottages]." In 1890 a church was erected and the mission constituted an appointment of the Indian Mission Conference. The Society in 1891 entered into a contract with the federal government "to equip, maintain and manage an industrial boarding School and a day School," with an enrollment of sixty pupils in each. In February, 1892, the girls' industrial school was transferred to the federal authorities, the government accepting the missionaries as teachers. The need for a school for white children was so evident that the W. H. M. S. in 1895 established one for both whites and Indians in place of the Indian girls' school. It enrolled girls, and boys under fourteen years of age, and began with twenty-four pupils.[501]

In an earlier period the Pawnee Indians were a large and strong tribe in the Nebraska region. The government transferred them to a reservation in northern Oklahoma, about seventy-five miles from the Kansas border. A mission established by the Woman's National Indian Association was transferred in 1885 to the W. H. M. S. Mrs. Frances L. Gaddis, a missionary sent by the Society, arrived on the field in July of that year and was soon busily engaged in visiting the Indians in their homes, ministering to the sick, conducting Bible readings, and teaching the women to sew. Her support was assumed by the W. H. M. S. of the Philadelphia Conference. After two years' work, despite the Indians' latent opposition to women missionaries, a Methodist Society was organized in September, 1887, with twenty-nine members. In 1888 the Indian mission sent J. E. Edgar to the tribe as missionary. On the organization of the Indian Mission Conference (1889) the Pawnee and Ponca Circuit was listed as one of the regular appointments and was continued under this designation in the reorganization of the mission as the Oklahoma Conference in 1892. In that year the Pawnee Society reported sixty-four members, a Sunday school with an enrollment of forty pupils, a parsonage, and a church building valued at $500. Religious services and the Sunday school in 1894-95 were in the charge of "an Indian minister of the Pawnee tribe, and a member of the Oklahoma Conference." [502]

The W. H. M. S. began a mission in August, 1891, among the Arapahoe and Cheyenne, with Mrs. J. E. Roberts as missionary. Her headquarters were at El Reno, in two small rooms. She reported having made "several hundred visits." In 1893 she was appointed "field matron," and paid by the government.[503]

Montana Indian Missions—Three Indian reservations on which Methodist missions were established, the Crow, the Blackfeet, and the Fort Peck, were in Montana. The Crow Reservation was located in the southern part of the Territory; the Blackfeet Reservation, about sixty miles square, in the northwestern part; and the Fort Peck Reservation in the southeastern part of Valley County. The missions on these reservations first appeared among the appointments of the 1874 Rocky Mountain Conference* with the notation "to be supplied." The Conference Committee on Indian Affairs stated this year in its report that during the four years that agencies on these reservations "have been committed to our denominational care, there has been but little organized labor looking to direct religious results among the Indians." The Crow asked for teachers able to speak their language: they were "suspicious of . . . interpreters."

Although there was an organized Society on the Crow Reservation it was still without a missionary in 1875 and 1876. Seemingly the best that could be done was to engage E. A. Bridger "in teaching and holding religious services among the Crows for six months." In 1877 and 1878 the mission was left "to be supplied" and in 1879 disappeared from the list of appointments, not to reappear for three years. In 1881 the agent advised the Missionary Society that the reservation was a very promising field "for either missionary or educational work." The following year Thomas D. Lewis,† a supernumerary member of the St. Louis Conference, with his wife, was appointed to take charge of the school and "do mission work" at the Crow Mission. That year, too, Peter O. Matthews was given a renewal of license as an Indian Local Preacher. The next year it was again left "to be supplied," after which it disappeared permanently from the record.[504]

The Blackfeet Mission among the Piegan, one of the three branches of the Blackfeet tribe, was first listed, as stated above, in the Rocky Mountain Conference *Minutes* for 1874, without a missionary, although they had received incidental preaching before that from various members of the Conference. John Young, appointed as agent in 1876, was from the first strongly impressed by their character. "As a rule," he stated in 1880, "these Indians are kind with each other, obedient to control, and commit few breaches of law and order." Again in 1881 he wrote, the "day-school is well attended and the scholars make fair progress. . . . when the alphabet is mastered and they begin to spell and read, their delight is manifest. There is, perhaps, no heathen field so likely to repay the labor of a Christian missionary." Year after year he repeated his plea but no missionary was found. In 1882 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote to the Indian Bureau of the Woman's Home Missionary Society:‡ "The denomination from which these Indians have a right to expect Missionary help has, until the present time, failed to meet its responsibilities, and repeated appeals to it have been disregarded." [505]

Not until 1893, long after the discontinuance of the "Peace Policy," was the mission established on a substantial basis, and then not by the Missionary Society but by the Brooklyn and Bay Ridge branches of the Woman's National Indian Association. On April 3, 1893, Eugene S. Dutcher, of the West Nebraska Conference, and Mrs. Dutcher, under contract with the association, arrived at Blackfoot as missionaries to the Piegan who at that time numbered about two thousand. Dutcher was transferred from West Nebraska to the North Montana Mission. The Indian Bureau required occupancy of 160 acres by the mission to which the Indians in council readily assented. The missionary soon had a three-room cottage built, and within two years a "beautiful chapel, 26x40 feet, at a cost of one thousand dollars, . . . free of debt." In July, 1894, the mission was transferred to the Methodist Episcopal Church on condition that the Church would support and carry forward the work already begun.[506]

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* While these missions were first listed within the Rocky Mountain Conference, they were included within the Montana Conference when it was organized in 1877.

† Thomas D. Lewis in 1882 was listed as a member of the Montana Mission, but his name does not again appear.—"Journal of Proceedings . . . ," 1882, in *Minutes, Montana Mission,* 1886, pp. 21, 24.

‡ One of the first standing committees of the W.H.M.S., organized in 1880, was the Committee on Indian Work: Mrs. L. D. McCabe, Mrs. C. V. Culver, and Mrs. W. A. Ingham. Authorization of the committee was followed by the appropriation of $500. for "work among the Indian tribes." (*First Ann. Rep., W.H.M.S.* [1881-82], pp. 4, 29.) By 1886 the Society had six missionaries working among the Indians.—*Sixth Ann. Rep., W.H.M.S.* (1886-87), p. 110.

While a mission was listed in the Fort Peck Reservation (Sioux Indians) in 1874 no appointment was made. In its report for 1880 the Missionary Society noted the fact that the government was giving increased attention to schools for the Indians. It was encouraged by this development to negotiate directly with the Indian Bureau for the establishment of a school at Fort Peck, with scholastic and industrial departments. In 1881 the Society sent Samuel E. Snider of the Upper Iowa Conference to the post but the erection and equipment of school buildings by the government was delayed. Snider organized a school of fifty pupils at Poplar Creek with such facilities as were available. He wrote to the Board:

> We shall keep the school running all winter, doing the best we can. By the help of the Lord we are going to make a success of it. I have organized a Methodist Class, seven by letter, one on probation . . . . We have a good little Sunday-school, keep up a semi-weekly prayer-meeting, and all are growing in grace.

In 1883, with I. T. Miller in charge, sixty-eight pupils were in attendance. The school day was divided into three hours of classroom work and four hours of hand work, the boys doing gardening and farming, the girls housework and sewing. The agent reported to the commissioner that the school was "a model of discipline, order, and industry," and the religious training and the example of the pupils exerted "a wholesome influence for good" over the adult Indians.[507]

Indian Missions in Oregon.—From the year of its founding the Oregon Conference carried on work among the Indians. G. L. Parrish was regularly appointed "Missionary to the Indians" until 1856 when his assignment was changed to "Grand Ronde Indian Reserve and Tillamook." The next two years this post was left to be supplied. Later it was put in Roman Catholic hands.

Three Indian reservations in Methodist hands were in Oregon: Klamath, Siletz, and Warm Springs. The Klamath Reservation, with about a thousand Indians, was located on the eastern slope of the southern extremity of the Cascade Range in southwestern Oregon. On this and the Siletz Reservation up to 1872 there was little organization and labor. This year it was superintended by L. S. Dyer, with the cooperation of Thomas Pearne, who organized a Class of sixty members.

From 1876 to 1878 J. H. Roork of the Oregon Conference was agent at Klamath, employing two other members as his assistants. During this time religious services had been "faithfully kept up, [and] a weekday school established." At the 1878 Conference Linus M. Nickerson was appointed agent, continuing in office until 1885 when ill health compelled his resignation. In 1879 the Oregon Conference Committee on Indian Affairs reported that the Indians were making "considerable progress in Christian civilization." An industrial boarding school of some forty pupils was maintained; also weekly preaching services and a Sunday school. In 1881 Nickerson was filling the place of both Indian agent and missionary but could do little "compared with what is possible and ought to be done." In 1884 T. F. Royal was appointed missionary and his wife employed as matron of the government schools. This year a Society was organized with twenty-eight members in full connection and four probationers. After one year Royal was succeeded by N. M. Skipworth whose tenure—like that of so many others—was very brief.[508]

J. B. Harrison, who had been sent out in 1887 by the Indian Reserve Association of Philadelphia to make a study of conditions among the Indians of Oregon, estimated the Klamath highly.

> In moral qualities and worth many of them are the peers of white men, brave, frank, manly, public spirited and honorable. . . .
>
> Many . . . live in fairly comfortable houses . . . [']I was entertained in their homes with a dignified, intelligent, and joyous hospitality.['] . . .[509]

In 1888 the Conference Committee on Indian Work stated that nothing had been done among the Indians within the Conference for two years, though funds were available since the Conference had been urged to send ministers "to teach the Indians at the government's expense, . . . besides the Indians themselves would gladly contribute liberally for the support of the gospel." Apart from the paucity of ministers the situation was partly explained by the fact that during this period the agency had been in the hands of a man so unfriendly to the Church that it seemed impracticable to try to maintain a mission.[510]

In 1890 the Conference committee, while stating that the Conference was "greatly embarrassed by the hostile attitude of the agent," had at last heard "the Macedonian cry of the Klamath Indians" and had sent them a missionary, J. A. Tenant, "a man eminently qualified for such work, having had large experience in laboring among other tribes." For some reason not revealed by the Conference *Journal* he, like others before him, was not reappointed at the end of one year. However, beginning in 1891, the mission was faithfully served for two years by D. L. Spaulding. He was succeeded by Thomas Starns, a supply, who continued as pastor for three years (1893-96). Two Societies were maintained, the Williamson River church and one at Spring Creek in the Yainax sub-agency. Two Sunday schools were conducted by the government Superinendent of Public Instruction. In 1895, 160 full members and 217 probationers were reported. "Family prayer was observed in nearly all Christian homes; class and prayer meetings, preaching, and all religious services were regularly attended." This same year, however, the Committee on Indian Work of the Conference stated that under the influence of two disreputable agents drunkenness and "all manner of vice and immorality" abounded on the reservation. "Horse racing, profanity, dancing, drunkenness, and Sabbath breaking are all commonly practiced with the consent and co-operation of the agent." [511]

The Siletz Reservation, with less than five hundred persons—"remnants of ten or twelve different tribes"—was located on the western coast of Oregon. In earlier years these tribes had shown extreme hostility to the white settlers and had been declared by a Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon "the most turbulent and insubordinate Indians on the coast." During 1871-73 the Siletz agency was in the charge of Gen. Joel Palmer, as agent, and the Rev. John Howard of the Oregon Conference as missionary. Little in the way of religious results was accomplished by them. On April 1, 1873, J. H. Fairchild succeeded Palmer and soon after W. C. Chattin of the Oregon Conference was appointed as missionary. Within two months some fifteen or twenty of the Indians asked to become Christians and unite with the Church. The good that had been accomplished, Fairchild later reported to the Missionary Society, could not be "measured by the number admitted to Church membership."

> A radical change has taken place, so great . . . I can hardly realize that they are the same people. . . . *Then,* one or more were almost constantly in the guard-house, as punishment for some offense—*now,* with one trifling exception, no one has been confined for months. . . .
>
> . . . Many . . . have built good houses; they are learning to be neater in their housekeeping, and more cleanly in person. Many own and milk cows, some manufacture butter for sale. A year ago this would have been thought impossible.

Those who became Christians and united with the Church underwent sore trials:

> a storm of persecution quickly broke out against them. While protecting them from actual violence, I was unable to prevent social ostracism. Parents drove their children from their homes, wives refused longer to live with their Christian husbands, and tribes disowned and refused to associate with those who renounced the superstitions of their ancestors.[512]

For six years, 1876-82, Oregon Conference ministers served as missionaries: during 1876-79, T. F. Royal; and during 1879-82, three others in turn. Although there was practically no growth in church membership, many of the Indians showed real interest and the Conference was inclined to consider the

Siletz mission the most promising of its missions. For several years the agent was William Bagley, a Methodist layman, and when in 1879 he resigned, because of ill health, another layman was appointed in his place who held office for one year only. The Conference of 1882 made no appointment to the mission, and in 1885 the Conference Committee on Indian Missions reported that for three years the Church had not had a mission there. This year, however, an Indian Local Preacher, John Adams—"a true and faithful man"—reorganized the Society. This led the Conference to reinstate the appointment, though leaving it to be supplied. In 1887 the Conference committee again commended the work of Adams, and reported that the agent who was friendly to the Church had asked for a missionary.[513] For another period, this time for five years, 1886-91, the appointment disappeared from the *Minutes*. In 1888 the Conference committee asserted that the work had been "abandoned," and in 1889 that "for want of laborers nothing has been done." The 1890 Conference was told that the Siletz Indians were "calling loudly for help, beseeching . . . [the Church] to provide for their spiritual welfare, . . . by sending them a missionary." The agent in addition offered five acres of land for a mission home.

In November, 1890, the Rev. C. R. Ellsworth was appointed to the mission and results of his aggressive leadership were soon apparent. During the year church membership was increased from forty-one to eighty-five, and in 1892 a parsonage was built. The Sunday school had "an average attendance of seventy-five" nearly all of whom were members of the Church. The missionary was supported in part by the W. H. M. S. ($200. in 1892) and in part by the Missionary Society. Ellsworth's pastorate ended in 1894 when S. W. Potter was appointed as supply. At the close of the period there were four hundred Indians on the reservation, most of whom were living in their own homes.[514]

For several years in the early seventies the Warm Springs (Oregon) agency had as superintendent John Smith who, though not a member of the Church, was a man of excellent reputation and character. Successful religious meetings were held on the reservation by groups of Christian Indians from Yakima.[515]

Under the government program, two other agencies were assigned to the Oregon Conference: the Neah Bay or Makah Reservation in Washington Territory, and the Yainax. While the Church bore the responsibility for them, non-Methodists filled the posts as agents and no real church program was carried on. Later it was given over to the United Presbyterians.

Idaho Indian Missions.—Two of Idaho's agencies were assigned to the Methodist Church, the Fort Hall and the Lemhi, both in the southeastern part of the state. These reservations were occupied by the Shoshone, Bannock, and Sheef-eater tribes. Of the Bannock about five hundred were at Fort Hall and less than one hundred in the Lemhi agency. Of the Shoshone about one thousand were in Idaho.

The Fort Hall Indian agency was first mentioned in the Missionary

Society's *Report* for 1874, with no information on religious work. In 1875 it appeared in the records of the Rocky Mountain Conference, Idaho District, J. M. Jamison, missionary. Like so many other Indian agency missions it had a checkered history.* In 1877 the Society reported that some twenty-five had "commenced farming and stock raising," and that the Indians on the reservation seemed "almost destitute of religious notions of any sort." In 1881 the agency was visited by L. A. Rudisill of the Utah Mission who reported that the Indians were "anxious to have a school, a Sunday school, and religious instruction." He attributed want of success in educational and Christian work to frequent changes of agents and lack of regular religious services. A. S. Cook, the Indian agent, wrote to the Missionary Society in the early summer of 1882 that he was transferring the agency school "by authority of the Indian Department" to the Society. The Board of Managers employed George B. Mead of the New York Conference as missionary teacher. He departed for Idaho at the end of August and by the middle of October was back † in New York City.[516]

Concerning the Lemhi agency, likewise, very little information is available. In 1877 and 1878 it was listed "to be supplied" in the Montana Conference *Minutes.* In 1879 it was not included in the list of appointments. In 1881 John Harris, a Local Preacher, reported as agent that the tribe "wanted their children to learn like the white children." In 1882 he began a day school. He continued as agent during 1883. After this year no further mention is made of the Lemhi agency.[517]

Indian Missions in Washington.—The Yakima and Quinalt Reservations, besides Neah Bay—already mentioned—were in Washington under Oregon Conference control. The Quinalt agency had supervision of a small group of Indians in northwest Washington. The agent in 1872-77 was G. A. Henry, a Methodist Exhorter, who arranged worship services and Class and prayer meetings. Other than these no missionary work—so far as the Missionary Society *Reports* show—was maintained.

Most successful of all the agencies sponsored by the Methodist Church was what was commonly known as the Yakima‡ some sixty miles north of The Dalles in southeastern Washington. Located on a tract of land forty by sixty miles in extent were some 3,500 Indians. James H. Wilbur, veteran pioneer who first came to the Northwest as a missionary in 1847,§ was appointed in 1860 by the Conference to the newly established government school. In 1864 he was made agent, and eighteen years later (1882) he retired.* The success of Christian work there was chiefly accounted for by the long tenure of this intelligent, devoted Christian, while on other reservations agents came, stayed for a few months, and then—before they had had time to acquaint themselves with their Indian charges and become their trusted friends—went their way. In 1874 he wrote to the Missionary Society:

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* In 1877 and 1878 the Fort Hall agency was included in the Butte District, Montana Conference, "to be supplied." In 1879 it disappeared from the *Minutes* permanently, although in 1884 and 1888 the Fort Hall Reservation was specifically included within the Montana Mission by General Conference. In 1892 it was not mentioned as within the boundaries of any Conference.—*Gen'l Minutes*, 1877, p. 80; *ibid.*, Fall, 1878, p. 9; *G. C. Journal*, 1884, p. 415; *ibid.*, 1888, p. 411.

† The Board's record reads: "After reaching the agency . . . [Mead] found the condition such that he had no hope of accomplishing anything in the work, and being home-sick and sick from malaria, he returned immediately home." The Board authorized the Secretary "to settle with Bro. Mead and pay his traveling expenses."—*Minutes, B.M.*, IX, 39 f.

‡ The correct terminology is Yakima Indian Reservation and the Ft. Simcoe Indian Agency.

§ See pp. 227 f.

> [This] will give you some idea of the contributions made at the Yakima Indian Agency during my administration the past ten years . . . .
>
> * * * *
>
> We have raised . . . more than one hundred thousand bushels of grain, built two hundred comfortable houses, fenced ten thousand acres of land, sawed about two and a half million feet of lumber, and taught more than three hundred to read, write, and work. Helped them in getting cattle, so that they now have about two thousand head, besides thirteen thousand horses; made two hundred and fifty sets of harness. . . . About five hundred are members of the Church. Have two comfortable church edifices. Have mechanics from the Indian boys instructed in schools, and as blacksmiths, plow and wagon makers, carpenters, harness-makers, shoe makers, and millers, . . . with thrifty farmers dotting the agency through the valleys.[518]

There were other noteworthy results of "Father Wilbur's" labors. Through his influence intoxicating liquors were nearly banished from the reservation. In one year more than $8,000. of the federal appropriation for the agency was returned to the treasury. The Indian church members in ten years contributed $1,200. to missions, and to other benevolences $1,045. Five of the Yakima became preachers, of whom two were ordained. Indian church membership had reached 520 by 1881. Both the religious and the educational work felt the effects of Wilbur's retirement. Church membership declined to such an extent that Stephen Gascoigne, appointed as missionary in 1887 by the Columbia River Conference, reported in 1890 only 152 members, although he stated that the congregation numbered seven hundred who "consider[ed] themselves Methodists." [519]

In 1891 J. Wilbur Helm was appointed pastor and was reappointed annually for twenty-four years, an exceptional record. The land allocation plan was put into effect in 1893 and, in addition to previous grants for church sites, a tract of 160 acres was allocated for a church building and an industrial school.

Answering an appeal for a woman physician made by the Christian Indians, Emily C. Miller, M.D., of Boston, arrived at Ft. Simcoe on April 8, 1891, and took up her abode on the reservation.* She soon won the Indians' confidence and became to many of the women, physician, friend, industrial teacher, and spiritual adviser. During the first few years she was supported entirely by voluntary contributions but in 1895 was made a missionary of the W. H. M. S.[520]

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* Wilbur was a powerful man physically, as well as spiritually, described by General O. O. Howard as a "broad-shouldered, thick chested, large-headed, full-voiced manly man." By popular opinion he was credited with weighing three hundred pounds. His courage in dealing with the Indians equaled his weight. On one occasion when two young braves who had imbibed firewater freely became unruly he sent two of the Indian police to bring them to the guardhouse. They "returned much the worse for wear, without having made the arrest." Wilbur himself is said to have gone to the scene of disturbance, seized one of the recalcitrants in each hand, and "bumped their heads together until their noses bled." Later the two reported, "Father Wilbur is no man . . . . He is part bear (an-e-hoo-e)." —A. J. Splawn, *Kamiakin, the Last Hero of the Yakimas,* as cited by Flora Warren Seymour, *Indian Agents of the Old Frontier,* pp. 132 f.

The Nooksack (variously spelled Nootsach and Noosachk) Indians were a small tribe of about two hundred families whose reservation was in the northern part of Washington in Whatcom County, close to the Canadian border. Nooksack was first listed in 1880 in the *Minutes* "to be supplied." At the 1882 session of the Oregon Conference a proposal was made "to establish a Mission among the Nootsach" and the Committee on Missions was instructed to make an appropriation of $300. annually for its support. In the division of the Oregon Conference in 1884 the Nooksack Reservation came within the Puget Sound Conference. In 1886 a school was in operation and pastoral oversight given by the minister of the Nooksack Circuit. In 1887 a woman medical missionary, Dr. L. A. Morehouse, was sent to them by the W. H. M. S. A contribution of $1,000. was received by the Society in 1888 for the founding of the Stickney Home and Industrial School, and "Lynden Jim," an Indian chief, gave twenty-five acres of excellent farming land for the raising of produce. A temporary home and school was opened in October, 1899, in a borrowed building. In 1891 the Society entered into a one-year contract with the government for the maintenance and management of an industrial boarding school and a day school, the government to pay $27. per quarter for each of sixty pupils. The building was finally completed this year and the school opened with an enrollment of thirty pupils. The farm and school were operated by a man, wife, and daughter on a missionary salary of $30. a month and board—$10. for each. The Conference Committee on Indian Missions reported that the Indian population on the reservation was rapidly diminishing, only 130 remaining—"a mere remnant left of a great tribe"—of whom eighty-six were members of the Church. After the expiration of the government contract the school could receive pupils only as pledges for their support were given. Pledges were received for fifteen pupils in 1894 although many more awaited scholarships. During 1895 from fifteen to twenty-one children were in the home and the school, ages ranging from five to eighteen years.[521]

Services were begun as well among the Nez Percé and the Chehalis in the 1870's, but the work never got a foothold. After the first optimistic reports, nothing more was heard of them. In 1890 the Columbia River Conference resolved to attempt establishing work on the Nez Percé Reservation, but evidently found it impossible to finance since nothing was undertaken.[522]

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* In 1898, at the solicitation of Dr. Miller, the Columbia River Conference assigned to the Woman's Home Missionary Society forty acres of Church lands at Toppenish, Ore., twenty-five miles from Ft. Simcoe. It "was fenced, cleared, irrigated, and put under cultivation, and a four-room cottage built, the returns from the ground paying for all improvements."—Mrs. T. L. Tomkinson, *Twenty Years' History of the Woman's Home Missionary Society . . .* , p. 166.

Indian Missions in California.—The Round Valley, Hoopa (Hupa) Valley, and Tule River Reservations were in California. At the 1870 session of the California Conference agents were nominated for the three agencies. In 1873 the Conference requested the Missionary Society to make an appropriation to aid in establishing Indian missions. For three years, the Conference committee said, three California reservations "have been under our care . . . yet no missions have been commenced on any of them." The appeal continued:

> The agents are members of the M.E. Church, but have no funds to aid in the missionary work. Politicians and military officers have no sympathy for the President's Indian policy. . . . It is our conviction that, without *any further delay,* we ought to have at least one missionary on each reservation. This would enable us to do something. . . . In our judgment an appropriation of $5,000 should be made; then, with rigid economy and the blessing of the Lord, we will do the best we can.

In its *Annual Report* the Society referred to the appeal but stated that its financial condition "permitted no response." During 1872 the Presiding Elders of the Districts within which the "reservations . . . [were] located . . . [were] instructed to visit the reservations [the following year] . . . for the purpose of examining into the expediency of more extended and thorough missionary work among the Indians." [523]

The Round Valley Reservation of the Konkau (Concow) Indians of Pujunan stock was located at Round Valley in northeastern California. The Konkau were a small group, not a true tribe but made up of smaller local divisions or villages. J. L. Burchard, a member of the Conference, was appointed agent in 1873. Despite the refusal of funds from the Missionary Society, the Conference went ahead and appointed a missionary in 1874. That year the Conference Committee on Indian Missions reported the reservation to be "in a flourishing condition." The farm produced an ample food supply. Religious services were maintained and more than nine hundred persons were stated to have offered themselves as candidates for church membership. Two schools, conducted by "competent Christian women," were said to be fairly successful. In 1877, much to the regret of both Conference and Indians, Burchard resigned. He was succeeded by H. B. Sheldon, also a Conference member, who continued as agent until 1883. His tenure was ended by notification from the Indian bureau at Washington that future appointments of agents were to be made without reference to the Church, "on the basis of business qualifications only." From 1874 to 1882, inclusive, a succession of preachers was appointed as missionaries, four within six years. In 1883 the mission was left to be supplied.[524]

No mention of the Round Valley agency or mission is to be found in the *Minutes* of the California Conference during the years 1884-92. In 1893 Colin Anderson, a supply, was appointed missionary at Round Valley. The Conference committee reported in 1894 that he had done efficient work.

By 1894 the population on the reservation was approximately four hundred. The government this year was in the process of allocating the land—ten acres to each man, woman, and child—and proposed to require the Indians "to live on and cultivate their own land." The day schools were now conducted by Roman Catholic teachers, supported by government subsidy. Religious services continued to be held, and a Sunday school with an enrollment of 125 was still maintained.[525]

In 1871 the Hoopa Valley Indian Mission had been included in the list of appointments, "to be supplied by W. Bush." A supply was again named for the mission in 1872. In 1873 the appointment was omitted, but for the two following years a supply was again sent. In 1874 the agent reported that controversy with stock raisers and miners who apparently wanted "to get control of the reservation for selfish purposes," and dispute as to the boundaries of the reservation, had interfered with his administration. In 1876 the mission was again dropped from the list of appointments. The agent, it was reported, had "met insurmountable difficulties, and [had] tendered his resignation to the Washington authorities." In 1877 the livestock and other property of the agency were transferred to the Round Valley Reservation. In 1892 the Conference Committee on Indian Missions lamented that in Hoopa Valley the Methodist Church "had more right than anybody else, but . . . indifferently allowed the opportunity to slip," and in 1894 stated that the "Hoopa Valley Indians, among whom we once had a mission, have been lost to us through our own neglect."[526]

The Tule River agency in 1874 was located on a rented area, the reservation selected by the government having been rejected by the Indians as entirely unsuitable. Agent J. B. Vosburg and the Indian Affairs Committee of the Conference agreed that the Indians' objection was for just cause. The agent conducted religious services twice on Sundays and on Thursday evenings. A school was also taught by a competent teacher. The committee was convinced that if a satisfactory reservation could be secured "great good might be accomplished." Unsuccessful in his attempt to bring about an adjustment with the government, Vosburg resigned. In 1877 "a good degree of prosperity" on the part of the Indians was reported. Many attended religious services and some lived exemplary Christian lives. In 1878, the agent, a Local Preacher, estimated the Indian population there at 280. Then, for several years, C. G. Belknap of the Southern California Conference was agent. After 1887 no further mention of the Tule River mission is to be found in the Conference *Minutes*.[527]

The California Conference in 1891 asked the General Missionary Committee "to appropriate for the Indian work at Ukiah the sum of eight hundred dollars." At the same session J. L. Burchard, formerly agent on the Round

Valley Reservation, was appointed to this new work.* In response to the request the Missionary Society appropriated $400. for 1891 and a like sum for 1892. The Board of Managers of the W. H. M. S. also made an appropriation of $400. for the first year. Within a year fifty Indians united with the Church on probation, of whom nine were received into full membership. Altogether within twelve months Burchard baptized seventy-one children and thirteen adults. At Upper Lake a meeting house was erected to serve as a place of worship and as a schoolhouse. In all, the Indians contributed more than $90. and also did the carpentry work on the building.

> It was a touching sight to see those Indian women bring their money tied up in their handkerchiefs, in some cases putting down the last nickel they had in the world so that they might have a building where their children could be educated, and where all might hear the Gospel.

The W. H. M. S. continued its support from year to year, aided by the Missionary Society and the California Conference. For 1894-95 the Conference contributed $400.

As the Indian population of about four hundred, the remnants of seven tribes, was scattered over a wide area three additional chapels were erected. There were three government schools with competent Christian teachers. In 1895 Burchard preached regularly at three points, Ukiah, Upper Lake, and Potter Valley, and maintained three Sunday schools.[528]

In the 1870's the California Conference tried vainly to initiate an agency program and mission work for the Mission Indians in the southern part of the state.[529]

New Mexico Indian Missions.—The Jicarilla Indians, a branch of the Apache tribe, about eight hundred in number, were located on a reservation in Rio Arriba County, northern New Mexico, near the Colorado border. The reservation was visited in 1887 by Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing, secretary of the W. H. M. S. Bureau for New Mexico and Arizona, who was much impressed with the religious opportunity and need of the tribe. Upon her recommendation the General Executive of the Society resolved to open a school at Dulce, New Mexico, for Jicarilla, Apache, Southern Ute, and Navajo girls as soon as teachers could be procured and a building erected. Since there was no government school on the reservation the Indian Commissioner agreed to give the Society "a grant of eighty acres, upon which to build . . . [a] school, one hundred and eight dollars a year for each boarding pupil, and thirty dollars for each day scholar." Sarah E. Moore and Maria Clegg, experienced teachers at Ramona Indian School at Santa Fe, were engaged. In 1890 Miss Moore reported:

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* The Indians at Ukiah, Upper Lake, and Potter Valley were commonly known as "Digger" Indians. The term, applied to all who used roots extensively for food, "included very many of the tribes of California, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and Arizona . . . . As the root eaters were supposed to represent a low type of Indian, the term speedily became one of opprobrium."—*Fourteenth Ann. Rep., W.H.M.S.* (1894-95), p. 107; F. W. Hodge, Ed., *op. cit.*, I, 390.

> The women and girls have cut and made at our house one hundred and fifty garments, during the year. After the sewing lesson we spend some time in prayer and Bible teaching. A Mexican family has opened the house for Protestant service . . . . We have had sixty-five or seventy women under instruction. They pay for the cloth they use, in baskets, pinion nuts, berries and moccasins, which we sell and buy more cloth; and thus we keep the wheel turning. Miss Clegg has had considerable experience in caring for the sick, which is now invaluable. Forty or fifty cases have received treatment or medicines. We have visited not less than two hundred camps. We usually read the Bible and pray with them. . . . Will not Christians pray for such an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Apaches that the whole tribe may be won to Christ.[530]

From 1887 to 1892 the two missionaries lived in a miserable little log hut of two rooms, with doors and windows so low that they could neither enter nor look out without stooping. In the latter year three additional rooms were added, offering space for holding worship services. Improved accommodations also were provided for the school. W. R. Weaver, pastor at Chama, thirty miles distant, preached occasionally at the mission. In May, 1892, Thomas Harwood, Superintendent of the New Mexico Spanish Mission, organized a Class. Later several pupils of the school and a number of adults were converted. In 1894 the Methodist Society had a membership of fifty Indians and fifty whites and Mexicans. In 1895 a special gift of $600. made possible the building of a chapel and schoolroom, with five rooms over the chapel to be rented to non-resident pupils.[531]

Arizona Indian Mission.—The Navajo occupied one of the largest Indian reservations in the United States, excluding the Indian Territory, an immense area of more than 114,000 square miles in northeast Arizona and northwest New Mexico, and also a strip of southern Utah. Twenty thousand or more in number, they were industrious and, except during periods of prolonged drought, generally prosperous. Their chief economic dependences were their large flocks of sheep and goats and herds of cattle and horses. Spinning and weaving their sheep's wool the women made by primitive methods artistic blankets and other smaller articles. Some were farmers, living in small village communities, and cultivating adjacent plots of ground. Others were skillful workers in silver and iron. They practiced polygamy, some of the men having three or more wives, and were also slaveholders, holding in bondage the captives of intertribal wars. They had no written language. They were extremely superstitious and adhered tenaciously to the grossest forms of paganism. In the late eighties the sole school on the reservation was maintained by the government. It had only limited accommodations and a very small enrollment.[532]

In 1889 the Missionary Society reported so "earnest a call" for work among the Navajo that the General Committee had "provided for commencing a mission among them." At the session of the Arizona Mission Conference in October of that year H. R. Antes was appointed to the Navajo Indian Reservation. In November an appropriation of $5,000. was made by the General Committee "with which to open the work, contingent upon that sum being contributed for that special purpose." By September, 1890, about $4,000. having been made available, Bishop Bowman appointed the Superintendent of the New Mexico English Mission, T. L. Wiltsee, to the new mission to give his entire time to the Navajo. When in June, 1891, his wife became seriously ill, Wiltsee had to resign and the veteran missionary F. A. Riggin of the Montana Conference was then appointed. Riggin established his residence at Fort Defiance, Arizona, the agency headquarters, where the government set apart an acre and a half of land. Here a parsonage was built and other improvements made. The Missionary Society petitioned the Interior Department for a 640-acre tract of land on which to establish, together with religious and industrial facilities, a model farm where the Indians might receive agricultural training. The government set apart on April 29, 1893, a section of land at Red Lake, in the interior of the reservation, but failed to vest title in the Missionary Society. Within a year a turbulent spirit developed among the Navajo, who contended that they had never agreed that the land should be used for missionary purposes. Negotiations for a title were initiated with the government but progress was slow.

In 1894 S. E. Snider succeeded Riggin, and on October 3 reported to the Missionary Society:

> We hold services in the government school building. There is no one room large enough to accommodate all who would attend. Many of the pupils are turned away for lack of room.
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> . . . I have made a great many calls on the sick, and have had many calls to go and see the sick, but owing to the great distance in some cases I could not go.[533]

Snider was at a disadvantage in not having either a chapel or an interpreter. Few of those who attended the services were able to understand the English language. The next year (1895) brought a drought so severe that many of the Indians "ate their sheep and goats, and finally were obliged to eat their ponies to keep from starving." Congress came to their aid with an appropriation of over $60,000. for digging "irrigating ditches and for boring artesian wells."[534]

The Woman's Home Missionary Society also decided to attempt missionary work among the Navajo. They secured a grant of land in the San Juan Valley, New Mexico, 150 miles east of Fort Defiance and seventy miles from a railroad. Here, in October, 1891, Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge and Mary E. Raymond, both experienced Indian teachers, set up their tent. Soon, with the aid of friendly Indians, they had a little house built and were ready to enter upon their mission.

> They began by visiting the sick . . . giving them medicine, which so won their

confidence that the mission soon became a dispensary. Then the missionaries brought the women to their own house, teaching them to cook and spin upon wheels brought from the East, and assisting them in weaving and in selling their rugs, the inimitable Navajo blankets which have made the tribe famous.

They also taught the men as well as they could the use of tools, and furnished guidance in irrigating the land. In 1893 the government appointed Mrs. Eldridge field matron for the Navajo. Miss Raymond died in August, 1894. She was succeeded by Mary R. Tripp. There were some white settlers in the vicinity among whom the missionaries held prayer meetings and other religious services. Several having professed conversion, a Class of about fifteen members was organized. By 1895 evident progress also had been made in aiding the Navajo to realize the value of education, against which they had previously held much prejudice, so that they were becoming willing to send their children to the government schools.[535]

GENERAL SUMMARY: INDIAN MISSIONS, 1845-95

During the half century covered by this volume the Methodist Episcopal Church sponsored missions for longer or shorter periods among Indian tribes in twelve states and territories. Most of what was said in Volume Two concerning difficulties and weaknesses in Indian mission work during 1769-1844 applies equally to the later period and need not be repeated.*

It cannot be fairly claimed that the Church had an Indian mission program. Although the Missionary Society nominally sponsored the missions it exercised no real supervision over them. With few exceptions they were established by the Annual Conferences and such supervision as they received was provided by Presiding Elders whose primary concern was for the English-speaking domestic missions. The Indian reservations were too widely separated, except in Kansas, for Mission Districts to be organized as was done in the case of other non-English-speaking missions such as the German and Scandinavian. Indian missionary work was highly specialized, which to be carried on efficiently required missionaries trained for the task, but the Church had neither plans nor facilities for such training. All of the Conferences in the West and Northwest lacked an adequate supply of men for their missions. As the English-speaking work was considered to be more important and more urgent, full-time missionaries for the Indian missions were seldom available. These missions were often simply attached as preaching places to regular Circuits. Unacquainted with the languages of the tribes, preachers were compelled to speak through interpreters, which at the best was an unsatisfactory method of preaching. In accordance with the itinerant system appointments were made annually and were seldom renewed for a second or a third year, affording little opportunity for a missionary to become acquainted with his congregation. In some cases missionaries appointed on full time to Indian missions were drawn off, after a year or two, into the regular work.

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* See Vol. II, 262-74.

Few, if any, were the missionaries who were motivated by a compelling sense of a life calling, or apostleship, to the Indians such as had possessed William Case, John Clark, Jason Lee, Thomas Johnson, and others in the earlier period. Even before that period closed a pervasive sense of despondency concerning the possibility of Indian evangelization and civilization had developed. This spirit of pessimism became more widely prevalent as the years passed, accounting in part for the lack of men ready to dedicate their lives to Indian missionary service.

This lack was partly compensated for by the number of Christian Indian missionaries, some of whom became Annual Conference members. Outstanding among these were Peter Marksman, George Copway, Samuel Spates, and Peter Greensky * in Michigan; David Johnson, Thomas Cornelius, and William Woodman in New York; Thomas Pearne in the Northwest; Squire Gray Eyes, J. M. Armstrong, Charles Ketchum, George Washington Clark, and Pascal Fish in Kansas. Greensky, a powerful man in argument, and in council among his people usually a ruling spirit, was a thorough student who possessed a library which included "the complete works of Clarke, Wesley, Fletcher, and Watson." Squire Gray Eyes, prominent in leadership among the Wyandot before their emigrations from Ohio, was said to possess in speech "almost irresistible persuasive powers," a man whose "veracity was never questioned, his integrity never suspected." [536] George Washington Clark, a "head chief" of the Wyandot, was fully committed to Methodist discipline and rigid in enforcing it among his people. Conspicuous as a Christian and a preacher, he was also skillful in negotiation and was often sent to Washington on the business of the Wyandot Nation. He negotiated the final treaty which granted the Wyandot full citizenship and opened their lands to settlement. To these men and others of equal ability and consecration was due much of such success as was had by Methodist Indian missions.

Indian missions, despite obvious failures, made no inconsiderable contribution to the moral and religious progress of the race. Churches were founded, Christian leaders developed, hundreds of men and women brought into the Church as members, and the whole tone of Indian community life elevated. In addition to scores of Indian churches, many tribesmen who had achieved citizenship and learned the English language were welcomed without discrimination into membership in English language churches.

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* Available sources do not indicate whether or not Isaac and Peter Greensky were related.

V

Expanding Program of Foreign Missions—China

IN MID-CENTURY, while domestic missions were persistently pushing toward the Pacific, a sense of missionary obligation for lands beyond the seas was gaining increased expression in the Church. Stephen Olin, president of Wesleyan University, who never lost an opportunity to plead for missions, voiced the growing concern. Multitudes of members of the Church, he cried,

> burn with a desire to have some part in overturning the idol temples of India and China; but not one of the six hundred and fifty thousand can consecrate himself or his property to the enterprise through any channel provided by his own denomination. . . . [The Church] . . . is bound to provide some medium through which its members can give expression to their irrepressible convictions of duty toward the perishing heathen, or else frankly to announce to them that it does not propose to deviate from its present policy, and so leave their consciences free to contribute their personal and pecuniary aid through other denominations more alive to this class of Christian obligations.[1]

The responsibility for inaction, Olin felt, lay with the Missionary Society whose constitution expressed an "inherent partiality for home missions." But the time had come, he declared, when "the Church must act" in developing a program of foreign missions worthy of her heritage.

There were evidences in the forties of a rising tide of missionary concern in the churches, such as missionary prayer meetings and the beginning of young people's organizations in colleges, whose primary concern was foreign missions. The Young Men's Missionary Society* of Boston projected a missionary periodical which was taken over by the Missionary Society and published as the *Missionary Advocate,* the first issue appearing April 1, 1845. It was sent free to every Traveling Preacher in the United States.

The example of other Churches provided a strong stimulus to action. "The

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* The Y. M. M. S. was doubtless influenced by the fact that the American Board published a missionary periodical with a circulation of 60,000 copies, and the Baptists a missionary organ of 30,000. The Missionary Society aimed at a subscription goal of 100,000. By July, 1845, subscribers numbered 12,500, and at the close of the second year nearly 19,000.—*Missionary Advocate,* I (1845), 1 (April), 1; *ibid.,* II (1846-47), 12 (March), 92.

Missionary Societies of sister denominations," wrote Secretary Pitman in 1846, "are availing themselves of . . . providential openings for the enlargement of their respective [foreign] fields, and are entering upon their cultivation with a zeal worthy of the cause in which they are engaged." For Methodism to fail to do the same, he declared, would be to "proclaim herself unworthy of her parentage, and false to her own pretensions." It was a cause of "deep humiliation," he said, that the Church had not in recent years occupied a position of leadership among the denominations in foreign missions and that only by a wide extension of her program in the foreign field would Methodism be "consistent with her claim to the character of a *missionary Church.*" [2]

Who in 1846 could envisage the incredible scale on which Christian missions would be maintained in the closing decade of the century? Thinking then was in terms of an isolated mission in China or India or Africa, staffed by a few men. Even such an undertaking was regarded as an all but impossible venture, involving great financial risk, and to be planned with caution. Under these conditions it is understandable that China was under contemplation as a field for a long time before the launching of the mission took place.

At the same time other great movements which ushered in changes in thinking were under way. Rapid increase of national wealth which began in the forties and reached unprecedented proportions in later decades; the expansion of American industry and accompanying foreign trade; the rise in the United States of the spirit of economic imperialism coincident with the opening of the nations of the Orient to the penetration of Western commerce, ideas, and customs represented a combination of factors which eventually would make the century one of outstanding foreign missionary activity and project the Churches into a new age and new conceptions of world evangelization.

A quarter of a century later, the average American was beginning to be world-conscious. Robert S. Maclay, China missionary, addressing the 1872 anniversary of the Missionary Society, observed:

> The time is at hand . . . when our intelligent interest and efforts in the missionary cause will be the measure at once of our loyalty to Christ and of our denominational success. The wonderful changes now transpiring among the nations of the earth precipitate upon us responsibilities from which we cannot escape. All the Christian Churches of Europe and America recognize the claims of this new era, and are calling loudly and persistently for laborers and contributions to improve the golden opportunity now offered. The officers of our own Missionary Society . . . cannot be indifferent to the present aspects of the world . . . .
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> The Christian Church recognizes that the field is the world, and that, notwithstanding the diversities of climate, language, and geographical position, Christian work every-where is a unit. Each branch of the Church, by her allegiance to Christ, stands related to the entire field . . . .[3]

Even as Maclay concluded with an appeal for opening work in Japan—based on the argument that the United States had closely associated herself with that nation otherwise—the General Missionary Committee had the project under consideration, and shortly thereafter Maclay himself was appointed to open such a mission. The indecision, hesitancy, and caution of an earlier period had been overcome. The larger role of foreign missions had been recognized and accepted. By 1895 the Church was in the midst of a new missionary era.

China Missions

Foochow, China, September 30, 1847: ". . . arrived at this place on the 6th inst., and landed the next day, taking up our quarters in a comfortable house, which we can occupy five or six months, if we choose." Signed, "Moses C. White." The first missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church to China had reached their destination.

How did it come about—the fulfillment of this dream of years? Since that anniversary meeting of the Board in May, 1835, at which President Willbur Fisk of Wesleyan University had proposed the immediate founding of a mission to China little had happened. A year later the Corresponding Secretary stated that although efforts had been made both by the managers of the Society and by the Bishops, the men had not yet been found to embark in this undertaking.* Not until 1844 was the proposal renewed when the Rev. John Dempster, pastor of Mulberry Street Church, New York, offered to visit China at his own expense to survey the field. A committee was formed to study the matter and at its next meeting the Board decided to authorize a mission should Dempster's report be favorable. But for some unexplained reason Dempster's trip was not made. Another year passed with no decisive action. At the 1846 anniversary meeting, on May 18, the China Mission project was again brought forward. The Rev. W. C. Palmer offered to subscribe $1,000., payable in ten annual installments, and to procure if possible twenty-nine other like subscriptions. Finally the Board was moved to action by the determination of a young Local Preacher, a graduate of the University of Michigan, to give his life to missionary work in China. When Bishop Janes, to whom he had written, replied that the Church had no mission in China and had not authorized the establishment of one, Judson D. Collins answered, "Bishop, engage me a place before the mast, and my own strong arm will pull me to China, and support me while there."

Authorization quickly followed. At a joint meeting of the Board and General Missionary Committee two days later it was resolved to send two missionaries to China to found a mission. Money was appropriated: $1,500. for salaries, and $1,500. for outfits, passage, and traveling expenses. At the October meeting of the Board, Collins, though an unmarried man—a handicap in the eyes of the Board—was named as one, and in December Moses C.

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* See Vol. I, 301, 306; this Volume, pp. 114 f.

White was considered as the second.* By March of the next year (1846) both had been finally approved. Possible location of the mission was limited to the five free ports, and Hong Kong. Foochow was chosen, largely on the recommendation of George Smith (later Bishop of Victoria) of the Church Missionary Society of England. It was, wrote John M. Reid,

> a field of no ordinary claims. Half a million of souls . . . thronged its lanes, its hillsides, and its waters. It was the political and literary center, and has since become the commercial center, of a province containing twenty-five millions of inhabitants.

The missionaries sailed on April 15, aboard the Heber, from Boston. White was accompanied by Jane Isabel Atwater, whom he married on the eve of his departure. Four months and twenty days later—September 4—they arrived at the mouth of the Min River. It had been a long wearisome journey of 12,000 miles, southeastward across the Equator into the South Atlantic Ocean, around Cape Horn, northwestward again across the Equator to Canton, and finally along the China coast in a lorcha to the Min. Thence they proceeded up the river to Foochow, landing with their effects on September 7. They took up residence in a house which had just been engaged by the missionaries of the American Board.† Within a week they had hired a Chinese teacher and had begun to study the language.[4]

At home, the response to this news created wide interest throughout the Church. The interest shown stimulated the Board into sending immediate reinforcements. Thirty-seven days after the landing of the initial party Robert S. Maclay of the Baltimore Conference and Henry Hickok and wife of the Genesee Conference sailed from New York for Foochow. On April 15, 1848, they arrived at their destination. Before leaving New York Hickok was appointed by Bishop L. L. Hamline as Superintendent of the China Mission and entrusted with broad powers of administration.[5]

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* Moses C. White (1819-1900) was born at Paris, Oneida County, N. Y. In his sixteenth year he was converted at a protracted meeting in Paris and joined the Methodist Church. At twenty-one he entered the Oneida Conference Seminary to prepare for college and later enrolled at Wesleyan University. In his senior year he was an Exhorter, a Class Leader, and a Local Preacher. He graduated from Wesleyan with high honors in 1845 and was asked by President Stephen Olin if he would go to China as a missionary if the Church desired. When he assented Olin urged him to enter Yale Theological Seminary for further preparation. In 1846 he was received on trial in the New York Conference and assigned to the St. John's Street Church in New Haven as junior preacher. In August the Presiding Elder transferred him to the pastorate of the church at Milford, Conn., but he continued to carry a full course at Yale. On Jan. 28, 1847, he was appointed missionary to China and on March 13 was married to Jane Isabel Atwater, who while a student at Oneida Seminary had dedicated her life to missionary service. In China he immediately found himself called upon to give his major attention to the relief of suffering. When he returned to America he settled as a physician in New Haven and in 1857 became a teacher in the Yale Medical School. During his later years he made important contributions to the knowledge and practice of medicine.—*Minutes, New York East Conference,* Spring, 1901, p. 116; "Founding and Early History of Our Chinese Mission, at Foochow, 1847-1853," and biographical sketches in "Manuscripts Relating to the Founding of the Methodist Missions in Foochow, China," hereafter called White MSS. Collection. Bound Collection in the Library of the Board of Missions; S. H. Gage, "Moses C. White," *Journal of Applied Microscopy and Laboratory Methods,* IV (1901), 1 (January), 1110-1111.

† The American Board Mission in Foochow had been established on June 2, 1846, by Stephen Johnson, fourteen months before the arrival of the Methodist missionaries. Johnson was reinforced soon after his arrival by L. B. Peat and wife. "These brethren of the American Board," wrote White, "gave a most cordial welcome and a helping hand to our mission, and Brother Johnson aided us often as interpreter."—I. W. Wiley, *China and Japan* . . . , pp. 196 f.; Moses C. White, "Early History of the China Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church," in White MSS. Collection.

In 1849 Maclay wrote to Secretary Pitman that he had "made arrangements with Miss Henrietta C. Sperry,* a Young Lady recommended as well prepared for the Missionary work," to come to China with the intention of becoming his wife and asked, if the Board approved, that arrangements be made at the earliest opportunity for her passage to China. The Board agreed, and approved an estimate of $150. for outfit; $300. for one year's salary; and the cost of transit on the best terms that could be arranged. Maclay met her at Hong Kong on July 9, and they were married the next day.[6]

FOOCHOW MISSION

Getting the Foochow Mission under way was a staggering task. There were no precedents to follow, no foundations laid by others on which missionaries could build.† The instructions given by the Missionary Society and the Bishops who appointed them were few and simple.[7] The one definitive paragraph on their work read:

> It is expected that each member of the mission will strive to master the language at the earliest period, and will neither omit opportunity nor efforts for securing that important end. Preaching the Gospel of Christ, to few or many, as God may give you occasion, you will consider your one great task. As subordinate to this other things may require your attention, for example, healing the sick and the establishment of schools.[8]

This brief paragraph, with the addition of a single item—distribution of literature—constituted the outline of the missionaries' program for the first decade. Language study alone consumed a good part of their time.

> With diligent work and with manuals of the written language, classical style, we soon managed to master a few words for communicating our most common wants. We spent from six to eight hours a day studying the Chinese characters and imitating our teachers in enunciating the curious sounds of a wonderful language.[9]

Although White had taken but a few courses in medicine preliminary to his departure rumor soon spread through the streets and byways of Foochow that a foreign doctor had arrived and he found himself importuned to save the lives of men, women, and children whom native doctors had given up to die. Within a few weeks scarcely a day passed without one or more applying to him for medical aid. "One man was cured of dysentery by a single prescription." The wife of his Chinese teacher, after twelve days' illness, was given into his care by her husband and father. Under his treatment she was soon convalescent. He was called upon "to attend the son of the Lieutenant-Governor of one of the provinces" who resided in Foochow. A mandarin of another province called him to the house of his son to see his wife who was near death from consumption. Opium poisoning was prevalent; one night alone White had three calls to treat such cases, and in a month's time he had saved the lives of seven out of eight patients who had attempted suicide by taking the narcotic.[10]

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* Henrietta Sperry had studied at Mt. Holyoke Seminary under the influence of Mary Lyon. "For nearly thirty years she lived the life of a devoted missionary wife, caring for her seven children, preparing them for college, conducting a little day-school for girls before the Misses Woolston came to China, developing a foundling asylum, 'to rescue female infants from destruction,' placing at the service of the mission her skill in music, and translating some simple books for the use of the school."—Frank Mason North, "The Missionary-Minded Women of Methodism," ms., in the Library of the Board of Missions, pp. 44 f.

† This is not to suggest that missionary work in China was first inaugurated by the Methodists. On the contrary China Christian missions had a long history preceding 1847. The Nestorians founded a Christian church on Chinese soil about 636 A.D. Growth continued for several centuries, then decline set in. By the opening of the fifteenth century no trace remained of the movement. A Franciscan monk was admitted to China and established himself in Peking in 1294. Several thousands of Roman missionaries followed his lead. Francis Xavier, renowned Jesuit missionary, died at Macao in 1552 while trying to re-establish Roman Catholicism among the Chinese and his followers inaugurated a missionary movement which has continued up to the present. Robert Morrison, of the London Missionary Society, reached Canton on an American ship in 1807. The first missionaries of the American Board began work in China in 1820. By 1845 thirty-five Protestant missionaries, representing three American and two British societies, were at work in five Chinese cities.—Richard Terrill Baker, *Ten Thousand Years, The Story of Methodism's First Century in China,* pp. 44 ff.

In February, 1848, White opened a dispensary adjoining his house, where he received patients and gave out drugs. As specific authority had not been given for medical practice on so extensive a scale he sought Board approval for the new departure. On September 27, 1848, the Board decided

> That we approve of Bro. White's course in opening a dispensary for medical purposes in connection with the missions and that we would approve of his renting an additional room for similar purposes, if . . . it becomes desirable, nevertheless we recommend that all expenditures be made with great caution & economy.

At the same time an appropriation of $300. was made "for the purchase of medicines for the present year," and a committee authorized "to purchase and forward medicines by the next vessel to the amt. of $200.00." The Board recommended that in no case should a fee be charged "for medical treatment," but added that it could see no objection to the acceptance of such presents as might be offered, those of monetary value to be credited to the Missionary Society.[11]

White and Collins also had instructions "to establish schools at the earliest feasible period, and on the most approved plan." Superintending "such school or schools as . . . [either might] be able to organize" was made Collins' special responsibility. He initiated the work by employing a Chinese teacher and on February 28, 1848, opened a school for boys in a room adjoining the mission home. The teacher was to be paid six dollars a month "provided he could bring pupils to form the school." On the first day eight boys came. The exercises began with the reading of the Lord's Prayer in Chinese, and its explanation in the colloquial, after which all knelt and Collins offered prayer in English. The pupils then studied Chinese classics until noon, and, in the afternoon, Christian books.

> Throughout the day the method of study is, for each pupil to repeat, again and again, the words set for his lesson, at the top of his voice, and at the same time that other boys are exercising their voices in the same way. The teacher sits by, correcting such mistakes as he hears made. The scene appears to a stranger to be one of great confusion.

Interest had increased and by May enrollment had grown to twelve. On the first Sunday (March 5, 1848) the same day-school group met as a Sunday school. Collins and White both participated in the exercises. The doxology to the tune of "Old Hundred" was sung in Chinese; and the second chapter of Matthew read, also in Chinese, explained by Collins to the teacher who then commented on it to the children.[12]

By May, 1849, three day schools for boys were in operation, each with an enrollment of twenty pupils. Since many of the boys were too poor to purchase school supplies the mission furnished each with "twenty-five cash on each seventh day" for books, pens, and paper. The amount required to operate a school for a year, including rent, teacher's salary, and supplies for pupils was estimated at $110., or five and a half dollars per student.[13]

The first mission school for girls was opened on December 30, 1850, under the direction of Mrs. Robert S. Maclay, with ten pupils.

> The school-house was built in a corner of the lot occupied in part by . . . [the Maclays]. It was a plain frame building, measuring 18 by 22 feet, and one story high. Its entire cost to the mission was $55. After considerable exertion, Mrs. Maclay succeeded in collecting a school of twenty-five pupils, with an average daily attendance of fifteen. . . . A Chinese teacher was employed . . . . The girls were taught in reading, writing, singing, elementary geography, arithmetic, etc., etc. The text-books in reading comprised simple tracts in short sentences, illustrating Christian doctrines, Bible stories, the catechism, hymns, and portions of the Bible. The school was continued, with brief interruptions, for about seven years . . . .
>
> This school . . . brought the mission into friendly communication with the parents of the children, disarmed prejudice, removed doubts, elicited praise from the intelligent portion of the community, assisted materially in gaining for us the goodwill and confidence of the people; and, best of all, . . . taught . . . [the girls] how to live and worship God.[14]

The third principal missionary activity was the distribution of literature. When the first missionaries had stopped at Hong Kong and Canton on the way to Foochow they had obtained a supply of tracts and pamphlets, including Scripture portions. Again, some months later, when the Hickoks passed through Hong Kong, the London Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions furnished them gratuitously "a large supply of Chinese Scriptures and tracts for distribution." On their arrival at Foochow, before they were able to speak an intelligible sentence in Chinese, they were delighted to discover that people on the streets would gladly receive at their hands all the printed material that they were disposed to distribute.

> When we offer tracts for distribution the people receive them with the greatest eagerness. Frequently, one man who has got a tract will read it aloud to others. Occasionally, when we return through a street, we see persons to whom we have given tracts busy reading them.

Day after day in intervals between periods of language study, singly or in pairs, the missionaries would saunter forth, pockets filled with pamphlets and tracts which they would hand out to eager recipients.[15]

In a little more than two years the missionaries' stock of Scriptures and other literature was practically exhausted and they felt impelled to begin the preparation and publication of literature for their own use. As early as April, 1848, Collins reported having published certain items which were "among the most approved and popular of Chinese tracts." The first requisition made upon the Missionary Society was for a printing press.[16]

Even earlier White had undertaken original composition, in 1847 compiling with the aid of his Chinese teacher a "Syllabic Dictionary," and beginning an "English and Chinese Vocabulary" in the Foochow colloquial. In 1848 he compiled a Chinese "Calendar." Three years later he was busily engaged in the preparation and publication of a colloquial version of the Gospel of Matthew. At Shanghai, Amoy, and Ningpo, missionaries of other societies had engaged experimentally in the translation and publication of portions of Scripture in the colloquial dialects with the purpose of making the Bible available to the large proportion of the population who lacked sufficient education to read and understand books printed in classical Chinese. Within a short time thousands of copies of portions of the Scripture in the Foochow colloquial * were in circulation.[17]

The fourth major activity of the mission—ranked first in importance—the preaching of the Gospel in the language of the Chinese people, was necessarily much slower in beginning. When White and Collins had been in China almost two years and Maclay fifteen months, Maclay wrote: We "hope that some of us will be able soon to preach the gospel to this people." Preaching through interpreters was promptly begun but direct address was a different matter.[18] A few months later he added:

> Our work continues to be, in the main, one of preparation. We have no election in the matter: if we hope ever to preach Christ in the dialect of this people, we must prepare ourselves by patient, persevering study. Without this we cannot do the work of a missionary to the Chinese.[19]

In their first attempts in the vernacular the missionaries tried informal conversation with their household servants and people on the streets. Next they rented vacant rooms, in some cases open to the street, commonly called chapels, where they displayed tracts and books. As people came in to examine the literature the missionaries endeavored to talk with them by asking and

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* The publication of Scripture and tracts in the Foochow colloquial was the cause of the first serious disagreement between White and Collins, who was at the time Superintendent of the mission. Collins declared that "no such version should be published at the expense of the Mission, as that was a low form of literature not approved by Chinese scholars." White was permitted to publish at his own expense 300 copies of Matthew but "forbidden to publish any more even at his own expense." So eagerly sought, however, by the general public were these copies of the first gospel that within a few weeks all the Foochow missionaries, English and American, were convinced of their value and gave approval to their publication.—M. C. White, "Founding and Early History . . ." in White MSS. Collection, pp. 52 f.

answering questions. As they gained fluency they tried brief exhortations, and finally undertook to preach short sermons—seldom more than five minutes in length, as that was about as long as a passerby would stop and listen. By 1850 three "chapels" had been opened "for conversation with the people" and two more were expected to be in use soon.[20]

The next year Collins wrote that "a service more formal and regular" than had been held before had been established. It was attended principally by the pupils of the Methodist schools, their teachers, and the servants in the employ of the mission. In November, 1852, in his annual report Maclay wrote: "We are not yet able to speak in the vernacular of this people with the precision and fluency we could desire, and yet our feeble efforts are not unattended with encouragement." [21]

Collins phrased their ideal thus:

> It has been our endeavour, first of all to acquire a knowledge of the language of every-day life—that which is heard and spoken here . . . . In that dialect we are now able to converse on all ordinary subjects, and I believe express intelligibly the saving truths of our holy religion. . . . in reference to a complete acquaintance with the written language, we are but at the threshold. We may be, and should be engaged in active labours, especially preaching the word; but it is now become apparent that we are only to lay down study with our lives. In the colloquial we have a great deal yet to do; intonation to correct, a fine enunciation to acquire, countless words to learn, and to trace out those set phrases and forms of expression stereotyped by custom, which lead to the minds and hearts of the people; all this may be done and the written language remain untouched. We have been studying the character, and have made some proficiency; but years of daily application yet will leave its complete acquisition unfinished.[22]

On October 27, 1852, the Iongtau street chapel—"never more than a wretched hovel," inferior to an ordinary American barn—was reopened after having been refurbished. At the service of re-opening, wrote White,

> some of the old men said the place was very neat and comfortable, but far too small. They said that the people who wished to hear us were very numerous, and that we ought to rent two or three shops, side by side, and put them all together, and make one large room, where as many could be accommodated as may desire to hear.[23]

At an early date the missionaries had pushed out beyond the city's boundaries and established two or three rural preaching places. Writing on March 3, 1851, Maclay describes one in the country, without windows, with a dirt floor, which was used by the owner as a general utility storeroom for farming tools and vegetables. Cracks let in large quantities of light and air. As there were no seats hearers were expected to bring their own stools.[24]

To these pioneers all this may have appeared as a feeble beginning but back home the Board and Bishops were pleased. They were ready to send reinforcements as they were needed. But the number of serious health problems which had developed within the little staff of the China Mission during the early years impressed them with the imperative need of sending to China a missionary doctor.* As early as December, 1848, on recommendation of the China Committee, the Board had asked that "a suitable Missionary Physician who shall be a married man . . . be sent as early as practicable to Fuh Chau." An acceptable candidate could not immediately be found. On June 19, 1850, in a further action it was recommended that the physician should be a member of an Annual Conference; that his chief medical work should be "the care of the health of the Mission"; and that medical attention "to the Chinese be limited in mode and extent to the great object of promoting the work of God in China." About this time Isaac W. Wiley, a young man of twenty-five, who was practicing medicine in Pennsylvania under a license of the county medical societies of the state, volunteered for the Foochow Mission. On August 21 the Board recommended his appointment on condition that he pursue further medical study "during the ensuing fall & winter," which he did, receiving the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1851, from New York University. At the Board session of September 11, 1850, he was appointed missionary physician. His salary was fixed at $850., including table expense and fuel; with an additional outfit allowance of $350. On Friday evening, December 22, in Union Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, he was ordained a deacon.[25]

Wiley with his wife Frances Jane and daughter joined a group bound for China. They sailed on March 13, and arrived at Foochow on July 9, 1851. The party included James Colder and his wife of the Philadelphia Conference; and Mary Seely of Cardiff, Onondaga County, New York. Miss Seely was a graduate of the Oneida Conference Seminary, Cazenovia, New York, where she had been a classmate of the late Jane Isabel White. Nine days after her arrival, "according to previous engagement," she was married to her late friend's husband.

The effects of overwork and bad living conditions were beginning to show by 1849. Hickok, completely broken down, had to withdraw in July of that year, and earlier, in February, Collins† suffered a prolonged attack of typhoid * fever followed by effects so serious that he was all but incapacitated. During the early months of 1851 Collins became "so feeble that there was no prospect of his living to labor much longer" if he remained in China, and so on April 22 he left Foochow, bound for home. Upon Hickock's departure, Collins had succeeded him as Superintendent and upon Collins' withdrawal in 1851 Robert S. Maclay † was named to the superintendency by Bishop Janes.

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* The first fatality occurred on May, 1848, when Mrs. Moses C. White, in her twenty-sixth year, eight months after her arrival in China, died of consumption. A jasmine field—which later became the nucleus of the American Cemetery in Foochow—was procured and there, under the branches of a venerable Chinese olive tree, her body was laid to rest.—*Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXIII (1848), 39 (Sept. 27), 154; M. C. White, "Founding and Early History . . . ," White MSS. Collection, p. 4.

† Judson Dwight Collins (1822-52) was born in Wayne County, N. Y., and at an early age emigrated with his father's family to Michigan. He was named Judson by his mother "as a pledge of her own interest in the missionary work." When a small boy he was wont to say, "If I live to be a man I shall go to China." In July, 1845, he graduated from the University of Michigan, a member of the first class of the university. Following his graduation he was appointed professor of "Natural and Moral Science" in Wesleyan Seminary, Albion, Mich. In 1846 he was received on trial in the Michigan Conference (*Gen'l Minutes,* IV, 84) and in January, 1847, was appointed by Bishop Janes as missionary to China. He returned to his father's home in Lyndon, Mich., in September, 1851, and for a time it was hoped that recovery was possible. But it was not to be. On May 13, 1852, he died, in his thirtieth year. "He was a diligent and successful student; an intelligent, growing, fervent Christian; a minister and missionary whose labour had no limit but his abilities, and no termination but death." His hold "upon China, his loved mission, to which he had given himself all he had since he was a mere child, was yielded up only with life itself."—*Missionary Advocate,* VIII (1852), 4 (July), 26 f.

White also had been afflicted. On August 1, 1848, he wrote in his diary: "My health continues poor and I can do but little at anything." Two days later he added: "The pain in my chest increases." On August 22: ". . . as my health is poor, I have concluded to spend a short time on . . . [Drum] mountain. . . ." In February, 1850, he was attacked by typhoid fever and, in his own words, "was brought to the very gates of death" but with the aid of an English army surgeon from India his strength was partially restored after seven months of invalidism. In the fall of 1852 he decided that his health had been permanently impaired and, as Mrs. White had been told by Dr. Wiley that "she could not possibly live if she remained at Foochow," he concluded that the only alternative was to give up his missionary career. At the end of December, with Mrs. White he started for America, reaching New York in August, 1853.[26]

Almost immediately following his arrival Dr. Wiley entered upon the active duties of a missionary physician. So urgent and numerous were the demands for the relief of suffering that he had no thought of confining himself to the treatment of the members of the mission. Within a short time he had gained sufficient proficiency in the language to take over the dispensary which White had established. Such marginal time and strength as could be spared from his medical duties he spent in supervising the boys' school begun by Collins. Hardly was his work under way when fate intervened. On November 3, 1853, Mrs. Wiley died, leaving to her husband the care of two infant daughters. His own health failing also, so much so that it became impossible for him to carry on his medical work, on January 16, 1854, he embarked for the United States. Missionary activities during the greater part of 1853-54 were seriously interrupted by the Taiping revolutionaries, although Foochow fortunately escaped attack by the insurgents.[27]

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* White is source for claiming Collins' illness as "typhoid"; Reid and an article in *Missionary Advocate* both state he suffered from "typhus."

† Robert Samuel Maclay (1824-1907) was born in Concord, Pa. He graduated from Dickinson College, was received on trial in the Baltimore Conference in 1846, and on Sept. 10, 1847, was appointed missionary to China. He arrived in Foochow on April 14, 1848, and almost immediately revealed unusual qualities of leadership. He was appointed Superintendent and Treasurer of the China Mission on March 31, 1852, which office he continued to hold until Nov. 16, 1872. During this period he wrote *Life Among the Chinese* (1861) and collaborated in translating the Bible, the Methodist *Discipline*, and *Catechism* into Chinese. He resigned as China missionary to accept appointment to establish the Methodist mission in Japan. He arrived on June 11, 1873, and continued service in Japan until April, 1885. In 1884 he was sent to open the way for the founding of the Korea Mission, and was asked to become Superintendent but for health reasons declined. In 1888 he became dean of the Maclay College of Theology at Fernando, Calif. Of his ability as an administrator, Bishop Edward Thomson wrote: "He has a quick, well-educated, and well-disciplined mind, and to habits of business and a heart for his work, he joins correct judgment and a strong will. Yet, with his great firmness he has great kindness, and he avoids all parade of authority."—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1846, p. 4; *Gospel in All Lands,* October, 1897, pp. 449-54; *ibid.,* April, 1898, pp. 190-91; Edward Thomson, *Our Oriental Missions,* I, 236.

Wiley's departure left the Maclays as the only Methodist missionaries in Foochow, since Colder too had left, for personal reasons.* In four years (1847-51) twelve had been sent to the field and now, February, 1854, but two remained. Nevertheless, neither the Board nor the Bishops were disheartened.

On August 4, 1854, Dr. Durbin reported the appointment to China, by Bishop Waugh, of Dr. Erastus Wentworth, professor of natural sciences at Dickinson College, and one of the original sponsors of the China Mission, forty-one years of age; and of Otis Gibson, a graduate of Dickinson, twenty-seven.† Before sailing, Wentworth, a widower, married Anna M. Lewis of West Chester, Pennsylvania. They arrived in Foochow on June 18, 1855.‡ The Gibsons reached Foochow on August 13, 1855.[28]

The building of the first church edifice was a milestone in the history of the Foochow Mission. The Board on April 16, 1851, had recommended that measures be taken for the erection of a church and asked the editors of Methodist periodicals to present the need to the public. Generous contributions were made from time to time, especially by Methodist churches in New York, Brooklyn, and Williamsburgh, which contributed $5,000. Finally, on August 3, 1856, "Ching-Sing-Tong"—the "Church of the True God"—was dedicated, located three-quarters of a mile outside the city wall "on the great and only thoroughfare," Iongtau, leading to the southern entrance. The structure was in the style of Western architecture with walls of brick, plastered within and without, resting on a solid stone foundation. A second edifice, the Tiengang or "Heavenly Rest" Church—"the first Christian church ever erected in . . . [greater Foochow] for the worship of God in the English language"—was under construction.§ This was built with "two audience-rooms, one for *Chinese*, the other for *English* service." The Chinese portion was dedicated on October 18, 1856; the English language portion on December 28, 1856. The Foochow foreign community contributed to the cost of the building.[29]

The "first building fitted up by the mission" as a missionary residence was on Tongchiu Island in the middle of the Min River, where foreigners preceding the Methodists had already settled. It did not prove to be entirely satisfactory and as opportunity came new holdings were acquired on Mirror Hill, on the south side of the river. By 1861, the mission was able to rid itself entirely of the island property. The new site eventually was developed into an extensive mission compound. Five residences, a three-story building which housed the Girls' Boarding School and a second three-story building devoted to schoolwork and to literature production were constructed as time went on.[30]

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* Twenty-eight months after his arrival in China (Nov. 5, 1853) James Colder addressed a letter to Bishop Waugh saying, "A protracted and prayerful examination of the word of God, to which I trust I was providentially directed, having led me to entertain views of Church polity and practice different from those entertained by the Methodist Episcopal Church, I feel it to be my duty and privilege to dissolve my connexion with said Church." At the next session of the Philadelphia Conference his name was entered upon the *Minutes* as withdrawn. (*Thirty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1853], p. 99; *Minutes, B. M.,* V, 393.) This, however, was not Colder's sole reason for resigning. He was very restive under Maclay's superintendency and on Feb. 12, 1853, had written to Moses C. White that he and Dr. Wiley would not remain in China if Maclay was continued as Superintendent. "But I earnestly desire to stay here, and daily pray that this troublesome question will be so settled as to let me always live & labor for China."—Biographical File of the Library of the Board of Missions.

† A third volunteer, Joseph R. Perrie, was also appointed but for some reason did not go to the field.

‡ Less than four months after reaching China Mrs. Wentworth died of a debilitating ailment, aged twenty-five, leaving an infant daughter. In 1859 Dr. Wentworth married Miss Phebe E. Potter, by whom he had eight children. Her ill health necessitated the return of the family to the United States in December, 1861. She died in Cincinnati in 1874.—*Thirty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1855-56), p. 23; *Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1877, p. 98.

§ These churches were not actually located within the city proper, since permission could not be gained at that time to rent, buy, or build inside the city walls.

Eleven months after the dedication of the first Methodist church in China, ten years lacking ten months after the arrival of the first missionaries at the port of Foochow—Sunday, July 14, 1857—the first convert, Ting Ang, was baptized. He was a tradesman, forty-seven years of age, with a wife and five children. For two years he had attended preaching services more or less regularly at the Iongtau church. He procured Christian literature and familiarized himself with the Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the principal Christian doctrines. For some time preceding his baptism he had attended a weekly inquiry meeting and the Sunday morning worship service at the Tiengang Tong. He had instituted family prayer at his home, bringing his household gods to the mission with the declaration that he had renounced idol worship. Finally Gibson and Maclay visited him in his home and examined him on his grasp of Christian principles and his purpose to live as a Christian. After thorough examination he was accepted as a candidate for membership and the ordinance of baptism was administered by Maclay in the presence of the congregation at an afternoon worship service in Tiengang Tong.[31]

> After suitable introductory remarks, explanatory of the nature both of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the candidate was requested to stand up and repeat, in an audible voice, the Commandments and Baptismal Covenant. I then explained them, sentence by sentence, the candidate audibly expressing his cordial belief in them, and his determination faithfully to keep and obey them. I then proceed[ed] to baptize him, sprinkling the water on his head while he kneeled at the altar.[32]

The first breach having been made in the stone wall of Chinese conservatism and opposition other successes quickly followed. On October 18, 1857, Ting Ang's wife and two younger children were baptized. Within a few months Maclay was able to report the baptism of thirteen adults and three infants. On August 7, 1858, the first Class was formed at the Iongtau church and soon a fully organized Methodist Society was in operation with three stewards, Class meetings, Quarterly Meetings, monthly collections for the poor, and quarterly collections for the support of the Gospel. A Sunday school also was organized. The six adult male converts ranged in age from twenty to fifty-seven years, representing an interesting cross section of Chinese society: a soldier, a scribe, a day-laborer, a basket-maker, a government employee, and a member of the *literati*. The youngest, Ting Seng-mi, was subjected to severe persecution but remained firm, declaring that "he would die rather than renounce Christianity." [33]

To Maclay, Gibson, and other members of the Foochow Mission the first Quarterly Meeting and first Quarterly Conference were occasions of very special significance. Who knows, wrote Maclay, but they may in the future "be classed with those meetings in the old 'rigging loft' in New York, or even with the gatherings of the disciples in that 'upper room'?" The Quarterly Meeting was held on Saturday and Sunday, October 9-10, 1858, in the Iongtau church. Services were held on Saturday forenoon at which Otis Gibson and "three native helpers" preached to a large and attentive congregation. On Sunday morning a Love Feast was held, attended by the "Church members, and a few others friendly to the cause."

> Our members well improved the time for speaking, by appropriate remarks, and a profoundly religious feeling seemed to prevail in the meeting. . . . The furnishings of the feast were somewhat peculiar. Wishing to train our converts to self-reliance in such matters, we instructed the brethren to provide the symbols of brotherly love for the feast. They were unanimously of the opinion that *tea* should take the place of cold water, and as bread, such as foreigners use, is not used here by the Chinese, they proposed a small kind of [sesame seed] cake as a substitute for it. We approved of the arrangement, and accordingly the stewards served the meeting with cakes and tea instead of bread and water.[34]

At eleven o'clock there was a preaching service, with "three discourses." At two o'clock the Sunday school met, after which the Lord's Supper was celebrated, preceded by "the first public collection . . . for the support of the Gospel," amounting to 7,500 Chinese cash, or sixty-four cents. On October 11, the Quarterly Conference for the Iongtau appointment was held, attended by the members of the mission, the stewards, and the first Chinese Exhorter of the Foochow Mission. The business of the meeting was transacted "in harmony" and the members "separated with faith greatly strengthened." This year (1858), also, a foundling asylum was established in Foochow for the rescue and care of girl babies discarded by their parents.* Well-disposed Foochow residents contributed $670. toward its establishment.[35]

While these encouraging events were happening the mission was doing its best to sustain its schools. The original day schools for boys had been short-lived. By the end of 1850 only one was open. Toward the close of the next year White decided to experiment with a mixed school but that too was soon discontinued, as was Mrs. Maclay's girls' school. By the fall of 1853 one school each for boys and girls was again open. The Missionary Society decided in 1856 that a boarding school should be established for the boys besides the day school already in existence and Otis Gibson undertook the task. Children between the years of twelve and eighteen were accepted on the written agreement of parent or guardian, for a period of four to six years. The school furnished, in addition to instruction, clothes, and books, both room and board, for the purpose of providing a Christian home for the students.[36]

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* The foundling asylum was continued until 1871 when about twenty of the inmates were transferred to the Girls' Boarding School and the institution was closed. About 1888 it was reopened and in 1893, with a new building, it became the Mary E. Crook Memorial Orphanage. During the year it cared for twenty-three waifs, four of whom were new-born babes picked up from streets and fields. —Frances J. Baker, *The Story of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society . . .* , pp. 295 f.; *Seventy-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1894), pp. 45 f.; *Twenty-sixth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1895), p. 37.

With the aid of Mrs. Gibson, Mrs. Maclay resumed the schoolwork among girls, but the desirability of a boarding school soon became apparent. The mission appealed to the Board for its help and Erastus Wentworth wrote to the Ladies' China Missionary Society of Baltimore soliciting its aid:

> Our churches are full of men; our preaching is to men; only now and then a woman dares venture within sound of the Gospel, and these are the large-footed women: small-footed, or ladies of China, never. . . . Nothing in . . . the East calls more loudly for reformation than the condition of women. In no department is missionary labor more needed than in this, and woman only can be reached by woman.

The amount considered necessary for founding a boarding school was $5,000. The Ladies' China Missionary Society granted the amount asked for the erection of school buildings; and the Missionary Society began to look around for teachers. The school was first called the Baltimore Female Academy, the name later changed, as a memorial to Bishop Waugh, to the Waugh Female Seminary. When, in 1858, another reinforcement was sent to Foochow, three teachers were in the party, Beulah and Sarah H. Woolston and Phebe E. Potter. The school now became the Girls' Boarding School, opened November 28, 1859.[37]

The 1858 recruitment, the largest thus far, also included Stephen L. Baldwin of the Newark Conference, just graduated from the Concord Biblical Institute, and his young wife.*

In 1859 Carlos R. Martin, who had just graduated from the Concord Biblical Institute, volunteered for missionary work and was accepted. He married and in October departed for China, arriving on April 1, 1860. He soon gave "full proof of his indomitable energy of character, and his ardent love for the souls of men," but had scarcely made more than a beginning in study of the Chinese language when in 1864 he fell, together with his four-year-old son, a victim of cholera.[38]

The casualties of the Foochow Mission during these early years were terrifying. In twelve years and six months twenty-three adults and one child had sailed from America for China. By 1861 three missionaries and two children had died and six others had left China as invalids, of whom one had died at sea and one had passed away at home within a year after his return—

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* Little more than a year after the arrival of the Baldwins in China Mrs. Baldwin developed a serious chronic disorder. After several months of acute suffering for which no alleviative could be found the couple embarked for America with the hope of saving her life. But they had delayed too long. On March 16, 1861, Mrs. Baldwin died at sea at the age of twenty-one. Baldwin promptly returned to the mission. On April 15, 1862, he married Esther E. Jerman.

a casualty list of eleven.* Within the following few years the number increased.

In 1859 the American Board transferred two of its preaching places located near the Methodist compound—Ato and Kuaninchang—to the mission. That same year two appointments were opened in the country, Tocheng (Peach Farm) on the Min River fifteen miles northwest of Foochow, and Ngukang (Oxvale) two miles farther removed. Country appointments were now possible since the restrictions imposed on foreigners limiting the settlement to specified places had been removed by the treaties of 1858. Methodism could now begin its trek to the West. Two years later (1861) Kanchia was "reached," and "chapels [were] dedicated at Koi Hung and Ngu Kang." Maclay was inspired by these advances: "Our way is gradually opening to the western portions of this province, and thence to the central and western provinces of China." [39]

On September 19, 1861, Nathan Sites—the first alumnus of the Ohio Wesleyan University to go as a missionary to a foreign field—accompanied by his wife, Sarah Moore Sites, landed at Foochow. After a year's intensive language study he was appointed to Ngukang. It was a providential appointment. Imbued with a passion for pioneer work lest he build on another man's foundation, of all the missionaries he was the one best fitted to lead the van of the expansion movement westward. By "October 1, 1863 the 'Plan of the Work' for the year embraced six Circuits with appointments filled by native pastors, extending from Foochow to such distant points as Longuong [Loyuan] on the northeast, Hok-chiang [Futsing] at the southeast, Iong-bing [Yenping] in the far northwest, and Ing-hok [or Ingtai] to be opened in the Southwest." [40] Thirty-two years later (March 31, 1895) at a memorial service held in Washington, D. C., Stephen L. Baldwin, for twenty-two years a colaborer of Sites in China, said of him:

> when some acquaintance with the field had been gained . . . [his] burning desire . . . was to go into the interior, to get away from Foo-Chow and his foreign surroundings, to get out among the natives . . . .
>
> What characterized him in those early days was characteristic of his whole subsequent career. He delighted in pioneer work. In Hok-Chiang and Hing-Hua . . . he delighted to go into new places to preach the Gospel where it had never before been preached. . . . Afterward, in the distant cities of Yeng-Bing [Yenping] and Sa-Kaing [Shahsien], far up the river to the westward, he was found laboring for the Master, undeterred by persecution, refusing to turn back, though he knew it was a time of particular peril, but calmly going on with his work . . . .[41]

On September 29, 1862, the first annual meeting of the Foochow Mission was held. There had been no authorization for the organization of a Mission Conference so the meeting was informal, but sixteen appointments were agreed upon, including eight new ones with twenty-five appointees, eleven of them Chinese. At the annual meeting of the next year (October 1, 1863), five Circuits were listed, in addition to which there were several stations not organized into Circuits, with a total of twenty-two preaching places.

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* By 1858 thirty-six male and female missionaries had been sent to Foochow by three missionary Societies—Methodist, American Board, and Anglican—of whom ten had died and thirteen had been compelled to return, leaving only thirteen still on the field.—Erastus Wentworth, in *Isaac W. Wiley, Late Bishop of the M. E. Church: A Monograph,* Richard S. Rust, Ed., p. 39.

From the beginning the missionaries' idea had been to develop a native ministry as quickly as possible, but without an Annual Conference or a Bishop on the field to ordain preachers what could be done? The problem was solved by the transfer of Chinese candidates—properly recommended by their Quarterly Conferences—to Annual Conferences in America for admission on trial, thereby preparing the way for their ordination at some future date.

The first official visit of a Bishop to the China Mission was in 1865 when Bishop Edward Thomson made a brief stop of sixteen days (January 22-February 8) in connection with his trip to India. During his stay he presided at the annual meeting of the mission, visited some mission stations, and gave valuable personal counsel to the workers.[42] Why the Bishops had not authorized Thomson to organize a China Mission Annual Conference at this time is not clear. That such action would have given added stimulus to China missions there can be no doubt.

The Bishop found the small corps of missionaries sadly depleted. At the time of his visit only four married couples—the Maclays, the Gibsons, the Baldwins, and the Sites—and two teachers, Sarah and Beulah Woolston, were on the field. Another couple, the Samuel L. Binkleys, had come in March, 1862, but had withdrawn by November, 1864. Before the year 1865 closed the Gibsons also, because of Mrs. Gibson's ill health, were forced to withdraw, but the following year reinforcement came in the persons of Virgil C. and Adeline G. Hart from the Black River Conference and Lucius N. and Mary D. Wheeler and three children from the Wisconsin Conference. The next year (1867) Hiram H. and Parthenia N. Lowry were added to the list. Even with these additions further increase of preachers was necessary if all the stations which had been established were to be maintained.

Besides the Bishop's visit, 1865 was marked by the dedication of East Street Church, the first church within the city walls of Foochow—a victory won against antagonism and resistance on the part of the Chinese gentry and officials. Persistence had gained the day. In 1862 the mission had asked that a $2,000. appropriation be included in the next year's estimates for such a church; and in 1863 the missionaries reported that they now owned a house and lot on East Street and had already fitted up the front for a chapel, the back for a day school and residence. However, a riot in January, 1864, destroyed all their work and the building had to be reconstructed.[43]

With 1866, a period of rapid growth of the Foochow Mission began. Within the year there was an increase of five Chinese assistants; of nineteen baptisms; of fifty-five full members and forty-seven pupils. Superintendent Maclay's report for 1867 had in it a note of triumph:

> During the year we have baptized one hundred and fifty-one adults and thirty-five children, a total of one hundred and eighty-six baptisms, being considerably more than *twice* the number of baptisms reported last year. . . . Our present total of members, probationers, and baptized children is five hundred and fifty, showing an increase over last year of two hundred and three. . . . We have organized three societies during the year, have completed our plans for carrying the Gospel into two more prefectures of this province, and we wait only for the Board's approval before occupying at once a new station in the Kiang-si province . . . .[44]

Within a few months (December, 1867) the mission had not only established the new station in the Kiangsi Province, but "had resolved upon a mission to Peking" (June 30, 1868). These advance actions soon after were given approval and made decisive by Bishop Kingsley on his visit to Foochow in 1869. Writing to Missionary Secretary Harris on November 24, 1869, the Bishop said, "I have divided the work into three missions. One at Foochow, with Rev. Dr. Maclay as Superintendent; one at Kiukiang, with Rev. V. C. Hart as Superintendent; and one at Peking, with Rev. L. N. Wheeler as Superintendent."

Kingsley's optimistic vision was almost unlimited. Peking, Kiukiang, and Foochow, he said,

> are three great centers, one in the north, one in the middle, and the other in the south of the Empire. These points, if properly worked, will soon be the centers of three Annual Conferences, and *I here predict that within less than a hundred years from this time there will be more than a hundred Annual Conferences of the 'Methodist Episcopal Church in China.'* [45]

The visit of the Bishop to China at this time culminated in the ordination of seven Chinese assistants to deacon's orders, of whom four were immediately raised to elders. Thus, after a brief twenty-three years of work in China, a native Church was on its way. Bishop Kingsley described the men as being "as fine a looking class . . . as I have ever ordained, and, I believe, as deeply pious." [46]

The preachers and lay workers were not all cast in the same mold but differed widely in personality and spiritual gifts. Hu Po-mi, a soldier by profession, was a fluent preacher and specially characterized by "his humility, zeal, courage, and desire for a thorough knowledge of the Bible." Li Yu-mi, known as "the learned blacksmith," became versed in the Scriptures by placing his Bible alongside his anvil and studiously reading it between his strokes. His sermons were specially noted for their "original and beautiful metaphors." Ling Ching-ting was a victim of opium and, as he confessed, a participant in every kind of sin when he first heard the proclamation of the Gospel. He accepted Christ as his Savior, turned his back upon his past, and became a bold, eloquent, and zealous preacher. Because of his hasty, impulsive, and determined temperament he came to be known as the Peter of the Methodist band. He suffered greatly for his faith, at one time receiving "one thousand stripes on his bare back." Wong Tai-hung, a member of the *literati,* came into contact with the missionaries first as J. D. Collins' teacher and later as instructor of J. Doolittle of the American Board Mission. For many years he persisted in the worship of idols but finally opened his mind to the cardinal truths of Christianity and became a convinced and faithful Christian.[47]

With the opening of the two additional areas authorized by Bishop Kingsley, it was evident that the need for more missionaries was imperative. The response of the Board and Bishops was prompt. Early in 1870 five unmarried young men and one missionary couple crossed the Pacific, arriving in China in October. Of these Franklin Ohlinger of the Central German Conference and Nathan J. Plumb of the North Ohio Conference were designated for the Foochow Mission.[48]

Superintendent Maclay reported that year 402 adults and eighty-two children baptized, making a total of 931 members, 969 probationers, and 239 baptized children. Within the city walls of Foochow there were less than twenty converts, although many thousands annually listened to the preaching of the Gospel in the commodious church building, East Street Church. Outside the city the story was different. In the immediate suburbs, with four appointments and two churches there were fifty-one members. Directly southeast in an area extending "some forty miles along the sea-coast from north to south and some fifty miles east and west," there were thirty-nine "classes or preaching places" with an adult membership of 395. In the Hinghwa prefecture, sixty miles south of Foochow, where two years previously there were but eleven full members, there were now 221, divided among twenty-six preaching places. One hundred miles south, in an area thirty-five to fifty miles from east to west, new appointments were being established. Directly west of Foochow, in a district known as Aukwan, there were seven appointments which reported *in toto* six adults and five baptized children. In two other districts, one west and the other northwest of Aukwan, in which seven preachers were laboring, there were fifty-two members, eight probationers, and twenty-one baptized children. In the Yenping (Nanping) prefectural division of Fukien Province, some hundred and forty miles northwest of Foochow, four appointments had been established with forty-four members, eighteen probationers, and twelve baptized children.[49]

Much of the credit for the expansion and development of the Church to this point is due to Maclay. "No missionary had given so many years to the cause, none had traveled so many miles of Chinese roads, none had been more indefatigable in preaching." But his vision was not limited to China. On December 16, 1870, he wrote to the Missionary Society inquiring whether the establishment of a mission to Japan was in prospect. "That country now seems to be open to the Gospel," he said, "and it is high time Protestant Christianity were entering the field in earnest." At the close of his annual report for 1871 he announced that, after twenty-three years of field service with but one furlough, on the urgent advice of his physician he had decided to seek physical recuperation through a leave. While he was home on furlough the Bishops by unanimous action decided to transfer him to Japan to found the mission that he had zealously advocated. To succeed him as Superintendent of the Foochow Mission Bishop Wiley appointed S. L. Baldwin, who assumed the office in 1873.[50]

The year 1873 brought to the Foochow Mission* a realization that in the recent period of rapid expansion the Church in some places had not been building upon a sound foundation. Increased attention was given to the exercise of discipline and the weeding out of some who had apparently joined the Church from unworthy and sinister motives. As a result, at the annual meeting in October a decrease of fifty-six members and 226 probationers was reported. Notwithstanding this decrease the missionaries felt that the Church was "stronger than ever before," and the Chinese preachers "were very hopeful and confident." [51]

The missionary staff was strengthened at this time by Julia F. Walling, who became Plumb's wife; Benjamin E. Edgell and wife of the Pittsburgh Conference; and in 1874 by D. W. Chandler and wife of the Erie Conference.

Sigourney Trask, M.D., of Youngsville, Pennsylvania, was also sent to the field in 1874 by the New York Branch of the W. F. M. S. She was the first medical missionary of the Foochow Mission since the departure of Dr. Wiley in 1854. Dr. Trask opened a dispensary in February, 1875, and soon won renown as a skilled physican. Demand for a hospital and doctor's residence immediately arose and the General Executive of the W. F. M. S. appropriated $5,000. for the purpose. The hospital, located on Tongchiu Island, was dedicated on April 18, 1877, and admitted its first patient the next day. The second year 1,208 patients were admitted.

At first, religious services in the hospital wards were in the charge of a hospital Bible woman. Later they were taken over by specially trained students under the tutorage of the Woolston sisters and Mrs. Gibson. Morning and evening services were held in the wards, consisting of Bible reading, questions and answers, hymns, and prayers. On dispensary days women from the Woman's Bible-training School—the first in China, founded 1879—came to the hospital to talk with women in the waiting room.

Almost from the outset Dr. Trask determined to give medical training to promising young women. Her most outstanding student was Hu King-eng, daughter of Hu Yong-mi, and the doctor resolved that if possible she would see that Miss Hu received full training. On her urgent insistence, three generous women of the Philadelphia Branch personally assumed financial responsibility for such college and medical school education. In 1884 Hu King-eng was enrolled in the Ohio Wesleyan University, believed to be the first Chinese young woman to come to the United States for such study.

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* This year (1873) the Missionary Society changed the designation of the Foochow Mission to the East China Mission. Beginning in that year and continuing until the organization of the Foochow Conference in 1877 the new name was used in all official reports.

The first organized class of medical students in China—originally taught by Dr. Corey—was graduated in 1890, having completed a full five years' medical course, composed of a wide range of textbook studies and "four years' practice in the wards, drug-room, dispensary, and in practical obstetrical and gynecological work." Dr. Trask continued in charge of the hospital until 1885 when she was married to Vice-Consul John Phelps Cowles.

A second medical missionary, Julia Sparr, was sent to Foochow in 1878. In 1883 she also married. Dr. Catherine Corey was added to the hospital staff in 1884 but soon retired in ill health and later married. Her successor, Dr. Susan M. Pray, arrived in 1886, but after one year had to withdraw for health reasons. In 1887 Dr. Mary E. Carleton, of Brownsville, New York, an alumna of the Syracuse Medical College, with graduate courses at the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary, enlisted for service in China under the W. F. M. S. and for forty years rendered distinguished service in the Foochow Conference.[52]

At the time of Dr. Carleton's arrival, the hospital had been enlarged with wards for seventy patients; and medical work was being carried on besides in two dispensaries in Foochow, and at the hospital in Liangau on Nantai. That same year Ella Johnson, a trained nurse, was sent out by the Philadelphia Branch. In the next few years others came to the Foochow medical work: Dr. Ella Lyon, a graduate of Chicago Woman's College, in 1891, who became ill and had to leave; Dr. Luella Masters, Syracuse University graduate, the following year; and, in 1895, Dr. Hu King-eng returned to her own people upon completing her medical training in the States. By that time the medical work encompassed the two hospitals and seven dispensaries; weekly clinics at three schools and the orphanage; out-visits and country trips; and two classes of medical students. The W. F. M. S. also intended to open medical work in 1895 in Hinghwa by the appointment of Dr. Julia M. Donahue of the Cincinnati Branch, but conditions were unfavorable and the breakdown of the doctor's own health prevented the laying of any real groundwork.

On September 30, 1873, Bishop William L. Harris arrived in Foochow. His years of service as a Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society had given him an intimate acquaintance with the problems faced by China missionaries and his visit had been eagerly anticipated. Meetings for the consideration of questions involving missionary policies had been arranged in advance, to which all Foochow missionaries had been invited. Among the more important topics discussed were "Treaty Rights of Missionaries and Converts"; "Extent to Which Consular Aid Can Be Afforded toward Occupying Places in the Interior, and for the Protection of Native Converts"; "The

Buying and Selling of Daughters as Wives"; "Betrothed Girls Living in the same Family with the Boys to whom they are Betrothed"; "Polygamy"; and "Foot Binding." "The custom of attaching a money consideration to the betrothal of wives, and of speaking of the betrothal as 'buying' a wife and 'selling' a daughter was strongly reprehended." Whether a converted polygamist should be required as a condition of church membership to give up all but one wife was a moot question in China. Some very able missionaries were opposed to the requirement on the ground that it involved injustice to the wives. The Methodist Mission had held that all wives but the first in a polygamous marriage must be put away before baptism of the husband and it was generally agreed that this rule should be continued. No defense of foot-binding was offered although it was agreed that enforcement of the rule against it involved difficulties. The custom, it was held, must be abolished altogether among Christians.

Following the conference on missionary policies the annual meeting was convened by Bishop Harris. Authority having been given by the Philadelphia and the East Maine Conferences the Bishop ordained two Chinese elders and five deacons. Eight preachers were admitted on trial and fourteen into full connection. With the unanimous approval of the mission Bishop Harris appointed four of the Chinese preachers as Presiding Elders. For three years they had already functioned as such although the missionaries had nominally held the appointments. Now the designation was changed to "Missionary in Charge." We have "the general guidance and direction of the work," wrote Baldwin, "while we seek to put upon the native brethren all the work and all the honor that they can bear . . . ." [53]

The 1868 General Conference had authorized the Bishops to organize Conferences in China, "if in their judgment the interest of the work requires it." This authorization was not acted upon. At the 1876 General Conference the Committee on Missions recommended the organization of an Annual Conference in China "to be called the Foochow Conference" to include Fukien Province. The recommendation was adopted and on December 20, 1877, the Foochow Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* the first Methodist Annual Conference in China, was organized by Bishop I. W. Wiley, who twenty-six years before had gone to China as a medical missionary. In his volume *China and Japan* we have in Wiley's words an account of the proceedings:

> After appropriate devotional services we transferred five missionaries and fifteen native preachers from the conferences in which they had held their membership in the United States, and declared the Foochow Annual Conference duly organized. Hu Sing Mi and N. J. Plumb were elected secretaries. Committees were appointed on Self-Support, Opium, Sunday-schools, and on the Observance of the Sabbath.

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* The Chinese name of the Methodist Episcopal Church was Mi-I-Mi Huei.

> There was an affecting scene when we began the examination of character. S. L. Baldwin, who had been superintendent of the mission, stood first on the list, and Hu Po Mi was called upon, as presiding Elder, to represent him. The venerable brother arose, and said: 'I can not do it, I can not do it,' and the tears began to roll down his cheeks, and he said again, 'I can not do it.' 'The like was never seen in China; these foreign teachers have come here to teach us of Jesus, and now we are in an annual conference, and I am called upon to represent the teacher. I can think of nothing like it but when the Savior insisted on washing the disciples feet.' The whole conference was much affected . . . .
>
> On Friday morning we determined to admit on trial in the Conference an equal number from the ranks of the local preachers, as we had transferred of the native preachers from the home conferences, and consequently fifteen of the most promising young men were admitted on trial. . . .
>
> . . . . Saturday morning was taken up by the election of native preachers to deacons['] and elders['] orders. . . . On Saturday evening a service of consecration was held, Mr. Ohlinger presiding and preaching, followed by an earnest and profitable prayer-meeting.
>
> The Sabbath of the conference was a day of full work and blessed enjoyment. The love-feast commenced at half-past eight in the morning, in which a large number of the brethren gave excellent and interesting testimonies to the reality, the value, and the blessedness of the religion which they enjoyed. Some of them had endured serious trials and persecutions during the year for the cause they had espoused. . . .
>
> At half past ten Hu Yong Mi, presiding Elder of the Kucheng [Kutien] District preached an excellent, expository sermon, encouraging and inspiring to the ministers . . . . After the sermon the deacons were ordained. This was an impressive ceremony, the entire service being read in the Chinese language, except the pronouncing of the words of ordination by the bishop, which was immediately repeated by Mr. Baldwin in Chinese. . . . At night, Sia Sek Ong preached a very practical sermon to the preachers and five elders were ordained.
>
> On Monday morning we went through the usual routine of business of an annual conference, the various committees bringing in stirring reports on all the important subjects that had been submitted to them. In the afternoon quite a regular cabinet meeting was held, in which the native elders entered and took their place and post like old, experienced presiding elders. The entire work was divided into five districts, and a native elder appointed to each, with a foreign missionary assigned to each district as general counselor with the elder.
>
> On Tuesday we held the final session of the conference. Among other reports a very satisfactory statistical statement was presented, showing two thousand six hundred and eighty as the number of members, probationers, and baptized children. . . .
>
> After the general business of the Conference had been finished we had a Christmas sermon by Mr. Baldwin; . . . then the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's supper . . . . Then we sang the parting hymn, and a most feeling prayer was offered by Hu Yong Mi, and we then called upon Sia Sek Ong to read out the appointments. And so closed the first session of the Foochow Annual Conference.[54]

The District appointments were: *Foochow District,* Li Yu-mi, Presiding Elder; S. L. Baldwin, missionary; *Hokchiang* (*Futsing*) *District,* Hu Po-mi, P. E.; N. J. Plumb, missionary; *Hinghwa District,* Sia Sek-ong, P. E.; Nathan Sites, missionary; *Yenping District,* Yek Ing-kwang, P. E.;

F. Ohlinger, missionary; *Kucheng* (*Kutien*) *District,* Hu Yong-mi, P. E.; D. W. Chandler, missionary. In all, seventy-two Chinese preachers were appointed to the work. Of these sixty were Local Preachers, not members of the Conference but assigned as supplies to regular appointments. Churches and chapels numbered sixty; parsonages for Chinese preachers, fifteen.

Following adjournment of Conference the Bishop held a consultation with the missionaries and Presiding Elders on the distribution of missionary funds to the Chinese preachers. "The rate was fixed at three dollars a month for each of the preachers, a dollar and a half for his wife, and seventy-five cents for each child." It "really looks strange to an American," wrote the Bishop,

> to see such men as Hu Yong Mi, Hu Po Mi, and Sia Sek Ong, men who, in character and ability, if they had the same experience and acquaintance with American life as they have with that of China, would be qualified to fill the highest places in the Church in the United States, receiving as the compensation for their labor three dollars for themselves, one dollar and a half for their wives, and seventy-five cents for each child . . . . Surely these men can not be suspected of secular or mercenary motives in engaging in this Christian service.[55]

In the beginning of December, preceding the Conference session, Bishop Wiley in company with Baldwin and Chandler visited the mission at Kutien, ninety miles from Foochow—up the Min River sixty miles and thirty miles into the mountains. Sunday, December 16, was given over to a District meeting attended by preachers and lay members. In the morning before the preaching service, a Love Feast was held, in which some twenty persons testified of their Christian experience. Testimonies, as recorded by the Bishop, afford some insight into the inner spiritual life of Chinese converts:

> Ling Oi Hing said: 'My peace is very great, very wonderful. I suddenly obtained peace. My grief is little; my peace is much. . . . I constantly pray for the Kucheng Church, and feel thankful for the Savior's answers.'
>
> Chiang Ki La said: 'My constant prayer is that Christ will take my life into his own hands, and do with me as he will.'
>
> Ting Kieng Sing said: 'I have received very great grace from God. Within these few days I have received something very precious. What is it? God has assured me that I am his child, and that I am brother to these foreign and native Christians. I am very happy.'
>
> Another said: 'I am praying God to help me. All that I am afraid of is that I will fall again into sin. I want you to pray for me, that I may be faithful to the end.'
>
> San Kwang Hung said: 'I have used many measures to destroy the carnal mind within me, and have prayed earnestly, and have partly succeeded. . . .'
>
> Yong Hung Sing said: 'My soul and body have been entirely at peace. . . . In these few days I have obtained great happiness. It seems as though I had come to the last days and begun to taste the joys of paradise.'
>
> Another said: 'I am very happy in God's grace. What I meet in the world I am able to bear through Christ.' [56]

The Bishop asked Lau Yong-ming, an enthusiastic Christian and an Exhorter in the Kutien church, to give him a sketch of his experience. It is as follows:

> I am a native of Kucheng city. All my ancestors have lived here for many generations past. My family being poor my work, as a child, was to watch cows in the field. When I was grown up, I opened a tobacco store. Thirty-three years ago . . . I became a Buddhist vegetarian, zealously worshiping the gods, and refraining from eating meat. Seven years ago, . . . being avaricious, I began gambling, hoping to get great profits in it, but instead of realizing my hopes, I lost all my money, even including the capital which I had invested in my shop. I was in very great distress, having no rest because of my loss.
>
> I continued thus until . . . when, thanks be to God's grace, his true word was first preached in Kucheng City. In the seventh month of that year a chapel was opened here, and I first heard the commandments of God. Hearing these commands and listening to the voice of prayer and singing, I was deeply moved and convinced of my sinfulness. Four months later I gave my name as a probationer in the Church. Thenceforward I listened to and obeyed the Word of God, receiving the unseen aid of his Holy Spirit. . . . thirteen years ago, I was baptized and received into the Church . . . and now, by the grace of God, I have come out of death, and have entered into life, and by the constant help of the Holy Spirit have been enabled to leave darkness behind me and enter into the life of God.
>
> . . . . Trusting in Jesus, I desire always to offer from a sanctified heart ceaseless praises to God for the great grace vouchsafed to me. This is my heart's real longing. Amen.[57]

The disciplined lives of many ministers and lay people gave testimonies as meaningful as spoken words. Franklin Ohlinger tells of overhearing his burden-bearer, who was a neighbor of the Kutien chapel, say:

> These Christians are remarkable people. You could not get them to quarrel. Any thing that is a little bad you could not persuade them to do. Their Sunday they keep very strictly. Every Saturday evening I see them go to the shops to buy provisions for Sunday, and you could not induce them to buy a cash worth on this day. But most remarkable of all is that, as soon as they become Christians, they can all read.[58]

Increasingly the Christian witness, expressed in such testimonies as these, together with the character and life of many of the Chinese converts, became one of the most influential means by which the Gospel was spread and the Church expanded. A case in point was the Wangteyong Circuit, situated in a wild mountainous region some thirty miles beyond Kutien. The story is told by S. L. Baldwin in his annual report for 1876:

> The Gospel was first carried to that region by a man who went from home to work at a town on the *Min* where we had a chapel. He heard the Gospel there, was converted, and returning home carried the glad tidings with him. Through his teaching his whole family, including his aged parents, his wife and children, and two or three brothers, and their wives and children, were brought to Christ. Having a married sister living in the village of Siong Te, this man's influence was, through her, extended to that place, and we now have a fine class of Christians there.[59]

The testimony of changed lives could not be gainsaid. A Chinese pastor was sent to a new appointment in a village ten miles from Yuki. His first convert was a notorious gambler and prize fighter. His life was so completely changed that a profound impression was made on all his acquaintances, on no one more than "on his widowed mother, who had abandoned all hopes for his reformation, and was on the point of publicly disowning him."

In various lesser respects the lives of people were changed, none of which were without influence. "Here you can discover greater diligence in business, there a bit of cleanliness, one gives up tobacco, a woman unbinds her feet, and in many other ways, especially by the growing interest in education, is the blessed Gospel manifesting its leavening power." [60]

By 1880, three years after its organization, the Foochow Conference had six Districts* and fifty-seven ministerial members, of whom fifty-two were Chinese. In number, appointments were far in excess of the Conference membership and twenty-eight additional men were employed as supplies. The sense of need for increasing the supply of preachers and for the better training of the ministry led to repeated consideration of enlarging the educational work of the Conference. Maclay, former Superintendent of the mission, urged the importance of a college. Tiong Ahok, a wealthy Chinese merchant, contributed $10,000. toward its establishment. On January 19, 1881, plans for the Anglo-Chinese College were launched, and Franklin Ohlinger† was named as president. Also in this year J. F. Goucher contributed $7,000. for a theological department. Within twelve months over forty college preparatory students were enrolled, of whom two-thirds were from Christian families. In addition to the college there were on the Foochow District two boys' and two girls' day schools, and a Bible-training school for women, which in 1883 became a school for women, girls, and children.[61]

During the later years of the Woolston administration of the Foochow Girls' Boarding School enrollment decreased and work lagged. In 1881 only twenty-five pupils were in attendance, of whom eight were foundlings. The

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* The Districts were: Foochow, Hinghwa, Futsing, Ingchung, Kucheng, and Yenping.

† Franklin Ohlinger (1845-1919) was born near Fremont, Ohio, the youngest of seven children. During the Civil War he managed the farm while his father and his elder brothers served in the Union army. He attended German-Wallace College, Berea, briefly (1865-66), and a little later (1868) was admitted on trial in the Central German Conference and appointed to Pittsburgh. In 1870 he went as a missionary to Foochow, China, where he took an active part in both the evangelistic and educational work of the mission. While on furlough in 1876 he married Miss Bertha Schweinfurth. Returned to China, he with his wife's help prepared a system of musical notation to facilitate the teaching of congregational singing, and had a leading part in the founding and development of the Anglo-Chinese College. In the fall of 1887 he was appointed to the Korea Mission. In 1890 he founded the first printing plant in Korea, known as the Trilingual Press, with facilities for printing in Korean, Chinese, and English. He and his wife returned to the United States in 1893, and in 1895 he went to China as an independent missionary. Later he was received into the Hinghwa Conference where at Antau he founded the Rebecca McCabe Orphanage for the blind. In 1901 he transferred to the Foochow Conference and was made dean of the theological schools. During 1905-1908 he was engaged in translating and writing in Shanghai. In 1909 he entered the service of the Chinese government as teacher of languages in the newly founded provincial university. A break in his health compelled his return to America in 1911. Ohlinger was a voluminous translator and writer in the Chinese and Korean languages. He initiated two field publications and published articles, sermons, pamphlets, and books numbering into the hundreds.—Official Obituary, typed ms., Board of Missions Library; Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

Conference took the situation in hand, agreed that the curriculum was too narrow, and persuaded the W. F. M. S. to sanction the teaching of English. The Woolstons, whose purpose had been to keep the school Chinese, resigned in 1883 and returned to America. The Society then sent out Carrie I. Jewell * and Elizabeth M. Fisher, the latter destined to have a distinguished missionary career of more than fifty years in China. Immediate change was evidenced in the school. Enrollment increased within a year to forty-six, morale improved, and higher educational standards were introduced. New property was purchased on Nantai Island at a cost of $12,000. By 1893 enrollment had grown to 105, and the course of study was lengthened eight years beyond the two required in day schools.

Ruth Sites who, like her father, was not content to adhere to traditional patterns of missionary method was impressed with the need of educational facilities for bound-footed daughters of the *literati,* government officers, and mandarins, who were not eligible for admission to the Girls' Boarding School. Rather than yield the badge of their gentility these girls would forego the privilege of education. Miss Sites was determined that opportunity for Christian education should be made available to them. She appealed to Tiong Ahok's wife† for cooperation in establishing a seminary especially for them. It was opened in March, 1893, in the mission house and subsequently moved to the woman's building. While it did not have a large enrollment—ten pupils the second year—it was self-supporting and brought a strong Christian influence into homes that otherwise would not have had contact with the Gospel.[62]

About this time the Hinghwa District and more particularly the city of Hinghwa came into increased prominence as missionary centers. In 1881 the District missionary-in-charge made this encouraging report of advance:

> Several classes . . . [have] succeeded in greatly improving their Church property. We have five boys' day-schools on the district, all of which are in good condition. The W. F. M. S. has seven flourishing day-schools, mostly of long standing, on this district. A school for women was opened at Hinghwa City, with twelve students, in February, also under auspices of the W. F. M. S. The opportunities for work of this kind in the Hinghwa District have always been in marked contrast to the same kind of work in the Foochow District.[63]

In 1889 the W. F. M. S. reported three women's schools in the District. The plan at that time was to make each of these a training school for deaconesses. In 1891 six schools for women were reported in the Conference as a whole under the general supervision of Mabel Hartford.* In the Hinghwa and Kutien Districts Miss Hartford had the efficient assistance of Mrs. Brewster and Mrs. Wilcox, missionaries' wives. The Juliet Turner Memorial School at Hinghwa City was in the charge of Mrs. Brewster. In 1895 twenty-five students, most of whom were young women, were enrolled. The school program was correlated with evangelistic work in villages and with that of Bible women in local churches under the leadership of Minnie E. Wilson.†

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* Miss Carrie I. Jewell of the Cincinnati Branch and Elizabeth M. Fisher of the Baltimore Branch arrived in China on Nov. 17, 1884. Mabel C. Hartford of the New England Branch came in 1887 and for one year assisted Miss Jewell. Julia Bonafield, Cincinnati Branch, arrived in 1888 and from November, 1889, to March 18, 1891, was in charge of the school. Upon Miss Fisher's marriage to William N. Brewster, Ruth M. Sites of the Baltimore Branch was appointed. In 1895 Miss Bonafield returned to the school to work in association with Lydia A. Wilkinson of the Des Moines Branch who had arrived in Foochow on Feb. 1, 1893.

† Mrs. Tiong Ahok "was a woman of strong character, of fine personal appearance, . . . and . . . perfect in her observance of the elaborate code of Chinese etiquette." In her home she conducted a weekly prayer meeting. She accompanied Miss Bradshaw of the Church of England Mission to Ireland and England "speaking through an interpreter to most interested audiences in London, and pleading with power for the gift of the gospel to her people."—Mrs. S. L. Baldwin, in *Heathen Woman's Friend,* XXXIII (1891), 5 (November), 98-101.

The Hamilton Girls' Boarding School, the second boarding school for girls in the Foochow Conference, was opened in Hinghwa in 1892. While an entrance examination was required, except for a few received in the primary department from places where there were no day schools, the end of the second year saw fifty pupils enrolled. At the close of the period an enrollment of eighty-five pupils was reported.[64]

The location of Foochow at the largest paper-producing port in China made it a natural center for printing and publishing. The mission press was well equipped with hand presses and a variety of type, which, with experienced workmen and the efficient management of N. J. Plumb over a long period, made it possible to serve not only Methodist missions in other parts of China, but also those of other denominations. The Hinghwa dialect had never been put into character. That this might be done and the advancing Church of the Hinghwa region supplied with a literature that corresponded to the spoken language,[65] William N. Brewster was encouraged to transfer in 1890 from the Singapore Mission to the Foochow Conference.

In 1882 the largest missionary reinforcement thus far to be sent to China, thirteen in all, arrived on the field. Of these, two were sent to Foochow, John L. Taylor‡ and wife and the Rev. George B. Smyth, designated for educational work in the Anglo-Chinese College. Within the next three years, two more were received by transfer from Central China, Myron Wilcox and James H. Worley.[66]

The baptism of Tiong Ahok, his wife, and other members of his family in 1882, and their reception into church membership in 1883, were occasions of special rejoicing in the Foochow Mission. In his 1882 report, Franklin Ohlinger declared the baptism to be "the chief event of the year's work" on the District. Ahok's conversion was not sudden. For years he had been a thoughtful observer of Christian missions, gradually showing more interest and taking a more active part until in 1881 he had made his notable contribution to the founding of the Anglo-Chinese College, but still had refrained from uniting with the Church. His full identification with the Christian cause evidenced to the missionaries that Christianity was gaining adherents and advocates among all classes of the Chinese people. Nevertheless, hindrances continued to abound.

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* Other schools opened were at "Ingchung" (Yungchun), Kutien, "Sieng-iu" (Sienyu), Futsing (1893), and "Mingchang" (Mintsing) (1894). Wilma Rouse (1894, Minneapolis Branch) was sent to the Kutien school; Lydia A. Trimble, appointed 1889, by Des Moines Branch, opened the Futsing school; Ruth Sites opened the Mintsing school; Althea M. Todd reopened the Kutien school in 1896 following the 1895 riot.

† Minnie E. Wilson, Northwestern Branch, arrived in China on Feb. 1, 1893. She began her work in Foochow and later transferred to Hinghwa.

‡ Taylor's stay on the field was very short; before the following year had ended he had tendered his resignation.

Progress during 1884 was seriously interfered with by the entrance of the French fleet into the mouth of the Min River, destruction of part of the arsenal at the Pagoda Anchorage, and threat of bombardment of Foochow. The mission was depleted by evacuation of the women to Shanghai and all missionary work was made more difficult by increased hostility toward foreigners.[67]

In the course of his extensive trip of episcopal supervision in the Orient in 1884 Bishop Wiley arrived at Foochow in November, in a state of extreme physical weakness. As he was carried into the mission house built on the site of his former residence, he exclaimed, "Home, home!"

> Thirty-three years ago I came here, and now I may as well remain and finish my work. It might be well for me to die here, who for some reason have been called 'the Missionary Bishop of China.'

Go "right on with your work," he said to the missionaries. At four o'clock in the afternoon of November 22 he died, with the words "God bless you, God bless you all forever—ever,—forever—evermore, Amen." The funeral services in Chinese and English were conducted in the Tiengang Tong on Sunday afternoon, November 23. His body was laid to rest beside that of the wife of his youth who had died thirty-one years before. His death made a profound impression on the Chinese Christian community of Foochow.[68]

The policy of gradually giving the Chinese more responsibility in determining methods and program, begun in 1873 when native preachers were first appointed as Presiding Elders, increasingly demonstrated its value. Hu Po-mi, Presiding Elder of the Hinghwa District, in 1885 took it upon himself to initiate the plan of dividing the District into three large Circuits to each of which four men were appointed. In this way he felt that the preachers would gain a wider acquaintance with the membership of the Church and would be incited to greater activity. The plan had the additional advantage of bringing to the churches the ministry of more preachers.[69]

In 1885 a Methodist chapel was built on Haitang Island, a desolate region of sand and rocks lying some distance off the Fukien shore, the first Christian church ever erected on the island. When Plumb, about ten years earlier, made his first visit to the island his was the first white face—so far as was known—ever to have been seen by the people. There were then on the island but two families of Christians, converted under the influence of Captain Ting, who had become a convert while on a journey to Formosa years before. Three years after (1888) the dedication of the chapel there were more than twenty families who had become Christians, most of them, directly or indirectly, through the captain's instrumentality. When the construction of a chapel was first proposed much antagonism arose, "for fear it would destroy the luck of the surrounding country" but opposition was finally overcome through the good offices of the United States consul and some of the native officials. By 1888 the chapel had become too small to accommodate the congregation and the people subscribed $250., one half the amount required to enlarge it. At the 1889 Annual Conference Haitang Island was set off from Futsing and formed into a separate District.[70]

In conjunction with the Foochow Annual Conference in 1885, an event transpired which one Chinese gentleman described as more wonderful and strange than the electric telegraph. This was the inauguration of a Woman's Conference,* affiliated with the Annual Conference, which aimed to gather together all women workers for discussion of methods and deepening of Christian experience and for examination and instruction of those under training. While this body had no administrative function, it gave women a new standing in the Church.† By 1891 it had reached the state of a delegated body.[71]

The Foochow Annual Conference began 1887 with thirty-five hundred members and probationers. At the Conference session Bishop H. W. Warren—on an episcopal visit—ordained nineteen deacons and twenty-one elders—the largest number of ordinations, he stated, that he had ever witnessed at any Annual Conference. For the first time the Conference elected a Chinese as its ministerial delegate to General Conference, the venerable Sia Sek-ong, chosen on the first ballot by thirty out of forty-four votes. The lay delegate was also a Chinese, Tiong Ahok. At this Conference session, William H. Lacy, who was to have a distinguished career as a China missionary, was present for the first time, having just arrived at Foochow, with Mrs. Lacy, and his name was recorded on the *Minutes* as a transfer from the Wisconsin Conference. Timothy Donohue and his wife of the Dakota Conference further augmented the staff the following year, but decided to return home after but two years' labor.[72] During the remaining years of the period (1888-95) the Board continued to send both men and women to the field.‡

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* As early as 1873 the women had been invited to attend the annual meeting of the mission. Reporting on the first occasion Mrs. S. L. Baldwin wrote: "Over sixty native ministers were present, and some thirty native Christian women, mostly Bible women, here termed deaconesses, and wives of our helpers. There were also a large number of native members in attendance. The presence of the women added not a little to the interest of the occasion. We invited them to come as an experiment; and we feel that it has been a success. They put up together in a house near by; and, every day that there were not anniversary meetings, we had prayer or other services with them alone, we trust to our mutual profit. They came from different and distant parts of our work."—*Heathen Woman's Friend,* V (1874), 8 (February), 598-99.

† Cf. the organization, fourteen years earlier, of the Woman's Missionary Society (Woman's Conference) of the India Mission Annual Conference. See pp. 502 f.

‡ Others sent were: 1888, Dr. James J. Gregory, M.D. (layman), and wife; 1892, Robert McNabb and wife, Kansas Conference; Sarah Bosworth; 1893, Martha Chesterton Boyd; 1895, Edgerton H. Hart, M.D. (layman), and wife; Thomas B. Owen, Upper Iowa Conference.

In 1890 the Conference received additional valuable reinforcement in the appointment of Samuel L. Gracey* as United States consul at Foochow. In the following year in addition to his consular duties he accepted appointment as lecturer in the Theological School of the Anglo-Chinese College.[73]

The increasingly urgent need for native preachers, prepared to preach in the vernacular of the region, demanded the establishment of a ministerial training school in Hinghwa. On February 16, 1892, the Hinghwa Theological School was opened in "an old native building, . . . the best . . . we could get." Eighteen young men, six more than could be accepted, applied for admission. At the close of the school year the missionary-in-charge reported:

> The students have been faithful to their school duties and have shown themselves to be superior Christian workers. During the summer vacation of two months they were appointed to work in neglected neighborhoods or to assist the pastors of large circuits. . . . an aggregate of not less than 100 souls were added to the Church, through [their efforts]. . . .

A Boys' Boarding School also was established which enrolled twenty-nine pupils. The following year the Theological School, with enlarged facilities, enrolled twenty-seven students; the Boarding School, forty.[74]

On the Kutien District at last, after many requests, a hospital was erected, Wiley Hospital, in 1893, bringing the total to three medical centers. G. S. Miner, who arrived in China in January, 1892, to teach in the Anglo-Chinese College, inaugurated a "special gift" day school enterprise. In 1894 he had under his supervision sixteen day schools. The next year he had almost a hundred schools "with nearly three thousand pupils."

> About two hundred persons are assisting me in this work. Seventy-four schools are in and near Foochow City. Where three years ago we had eight places in which to hold preaching services, we now have eighty-two. Through the instrumentality of these schools, we believe many are being saved. At one place where we opened a school two and one-half years ago, we have 35 members and 37 probationers. At another place, where we opened nine months ago, we have baptized 24.[75]

The half century closed in the Foochow Conference with a remarkable evangelistic† and popular education movement. "The gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which began last winter," wrote J. H. Worley in 1894, has continued to the present,

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* Samuel L. Gracey (1835-1911) was admitted on trial in the Philadelphia Conference in 1858. He enlisted in the Union army in 1863 and served as chaplain until the war's end when he returned to his Conference. From 1871 to 1890 he held pastorates in New England in the Providence and New England Conferences, during this period serving two terms in the Massachusetts Legislature. He was then appointed U. S. consul at Foochow by Benjamin Harrison, recalled by Grover Cleveland, and reappointed by William McKinley, continuing until the year preceding his death. His services to the missions of the several churches "were of untold value."—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1858, p. 23; *ibid.,* 1871, p. 75; *ibid.,* 1877, p. 6; *Minutes, New England Conference,* 1912, pp. 132 f.

† Contributing to the evangelistic program was the visitation carried on among the Chinese women by the W. F. M. S. missionaries. Others not already mentioned who gave their efforts to this work were Mary Peters, Northwestern Branch, and Mabel Allen, Des Moines Branch, sent in 1894, and Phebe Wells, New York Branch, 1895.

> removing barriers, breaking down opposition, opening the hearts of the people to receive the truth and welcome God's messengers, and giving unction to the preached word. Every circuit and station has been blessed with a revival, and fifteen new preaching places have been opened. A good many have already been received into the Church and during the last round of quarterly meetings, which has just begun, between one hundred and fifty and two hundred will be baptized.[76]

CENTRAL CHINA MISSION

With the removal of restrictions on foreign residence through the four Treaties of Tientsin in 1858 and a fifth in 1861, and the granting of permission to practice Christianity with full government protection, the whole central and northern regions of the Chinese Empire were opened up to missionary effort. As we have already seen, strategy dictated that missionaries should be sent in at once, and the China Mission acted accordingly without waiting for either Board or episcopal sanction.*

By 1867 the Board was finally able to supply the central area with men so that a new mission could be officially established. Virgil C. Hart † and Elbert S. Todd were given the commission. Kiukiang in Kiangsi Province was selected for the center of operations, being well located on the Yangtze River, about eight hundred miles from Foochow and five hundred from Shanghai, and having a large population, some twenty thousand people. It was, besides, the gateway to Kiangsi Province and also to Hupeh Province eastward, and Anhwei Province westward.

On their arrival in Kiukiang, December 1, 1867, the missionaries "found three or four Christian Chinese." These Hart assembled in his room the following Sunday, and before the meeting adjourned they were formed into the first Methodist Class in Central China. Within a year and a half Todd resigned, leaving Hart, who had been designated as Superintendent, and his wife, alone at the new station. A church that had been built by the foreign community was offered to the new mission which Hart gratefully accepted and used for regular weekly services in English. He and Mrs. Hart opened a day school for boys which promised soon to become self-supporting; and finally employed a Chinese assistant, Sin Tru-tsai, who "stood up daily with great boldness to preach Christ" in the face of much opposition. The mission continued thus until 1870 when the Board strengthened it by sending out John Ing and wife of the St. Louis Conference and Henry H. Hall of the Michigan Conference.[77]

With their arrival Hart saw reason for encouragement:

> We opened a chapel on the main street within the city walls about six weeks ago. It is crowded every day, and sometimes twice a day, with eager listeners. A large body of soldiers are stationed here now, and frequently a score of them will be in

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* See p. 382.

† A personal account of Mr. Hart will be given in Volume IV.

> the chapel at one sitting; they pay good attention. Occasionally an officer graces our services. . . . Brothers Hall and Ing have made excellent progress in the language, and are actively engaged in distributing books.[78]

During 1871 Hart had to leave the mission temporarily to take his wife home for medical treatment but himself returned to China in November, 1872. During his absence "the seed sown" had taken root. Hall had opened a chapel in the thriving city of Wu Shih (Wusueh), thirty miles above Kiukiang, on the Yangtze, and a number of Chinese had become established in the truth—some of whom were of the *literati*—who were "waiting anxiously for baptism and admission into the Church." He had also established a flourishing school. Ing had located himself in the city of Wuchen on the southern end of Poyang Lake. The General Committee was so well impressed with the opportunity which this appointment offered that they "felt authorized to appropriate a sufficient sum to put the work on a permanent foundation." [79]

Conditions seemed to be steadily improving. The Northwestern Branch of the W. F. M. S., in answer to an appeal Hart had made for women workers back in 1869, had sent out Miss Gertrude Howe* of Lansing and Miss Lucy H. Hoag† of Milan, Michigan. They arrived in Kiukiang on November 13, 1872; and on January 1, 1873, opened the Kiukiang Girls' Boarding School "with two little girls, one of whom ran away before night."

Within a year the work of the women missionaries received high commendation from Superintendent Hart:

> Some said the new force would be no addition to our general work, but rather a hindrance. I am happy in stating to our Society that no more valuable reinforcement has reached this Mission. Our congregations have greatly increased by the gathering in of females; several through their instrumentality have been gathered into the Church. Meetings for the women in proximity to our chapel have been held regularly by them.[80]

In 1873 the Central China Mission again received reinforcement by the addition of Andrew Stritmatter from the East Maine Conference, and John R. Hykes and Albert J. Cook from the Central New York Conference. Hart's wife also returned to the field with restored health. Hall, however, had to withdraw at this time for a year to recover his health in America. At the close of the year Superintendent Hart felt justified in saying, with guarded optimism, that "the past year has been in some respects the most prosperous in the history of this Mission." [81] The greater portion of time and effort had been given to Kiukiang. Daily preaching had been maintained; there were two classes—one within the city walls and one in the foreign concession; two Thursday evening prayer meetings had been held for several months; and eight adults baptized and received into church membership. Full members numbered twenty-three; probationers, thirteen; "total connected with the Church including 3 children, 39." The girls' school was operating well, although the numbers were few because of the policy of accepting only those who would pledge to attend over a period of years.

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* Gertrude Howe (1846-1929) was for forty-five years a missionary in China. After eleven years in Kiukiang she resigned and went to Chungking where she remained until the riots of 1886 necessitated the closing of the mission. After a brief stay in Chinkiang, she reopened her school in Kiukiang, continuing in charge until 1899. In addition to teaching she did evangelistic work. She adopted and educated several Chinese girls of whom one was the illustrious Dr. Kahn. Miss Howe was instrumental in founding seventy day schools, four boarding schools, a high school, three Bible-training schools, a home for cripples, and two hospitals. She was officially retired in 1917, but continued her mission and work until her death.—M. S. Wheeler, *First Decade of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society . . .*, pp. 128 ff.; M. Isham, *Valorous Ventures . . .*, pp. 183 f., 124 f.

† Lucy H. Hoag (1844-1909), after seven years in China in evangelistic work for children and women, returned to the United States for medical training. In 1879 she entered the University of Michigan and in 1883 received the degree of M.D. Sponsored by the New York Branch she went to Chinkiang and founded the hospital of which she was in charge until her death.—"Minutes of the Reference Committee, W. F. M. S.," Aug. 16, 1883, unpaged ms.; M. S. Wheeler, *loc. cit.*

At Wuchen John Ing—assisted by a Chinese convert—had developed a Circuit of four appointments, and in Wuchen itself a chapel had been opened, where effort was made to maintain preaching and sell Christian literature daily. Three adults had been baptized and received into the Church during the year, and two probationers enrolled. The total number of full members now came to four, probationers, three. Difficulty of securing pupils had prevented keeping up a day school. The Wuchen work, however, was discontinued after Ing left the mission in 1874 * since no one was available to take his place.[82]

For Kiukiang the next few years were even better. The year 1874 saw a chapel built on the main thoroughfare near the center of the city where "semi-daily preaching . . . [was] maintained by missionaries and native helpers"; also a day school, with twenty pupils; and two dwelling houses under construction. The next year a second chapel was opened in the suburbs. Medical work was provided for by the sending of Dr. Letitia Mason† in 1874 and of Dr. and Mrs. William E. Tarbell in 1875. A dispensary was opened on July 6 of the latter year. Tarbell, however, resigned in 1876 and the work temporarily lapsed. In 1877, W. G. Benton arrived on the field as a replacement for Hall, who with his wife had left the field permanently. That year Stritmatter married Dr. Lucinda Coombs of the North China Mission who henceforth contributed her services to the medical work of Central China. Her ministrations were supplemented by those of A. J. Cook, who "in connection with his other labors . . . treated hundreds of the afflicted." [83]

By this time the general outlines of the program as it would develop could be seen. Some of the earliest preaching places which held no large promise were either placed on a Circuit or dropped. At Kunglung, a large trading center, about fourteen miles from Kiukiang, a chapel was opened in 1873 and put in the charge of a member of the Church and his wife who occupied their time in day preaching and selling books. It was the head of the Hwangmei

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* Ing went to Japan to teach English at the Hirosaki-To-O College, and at the same time laid the groundwork for Methodism in Hirosaki.

† Letitia Mason, M.D., sailed from New York in October, 1874, and arrived in Kiukiang in November. In the following July she contracted a fever which threatened her life. In July, 1876, she arrived in the United States still seriously ill. However, she finally recovered and ultimately married. Later the hospital in Chinkiang was named for her.—*Heathen Woman's Friend,* VIII (1876). 4 (October), 83 f.

Circuit which was intended to cover the suburban area. Neither Kunglung nor the Circuit grew to greater size or importance, but on the other hand the foothold was never given up, and someone was appointed each year to look after the work. In 1876, entry was gained into Shuichang, and another Circuit was set up with this as its chief point; and Takutang was also opened and put on a third Circuit, Nankang.

The mission's first official visitation came in 1877 when Bishop Wiley was on an episcopal tour. On November 23, a Friday, he arrived in Kiukiang, and the annual meeting was opened the next afternoon, with a Chinese prayer meeting. Sunday morning the Bishop preached to the mission staff and foreign residents of the city, and in the afternoon one of the missionaries preached to a Chinese congregation, including some twenty pupils of the Girls' Boarding School.

The working force of the mission this year totaled seventeen: nine missionaries, five schoolteachers, two native helpers, and one Bible woman.

As to membership, the Bishop later reported:

> We have thirty-five native members and thirty-two probationers, and eleven baptized children—total seventy-four. In the girls' school there are forty-four, and in the boys' school thirty-five children, and attending Sunday-school eighty. Our property consists of three good parsonages, valued at twelve thousand dollars; two without and one within the city walls, and all very pleasantly and healthfully located. Adjoining these houses, we have other lots for building purposes, valued at one thousand dollars, and four chapels valued at fifty-five hundred dollars. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has a pleasant parsonage within the city, worth thirty-six hundred dollars, and an excellent school building which cost about twenty-five hundred dollars.
>
> Besides the work going on in the three chapels and schools at Kiukiang, the outside work is divided into three circuits or districts, extending up and down the river, and along the beautiful Po-yang lake. . . . The missionaries make frequent journeys by water to distant points on the rivers and lakes, preaching and selling books at first cost in the cities and towns. These visits, in former years, were fraught with danger, and our missionaries have often met with violence. They are now able to make these excursions without any fear of boisterous opposition or violence, the people wherever they go giving them a quiet and attentive hearing. . . . There have been twelve baptized during the year, to which should be added the four that we had the pleasure of baptizing.[84]

The next three years showed both gains and losses. "A few souls . . . [were] gathered in, and a majority of the old members retained." The lines were stretched out a little year by year until by 1880 work was in progress 120 miles from Kiukiang. Benton withdrew after one year. A loss more keenly felt, however, was the forced retirement, by reason of ill health, of Andrew Stritmatter, who for seven years had rendered yeoman pioneer service, "for the last three years . . . in pain and great weariness of body." When no longer able to preach he labored zealously in translating, completing "the day before he left China his translation of the 'History of the Jews.'" Hart was also disturbed by the fact that mission day schools failed to increase in numbers and that many of the members of the churches did not "exhibit as much zeal and Christian life" as he longed to see. "They do not in all cases," he said, "cut themselves off from old heathen habits, as they ought."

By 1880 the Missionary Board was prepared again to send out recruits. Early in the summer the Rev. Thomas C. Carter* and family of the Central Tennessee Conference came, and he was placed in charge of all of the schools. Another valued recruit was Marcus L. Taft. Prior to their coming, Hart engaged Benjamin Bagnall, "a Wesleyan of long standing," who was already on the field.[85]

At various times between 1872 and 1880 Hart had agitated for the opening of work in Chinkiang, Nanking, and Wuhu and had hoped that "ten or more missionaries would have been located by this time at these great centers." The three Circuits named above had become four by 1880, embracing "sufficient territory to make a large district in our future Conference." The fourth was Nanchang. Still, at the beginning of 1881, he declared that "the whole field [was] as destitute of laborers . . . as when we first formally asked to take up these cities." Baffled but determined not to be thwarted in plans for extending the lines of the mission Hart proceeded to map out five Circuits or Districts, including in addition to Kiukiang and Nanchang, the three large centers of his hopes.[86]

Bagnall was appointed to establish permanent work in the Nanchang District. Since this territory included Wuchen, sixty miles distant, where Ing had laid a foundation some years earlier, he decided upon making the former mission his headquarters. To the chapel still standing he now added a second day school which soon had an enrollment of eighteen pupils. Some of the parents objected to the teaching of "foreign books," meaning the Scriptures, and withdrew their children, thereby reducing the attendance to about twelve. By the end of the year he was able to report five members and five probationers. Since Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi Province, was the most important city of his District Bagnall soon attempted to enter it, and by the middle of the year had succeeded in renting quarters in a suburb as a missionary center. Immediately the city officials raised a clamor, and the missionary's Chinese assistant was driven away. Unable to reach an agreement with the local authorities, Bagnall appealed for intervention to the United States consul at Hankow who in turn forwarded the appeal to Peking but no government action resulted. Meanwhile two converts were baptized.[87]

M. L. Taft was appointed to Chinkiang "to occupy the place." The China Inland Mission owned buildings in the city but no use was being made of them, so Taft rented their unused chapel temporarily with the expectation of later erecting buildings suited for chapel and school. A student assistant aided him in chapel services and on Sunday preached in a room of Taft's residence. At Yangchow on the Grand Canal about twelve miles distant from Chinkiang, preaching services were begun in a new chapel, also rented from the China Inland Mission.[88]

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* The missionary tenure of Thomas C. Carter was very brief. In one year his health had "completely broken down," and he returned to the United States.—*Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), p. 76.

In Kiukiang a high school was opened, ambitiously named "Fowler University of China." It started "with fifteen young men from the best families in Kiukiang in the English department, and an equal number in the Chinese." [89]

For the time being Hart had to be satisfied with this expansion, and leave unfilled the Nanking and Wuhu Districts. Toward autumn, he decided that a furlough was necessary; his health was breaking and he needed a rest. With his departure missionary operations were temporarily slowed down. Only one missionary, John R. Hykes, remained in Kiukiang and was obliged to assume responsibility for both the Kiukiang and Nanchang Districts. Bagnall was called upon to take part in an exploratory journey into Szechwan. Under these circumstances it became necessary for outside help to be temporarily employed. W. J. Hunnex was engaged to take charge of the mission schools and teach English in Fowler University and Dr. E. P. M'Farlane to continue at Yangchow the medical work which had been turned over to the Methodist mission by the China Inland Society.

During these later years the W. F. M. S. made generous contributions to the missionary personnel, though with continuing misfortune. Miss Delia Howe, sister of Gertrude Howe, was appointed by the Philadelphia Branch in 1879, and assigned to supervise the Bible women's work. At the end of 1881 it was apparent that her health was failing so rapidly that she must leave China or die. On reaching the United States (1882) she retired. Dr. Kate C. Bushnell (Chicago Women's Medical College, M.D.), sponsored by the Northwestern Branch, began medical work early in 1880 in Kiukiang. In October she reported that she had about ten patients daily.[90]

> I am just having a place fitted up down in the heart of the city near our chapel, and in this place I hope next week to open a dispensary. . . . I am sadly in need of a place in which to keep four or five patients, but I find it impossible to get such accommodations at present. I am expecting a woman this afternoon who is to bring her quilt and sleep on our veranda while she is recovering from an operation I am intending to perform. . . . I am obliged to call on Delia [Howe] to administer the anaesthetic in these cases and to assist me in all my operations.[91]

Dr. Bushnell's hopes for a dispensary were never realized. In April, 1881, she was reported to be seriously ill; soon afterward she came home, and in 1882 was retired. Before Dr. Bushnell left Kiukiang Dr. Ella Gilchrist, sent out by the Northwestern Branch "to replace or relieve" her, was on the field. In a little more than a year she was taken suddenly ill with consumption, and obliged to hasten home. On April 23, 1884, she died in Denver, Colorado.[92]

During the six years 1881-86 twelve married missionaries* were added to the Central China Mission, a very substantial reinforcement. This did not, however, represent a net gain of twenty-four persons. In 1883 Mrs. M. C. Wilcox died and her husband transferred to the Foochow Conference. J. H. Worley also went to Foochow, and Taft transferred to North China. In 1882 Benjamin Bagnall resigned to engage in colporteur work for the American Bible Society. In 1885 Mrs. Joel A. Smith died, leaving children, and in August of that year Smith withdrew from the field. Nevertheless, the increase in the missionary working force made possible an expansion of the program. In 1883 Hart returned from furlough.[93]

The foreign community of Kiukiang in 1882 had transferred to the mission for the use of the Chinese Methodist Society its beautiful English church, St. Paul's, and all its furnishings. The church, exclusive of the lot, had cost $13,500. The one condition of transfer called for minor repairs to be made on the buildings and English language services to be held on alternate Sundays. Another significant event was completion of the new building for Fowler University, with a dormitory nearby to house from eighty to ninety pupils. The girls' school started years earlier by the Misses Hoag and Howe and now occupying its own quarters within the city walls met a setback in 1883 in the resignation of Miss Howe on account of a difference of opinion with the missionaries of the parent Board "about taking the girls through the streets to chapel every day." With her departure another school was opened by the Board. Four years later Miss Howe returned at the urgent request of the mission and reopened her school. At the same time Miss Frances Wheeler, with whom she had worked earlier in West China, came back from a year's furlough at home and joined her in the schoolwork.

In Chinkiang the China Inland Mission hospital was removed, the chapel torn down, and other commodious buildings sold, which required the Methodist Mission—if its program was to be continued—to provide facilities of its own. Pending the possibility of building, activities were "greatly hampered for the want of a suitable chapel." In 1883 a building site was purchased in Chinkiang in a location well adapted for missionaries' homes and a street chapel opened which immediately attracted a sizable audience. A boys' day school was started which soon taxed the capacity of its building. A second day school for boys was started in the suburbs.

Mary C. Robinson, sent out by the W. F. M. S., arrived in February, 1884, and took over a small girls' school which had been organized some time earlier. As it was without suitable accommodations Miss Robinson took the pupils into her home. The work at Yangchow was suspended since the China

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* These missionaries were: 1881-82, Carl F. Kupfer of the Central German Conference; Myron C. Wilcox, Rock River Conference; George W. Woodall, Newark Conference; James H. Worley and Thomas H. Worley, Nebraska Conference; 1883-84, Wilbur C. Longden, Wisconsin Conference; Joel A. Smith, North Nebraska Conference; John Walley from England; Robert C. Beebe, M.D., New York Conference; Edward S. Little, Southern California Conference; James Jackson from England; 1886, George Arthur Stuart, Des Moines Conference.

Inland Mission was unwilling to renew the lease on their property. Early in 1885, using the Yangchow appropriation, the mission purchased a location in Chinkiang near the premises formerly occupied, with a Chinese hong on it which was reconstructed into a chapel, a book room, and a lecture room for women's meetings and Class and prayer meetings. Medical work was begun in 1884 by Dr. Lucy H. Hoag on her return after a period of study in the United States. At first it was carried on in inconvenient rented buildings; and the only available place for a dispensary was a hall in her home. In 1886 a site of three acres was procured in a desirable location and the next year a new home which served as an all-purpose building was dedicated.[94]

During Hart's absence on furlough, one of the remaining two new Districts which he had projected had been inaugurated. This was Wuhu, a city which seems to have been generally considered to offer special opportunity for missionary work. Bishop Moule of the English Church Mission is said to have regarded it as presenting "the most favorable center for missionary operations on the Yangtse River." J. R. Hykes, Acting Superintendent, reported the work undertaken in 1883, by James Jackson, with parsonages under construction, and a chapel opened with provision for daily preaching services. In 1884 two mission houses were completed and occupied, schoolwork successfully begun, and three persons received on probation.

A girls' boarding school in Wuhu organized in 1885 by the missionary wives was opened at the New Year, a commodious structure, favorably located. The plan of enrollment was to accept only unbetrothed girls who could be kept under Christian instruction and training for a period of years. Experience had shown that betrothed girls married within a short time, usually into heathen families, with the result that much of the missionaries' labor was thrown away. In his report (1885) Jackson explained:

> We may not be able at once to get a large school on this plan, but it is our belief that a small school, yielding us good and certain results, is to be preferred to a large school, which adds nothing to the strength of our Church and does but little toward building up a Christian community.

The second year of the Wuhu mission Woodall was added to the staff. While engaged in language study he became so impressed with the value of medical practice as a means of making clear to the Chinese the spirit of Christianity that in connection with study of Chinese he also took up "a course of medical reading, with clinical study and practice" under the direction of two physicians at the Chinkiang dispensary and in the summer at the Kiukiang hospital. He then opened a dispensary at Wuhu in a room next to the chapel where he treated from ten to forty persons daily, preaching to them before dispensing medicines. Awaiting completion of the Nanking hospital Dr. Robert C. Beebe* removed to Wuhu in 1885 and took over Woodall's dispensary where he had all the patients he could attend to, "many coming from long distances, as far as twenty and thirty miles away." [95]

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* Dr. Robert C. Beebe, M.D., had been admitted on trial in the New York Conference in 1884 and arrived in China that year.

The opportunity and need for medical service in Wuhu were such that Dr. G. A. Stuart was persuaded to turn aside from language study in Nanking and open semi-weekly clinics. In the spring of 1887 Hart made him responsible for developing the medical work but that was easier said than done. In desperation Stuart wrote on May 3 to Missionary Secretary Reid:

> I am without medicines or anything to work with, and have no money to buy. I hope some good friend will give us a start here immediately.

Again, on August 20, he wrote that he was compelled to turn away all patients since his stock of medicines was sufficient only for the treatment of mission members.

> However, the patients continued to come, at all hours of the day and every day . . . I could not study, or do any writing without having them coming to my door and imploring me for medicine, in many cases knocking their heads on the ground as attestation of their earnestness. Finally, on August 1st., *twelve persons came* at once, and I resolved that, as a matter of self defense, I would make arrangements to see patients regularly. So I gave these persons medicine, and hung out notice at the gate that I would see patients on Mondays and Fridays from nine to eleven o'clock A.M. To the present I have seen . . . [112] persons. . . .
>
> Now I hope that the General Committee will see their way clear to give me the start I have asked for in my work at Wuhu.[96]

In 1887 Stuart put in an estimate of $5,000., gold, for the building of a small hospital. The appropriation was made and about October 1, 1889, Stuart opened the hospital happy in the prospect of medical facilities that would gain the respect of the people. His ambition was to minister with equal skill to the bodies and the souls of his patients:

> The plan for evangelistic work which I aim to pursue is the personal one. Private conversations with *individuals* I think to be the better way in this work.[97]

The third District which Hart contemplated before leaving China in 1881—Nanking—was a major concern with him during his entire furlough. In an article written for the *Missionary Advocate* he said:

> It is strange that so important a city should have been neglected by the great missionary bodies of China. Chinese officials employ several foreigners in Nanking to manufacture arms and ammunition, but missionary societies have erected no arsenal of truth to send pure doctrines to the homes and hearts of the people.[98]

Shortly before leaving America he received word of a special contribution of $10,000. for establishing a medical mission in Nanking. This assured the founding of a hospital but he encountered difficulty in procuring a site. Every kind of hindrance was placed in his way. Officials broadcast notification that any person selling or renting land to foreigners would be punished but, using secret means, before the end of 1884 Hart had in his possession deeds to a very desirable location, and reported that he had hopes of commencing building early in 1885. By June a wall enclosed the large and attractive plot of ground. In May a day school had been opened and in June the Philander Smith Hospital had been begun. Robert C. Beebe, M.D., was assigned to the hospital. In May, 1886, the completed building was opened; and at the same time, in another section of the city, a second compound was occupied. A small building was within the year fitted up for school purposes on the new compound, and seventeen pupils enrolled. In addition to supervising the school W. C. Longden, missionary in charge, was busying himself in weekday and Sunday preaching. Two persons united with the church.[99]

Acting under instructions of Bishop Fowler to re-establish the West China Mission,* Hart was absent from Central China from the early spring to the late fall of 1887. On December 17 he sailed from Shanghai for San Francisco with the hope that an extended period of rest would restore his health and permit his return to China. Since the usual furlough period of one year did not result in complete recuperation, nor in the recovery of health for his wife, after some months of indecision he regretfully relinquished† in July, 1889, the superintendency of the Central China Mission.[100]

This period of approximately two years' absence of the Superintendent from the mission was characterized by friction, serious decline of morale, and hindrance to the progress of the mission program. Correspondence in the files of the Missionary Society, although incomplete, clearly indicates some of the principal causes of the unfortunate situation. One of the chief factors was division of administrative responsibility among too many people: the Missionary Secretaries; the Bishop in charge of the field; Superintendent Hart, who while on furlough in America continued to make administrative decisions; and Acting Superintendent John R. Hykes whose unhappy lot it was, as Treasurer, to be called upon in the absence of the Superintendent to make important decisions without the recognition which accompanies formal investiture of authority. Also when he became Treasurer he discovered that the financial affairs of the mission had been conducted "in a very loose way" for years.

> Balances of Appropriations were freely transferred from one item to another,

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* See p. 425.

† No record exists of a formal resignation on Hart's part. On June 4, 1889, he wrote the missionary office that he would not request reappointment and would not "further burden the Missionary Society." (Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.) This letter was regarded as tantamount to resignation, and on July 16, 1889, the Board adopted a recommendation of its China Committee that the Bishop "appoint a successor to V. C. Hart in the Superintendency of the Central China Mission." (*Minutes, B. M.*, XII, 312.) On Feb. 17, 1891, he was invited by the Committee of Consultation and Finance, Methodist Church of Canada, "to open work in Chengtu, . . . Szechwan. . . . he accepted the invitation, subject to the approval of the Missionary authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . This approval was given with the expectation that within a short time he would return to his old field on the lower Yangtse, but though he was twice importuned by the missionaries in Central China to come back and lead them, the work in West China was too important and too critical to admit of his return."—E. I. Hart, *Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman. Founder of the American and Canadian Missions in Central and West China*, pp. 221 f.; Virgil C. Hart, letter to C. C. McCabe, Feb. 18, 1891, in files of Division of World Missions, Board of Missions of The Methodist Church.

> whether of the same kind or of an entirely different sort, and it was the rule to exceed the Appropriations every year. It was a recognized custom to spend money for any purpose, . . . whether it was appropriated for that object or not, and sometimes even when there was no appropriation at all for the purpose. . . . In short, the business of the Mission was conducted like a town-meeting.

Hykes listed eight specific changes which he had made, designed to bring order out of confusion.[101]

The introduction of the changes and possibly to some extent the manner in which they were made brought him into collision with other members of the mission, some of whom wrote letters of complaint to Hart and to Missionary Secretary McCabe. Hykes had acted in consultation with Secretary Reid, and when other missionaries' complaints were reported to him vigorously defended his procedure to Reid. When McCabe rebuked Hykes for having sought to injure his brethren, Hykes replied that he had "attacked *principles* and *errors*" not persons. Meanwhile Hart had written to the Missionary Secretaries, and to members of the mission agreeing with certain of their complaints and making decisions on matters of policy and on actions, although earlier Hykes in a letter to Reid had challenged his authority, asking "if a Superintendent of a Mission at home on leave of absence still retains control and supervision of the Mission." Reid's reply to this letter has not been found in the records.[102]

This confused situation was further complicated by an arbitrary action by Bishop Fowler concerning location of the Wuhu hospital for which the Missionary Society had made an apropriation in 1888. Plans were in the hands of Dr. Stuart and a plot of ground was purchased outside the city on a hill arising abruptly from the Yangtze, adjacent to three missionary residences. The transaction had been completed when Bishop Fowler appeared on the scene. On a trip up the river, when the location was pointed out to him, the Bishop "ordered Dr. Stuart to purchase land" within the city or its suburbs. This hasty episcopal decision satisfied no one. Both Stuart and Beebe protested to the Society and Hart wrote to McCabe that if Fowler "had gone into the city . . . and seen with his own eyes he would have decided differently." For a time it seemed likely that Stuart would be lost to the mission but the Board finally brought about an adjustment and the hospital was placed in the location originally proposed. There were various other complications which accentuated the unfortunate situation.[103]

The final years of this period (1887-95) saw the Central China staff strengthened by the addition of nine married men and four single women, of whom three were deaconesses, sent out by the Missionary Society, and seven women sent by the W. F. M. S.*

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* This latest group of Central China missionaries with year of arrival: Board missionaries, 1887, John C. Ferguson, of the New England Southern Conference; James J. Banbury, North Nebraska Conference and Don W. Nichols, Missouri Conference; 1889, A. C. Wright, St. Louis Conference, Dr. Ernest Jellison, a layman; 1890, Leslie Stevens, West Nebraska Conference, Eva McBurnie

In 1890, as successor to Hart in the superintendency, Bishop Fowler appointed the Rev. Leslie Stevens, Presiding Elder of the Kearney District, West Nebraska Conference. Stevens was a young, vigorous man of unusual gifts of leadership and soon won the esteem and affection of the missionary group but before he had had time fully to acquaint himself with the problems of the field and to master the language, he was suddenly snatched away by death (July 26, 1894). He was succeeded as Superintendent by John C. Ferguson who had come to China from the New England Southern Conference in 1887 and had already proven to be an able and progressive administrator.[104]

In the Kiukiang District 1889 was marked, in the words of J. R. Hykes, now the Presiding Elder, by "steady, systematic, and energetic advance." New work was opened at ten stations, two chapels were built at country stations, and the church in the city of Kiukiang extensively remodeled. Seventeen young men were given Exhorter's licenses and were receiving special instruction in theology and homiletics. Kiukiang (Fowler) Institute under the efficient leadership and supervision of James Jackson "exerted a powerful influence for good throughout all the District." [105] In 1892 "a gracious old-fashioned revival" occurred with over thirty conversions. This year E. S. Little was appointed pastor of the newly organized Shuichang Circuit, which included "the old Shui-chang and Wu-chen Circuits and all the country work of the old Kiukiang Circuit." Little had under his care on the Circuit, now the largest in the Conference, ten schools, eight chapels, and a dispensary. At Hankialin to which the missionary and his wife gave major attention, ten adults were baptized during the year. It was their practice to spend two hours a day in conversation about Christ with the scores of people who came to their guest room. At first Little hoped that within a few years he might be able to report a thousand members but two years later he had quite given up this vision.

> The results, as far as the human eye knows, are meager, and I often feel discouraged that the result . . . should be apparently so little. . . . The character of our members so far is apparently a very poor one, and their worship of God not the joy and blessing to them it might be. . . . These and other results, or lack of results, have been and are to me a very heavy burden.

On the Hwangmei Circuit, Kiukiang District, a promising work was under way in 1887. "Forty-eight confessed faith . . . and were baptized and received into church fellowship," with a number remaining on probation. The majority were heads of families. This was followed the next year by construction of a building containing a chapel, schoolroom, and two small rooms for the use of

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(who remained only nine months on the field); 1891, Laura Hanzlik, Clara Collier; 1893, Mary Gouchenor, Ralph Irish, Wisconsin Conference; 1895, Edgerton H. Hart, layman; Jesse F. Newman, Wisconsin Conference. W. F. M. S. missionaries were: 1887, Ella C. Shaw, Northwestern Branch; 1888, Emma E. Mitchell, New York Branch; Sarah Peters, Northwestern Branch; 1891, Kate L. Ogburn, Des Moines Branch, Laura M. White, Philadelphia Branch; 1892, Alice M. Stanton, New York Branch; 1893, Mrs. Anna L. Davis, Northwestern Branch. Dr. Mary Carleton, who arrived in 1887, had also been intended for the Central China Mission, scheduled to open women's medical work in Nanking, but because of a shortage in Foochow the Bishop transferred her.

the missionary. Gertrude Howe and Frances Wheeler assisted in the evangelistic and educational work of the Circuit. James J. Banbury's first year of missionary work was on this Circuit. When he took charge there were one hundred members and ninety-two probationers on the register. He cut off forty of the members and eighty of the probationers but during the year received twenty-three persons into fellowship. He also opened new work in three market towns, where he rented chapels and established day schools, and in two other towns began preaching.

Little, in 1891, now pastor of St. Paul's Church in Kiukiang City, reported "uniformly large and attentive congregations" but was pained to state that no increase in membership was registered. The Heokai Street Chapel, situated on the main street of the city, included in addition to the chapel itself, a dispensary, and a day school. The attendance of non-Christian people at this center was not encouraged, the purpose being rather to build up the faith of church members. The second chapel, Hwashantang, confined its activity "to preaching to the heathen." Here also a day school of some seventy pupils was maintained.[106]

The importance of women's work in connection with evangelism and with the schools came to be more and more generally recognized as the years passed and Kiukiang, as well as the other centers, pleaded for more women missionaries to be sent out by the Board and the W.F.M.S. As additional women arrived they were assigned principally to medical, educational, and evangelistic work among Chinese women and children. In Kiukiang classes of women were formed, meeting both on Sunday and weekdays. In 1890 Gertrude Howe began a course of introductory medical study, for boys and girls; and in 1894 a woman's training school was organized. As a means of reaching women Clara Collier undertook systematic visitation. In 1893 she wrote:

> It is a sad fact that while our Board is constantly providing evangelists to go out and gather in the men yet in all this Kiukiang District there is only one woman evangelist to carry the Gospel to the thousands of women.[107]

In Chinkiang frequent changes in leadership personnel occurred, as in other missions. Between 1888 and 1893 three different missionaries, W. C. Longden, A. C. Wright, and C. F. Kupfer, were successively in charge. Despite changes progress was recorded. In 1889 "a large and beautiful chapel" was in process of building, dedicated in March, 1890, and the erection of a schoolhouse begun. For some ten years day schools had been maintained in different parts of Chinkiang but no school of secondary level existed in which their graduates might continue their education. The women of the W. F. M. S. prodded the mission, declaring that without a school in the vicinity for higher education of boys "much of their work in educating the girls . . . [was] eventually lost." In 1891 Kupfer arranged for the inclusion of provision in the 1892 estimates for a boys' secondary school. The next year a plot of land adjoining the mission compound was purchased and a building large enough to provide school facilities for one hundred pupils erected. The Chinkiang Institute opened in March, 1894. Kupfer's purpose was to make the training of Christian mechanics a chief objective of the school.[108]

As Presiding Elder of the Chinkiang District Kupfer declared that the women of the W. F. M. S. had more to show for seven years' work than the men for a decade. By 1892 Dr. Hoag had both a hospital and a dispensary and, besides their boarding school, women were teaching in two day schools. Sarah Peters carried on evangelistic work in dispensaries and in the hospital through home visitation and classes in her home.

In 1893 A. C. Wright found it possible to re-establish the work in Yangchow, suspended in 1884. A missionary residence was built and a building was rented which served as a street chapel. Soon a class of eight probationers was formed. Three day schools were begun. Riots in the spring of 1894 caused two to be suspended but in the following year one of these was reopened. C. F. Kupfer pronounced the two schools of this year the best that he had seen in the Central China Mission.[109]

On the Wuhu District in 1887 Jackson felt that the mission was gradually gathering strength although he sorely regretted that membership growth was not more rapid. It "seems hard to expend a year's labor for so little apparent result." In 1888, with John Walley in charge, a new chapel was opened on the Circuit. In the city, despite strong opposition of the *literati,* a place was rented for schoolwork. The next year a Boys' Boarding School was opened which soon enrolled fifteen students. In 1890 "four chapels, five day-schools, and one boys' boarding school" were in operation but for lack of workers it became necessary to close two of the chapels and three of the day schools, and to move the boys' school to Nanking. In part the shortage was caused by the necessity of disposing of some native workers "on account of inefficiency and unworthiness." "We have not surrendered the field," wrote Stuart, "but are trying to hold it at the most important strategic points." In the meantime the medical work continued to increase in number of patients and in area served. In the interest of preparing local leaders a training school was opened in 1893 at the central station of the District where it was proposed to gather some of "the more promising believers from the rural places . . . [for] four to six weeks training annually." By 1895 the Wuhu mission had a self-supporting school for children of the members of the Church and of the community and a hospital for whose operation all funds were raised in Wuhu.[110]

Following the difficulties of 1881 Nanchang was closed to missionary penetration, except for visiting. In 1885 it was put in the care of a Chinese preacher and two adults were reported baptized. When in 1889 this worker died, Nanchang was left unsupplied for the remainder of the period, its fifteen members pastorless. Wuchen, however, where from the beginning the mission had tried to get a foothold, appears in 1892 as an appointment on the newly organized Shuichang Circuit. That year its chapel was destroyed by fire and work was delayed once again, while efforts were made in the following years to raise funds for its replacement.[111]

In Nanking in 1889 "without a site, without buildings, without teachers or scholars, without apparatus or library," the operation of a school which in the future was to become Nanking University was begun by the opening of a small day school. Special attention was also given to religious activities in connection with the hospital, as many as thirteen regular services held weekly, seven "exclusively for the in-patients, three exclusively for the out-patients, and three regular church services," besides personal ministry maintained for patients in the wards. In 1890 land was purchased and a building erected for a Bible School to be affiliated with the university, and in 1893 pupils were registered in the first year of the university's college course.

The work in Nanking by 1888 had been established in three centers: the hospital with the evangelistic program associated with it; the university, and street preaching in the North Nanking vicinity, for the most part unsuccessful, and evangelistic work in the center of the city (South Nanking). There was also a country Circuit of several preaching places. The most encouraging event of the year was the opening of the work of the W. F. M. S. The Adeline Smith Home was completed, and a Girls' Boarding School started. Successful work was initiated both in the school and among women, and increased interest developed in the prayer meetings and the Sunday school. The missionaries reported that progress in the work in general was disappointingly slow but by 1895 six Quarterly Conferences had been organized, eleven preaching points established with resident preachers, and many additional cities and towns supplied with occasional services. In some of these, small bands of believers and inquirers met regularly in homes of members of the Church. In 1895, probably for the first time in China, tents were used in an out-of-doors evangelistic program. Longden believed the plan to be particularly well-suited for use in China.

> All classes will come . . . [to the meetings], and raising a tent on the common naturally creates a ripple of excitement which helps to secure an audience. As many as four hundred have gathered in our tent at one time, and remained orderly and quiet during a service lasting more than an hour and a half.[112]

NORTH CHINA MISSION

As in Central China, so also in Peking,* decision to open work was made by the Foochow Mission preceding authorization by the Board or the Bishops. "It was on the 30th of June, 1868, that the Foochow mission, after full and prayerful consideration, resolved upon a mission to Peking, not doubting it would have the approval of the Board." [113]

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* When the Methodist Mission was begun in North China other principal missionary societies of the Christian world were well established there. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society (Protestant Episcopal), the London Missionary Society, and the Church Missionary Society (Church of England) all had strong missions. I. W. Wiley: "Many of the missionaries are old, experienced men, having come from other parts of the work—some of whom, in scholarship and ability, will take rank with the ablest ministers of the world."—*China and Japan* . . . , p. 70.

On January 30, 1869, Lucius N. Wheeler—with his family—sailed from Foochow on their long journey to the capital. Reaching Tientsin in early March they then had to proceed by mule cart for some days before reaching Peking on the twelfth. On April 10 they were joined by Hiram H. Lowry and his wife.*

The field open to the mission comprised all of northeast China. It contained a population of some two hundred million people, most of whom understood the Mandarin, or court, dialect. Peking alone with its population of more than a million people presented a challenging missionary opportunity, so challenging, in fact, that almost before Wheeler and Lowry had had time to establish themselves in the city the Board added to the mission staff two more missionaries, George R. Davis and Leander W. Pilcher of the Detroit Conference. They arrived in Peking on October 22, 1870.[114]

That year Superintendent Wheeler reported that he had succeeded in purchasing an eligible site for a mission compound "in the Northern, or Tartar City," † two comfortable dwelling houses had been erected, and other necessary improvements made. A small chapel had also been procured and, in spite of unfavorable conditions, religious services had been regularly maintained in it for several months. In the southern city, which contained about one-third of the population of Peking, including the active business element with large stores, markets, theaters, and clubhouses, Lowry had been successful in organizing a "City Circuit" which embraced a considerable part of the city and an outside area as well. Much difficulty and delay, however, were encountered in procuring chapels here. Owners of property were restrained from selling by fear of the wrath of officials and the missionaries were hindered by deception of agents involved in property transfers. Finally, in 1871, a preaching place was purchased on one of the principal streets and after months of trouble with officials occupancy was granted.

In public preaching Wheeler was assisted by a well-educated Chinese preacher who was lent to the mission by the New Connexion Methodist

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* Hiram H. Lowry (1843-1924) was born in Zanesville, Ohio, and died in Peking. He graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1867 and in the same year sailed for China, "the first Methodist missionary to cross the Pacific in a steamship." For twenty years, 1873-93, he was Superintendent of the North China Mission. In 1894 he was made president of Peking University and continued as such until the organization of a union university of which he became president emeritus. In 1896, 1900, and 1908 he was a member of General Conference. At eighty years of age he conducted at Foochow the Communion service at the seventy-fifth anniversary of China Methodism. "His intimate knowledge of the Chinese people, his standing and influence in government circles, and his wide acquaintance in China with nationals and foreigners gradually won for him a unique place as an 'elder statesman' whose judgment was sought by leaders in church and state."—*Christian Advocate,* IC (1924), 4 (Jan. 24), 92.

† Peking at this time consisted of two parts, the northern (or inner) city (the Tartar or Manchu city) about fifteen miles square, containing the palace, government buildings, and barracks; and the southern (or outer) city, occupied by Chinese.—S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom . . . The Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants,* I, 63.

Mission of Tientsin. The first convert—a man fifty-nine years old, able to read and write—was received on probation. Wheeler and Lowry jointly prepared a hymnal in Mandarin and Wheeler on his own completed a translation of Nast's *Smaller Catechism.*

In October, 1871, Pilcher made his first report to the Board. Hwailon Circuit, about five hundred miles in length through thickly populated country, had been laid out but its boundaries not clearly defined. He had been chiefly occupied in language study but had also toured principal cities and villages distributing Scripture portions. Davis likewise had busied himself studying but also had made a few country trips in the area of the West Chihli Circuit, the second of the two immense Circuits mapped out to embrace the mission area. In the northern city the next year a small day school was organized which seven years later became the Peking Boys' Boarding School and in 1886 the Wiley Institute, an institution of college level. Also, in 1872, G. R. Davis commenced work in Tientsin, eighty miles southeast of Peking.[115]

This same year (1872) was made notable by the opening of its China work by the W. F. M. S. Their first two North China missionaries, Maria Kane Brown,* sent out by the New England Branch, and Mary Q. Porter,† sent by the Western Branch, arrived in Peking on April 6, 1872. During the preceding winter interim, while navigation to the north was closed, they had had an opportunity to see something of the work in Foochow and to learn that the attitude of some of the male missionaries toward the coming to China of unmarried women was not that of unqualified approbation. Three veterans, wrote Miss Brown, declared that the mission board had "made a grave mistake in appointing us to Peking as there was absolutely no work that a young woman could do there." They were soon to furnish proof to the contrary. Within six months they had together launched a school for girls which later was named for one of them, the Mary Porter Gamewell School. The nucleus of the school had previously been formed by Mrs. Wheeler and Mrs. Lowry but to the new missionaries belongs the credit for giving it organizational status and starting it on its long course of educational development. To take Miss Brown's place in the school after her marriage in 1874, Miss Letitia A. Campbell ‡ of Cambridge, Massachusetts, went out in 1875 under the New England Branch, W. F. M. S. At her death in 1878 she was succeeded by

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* Maria Kane Brown (1847-1937) of Melrose, Mass., was married two years after her arrival in China to George R. Davis. She continued to teach until 1878, and afterward cooperated with her husband in his evangelistic activities and in his labors as Presiding Elder until their retirement in 1919.—M. S. Wheeler, *op. cit.,* pp. 111 ff.; Ruth Pyke Breece, "Mrs. G. R. Davis," *China Christian Advocate,* XXV (1938), 4 (April), 5, 14; Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, *Year Book,* 1939, p. 164.

† Mary Q. Porter (1848-1906) was born in Allegheny City, Pa., and moved with her parents to Davenport, Iowa, in 1860. She graduated from the Davenport High School and later became a teacher. In China she was superintendent of the school for girls in Peking until 1882. In 1881 she opened in Tientsin the first Bible-training school for women in North China. In 1882 she was married to Frank D. Gamewell and with him went to West China.—M. Isham, *op. cit.,* pp. 175 ff.; F. J. Baker, *op. cit.,* pp. 274 ff.; W. F. M. S., *Year Book,* 1939, p. 177.

‡ On May 18, 1878, Miss Campbell's lifework was suddenly terminated by her death, a victim of a typhus epidemic. She was the first missionary of the W. F. M. S. to die on a foreign field.

Clara M. Cushman,* who had a long and eventful career as teacher, administrator, and leader in Chinese Christian education.[116]

On September 1, 1872, the first regular annual meeting of the North China Mission closed.

> The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was, on this occasion, administered for the first time among us in Chinese; six native Christians, and more than that number of foreigners, were participants, kneeling together around our common altar.

An important result of the meeting was the division of the field in Chihli (Hopeh) Province into eight Circuits or Districts for which, Wheeler felt, as many missionaries would be needed within the next year or two. Wheeler was not in good health when he left Foochow, and in 1873 with his family he returned to the United States. Lowry succeeded him as Superintendent, continuing in that position until 1893 when the mission was made an Annual Conference.[117]

Lowry considered 1874 to be the most successful year since the mission was founded. Three new missionaries, Wilbur Fisk Walker, with his wife, and James H. Pyke and wife, both of the North Indiana Conference; and Sylvanus D. Harris of the Newark Conference had arrived on the field. Medical work was beginning and church membership had more than doubled within the year. The year before, land had been purchased in Tientsin for a missionary compound and two Circuits begun, yet Lowry was dispirited.

> But how can we avoid a feeling of depression when we contrast what we have done or may do with the vast amount undone. Our Church record contains twenty-three names out of the countless millions who indifferently go on . . . .[118]

Of three persons received into the Church on probation in 1874 two were "literary graduates." One of the three, Wang Jui-wu, had come from Shantung to Peking for the purpose of attending the examinations for a Master's degree. He chanced one day to pass a street chapel, was attracted by the speaker, and stopped to listen. When the missionary had finished his sermon Wang followed him into the street, asked many questions concerning the new doctrine, and expressed interest in knowing more about the teaching. Later he visited the missionary compound and became a diligent student of the Scriptures. His faith appeared so intelligent and sincere that before he returned to his home he was baptized and admitted into the Church.

> After a lapse of a few months he sent his son [Wang Cheng-pei] to us with a

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* Clara M. Cushman (1851-1928) of Walden, Vt., was appointed to the Peking girls' school in 1878 and in 1883 became its principal. Through her initiative music study, "quiet study" hours, and a literary society, were introduced into the school's program. Within a few years "Jesus songs" were being heard on the crowded streets of Peking and in many heathen villages. During an interim of ninteeen years in America, she originated the Standard Bearers, a children's missionary society. On her return to China in 1909 she became principal of Keen School, a department of the Anglo-Chinese College in Tientsin, where she remained until retirement in 1924.—M. Isham, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 179, 207; W. F. M. S. *Year Book,* 1939, p. 166; Mrs. Marcus L. Taft, in *Forty-ninth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1918), p. 100.

> letter giving an account of himself and his work. Through his instrumentality eighteen had been led to renounce idolatry and to desire to know Jesus. . . . [After a few days he returned] ladened with Christian books.[119]

Father Wang carried on the work of preaching and colportage with such abandon that in less than two years he had burned out his life, dying on May 5, 1875, his wife and son promising him that they would carry on his unfinished task. They visited Peking for further instruction. On the return trip of four hundred miles the son wheeled his mother in a wheelbarrow the entire distance in twenty-five days. Wang Cheng-pei* became an ordained minister and a faithful preacher of the Gospel.[120]

While attending the 1877 annual meeting Bishop Wiley made an exact inventory of the physical properties of the mission:

> In . . . [the Tartar part of Peking] is our 'mission compound,' consisting of two pieces of property, on the oldest of which is built, first, two moderately fair, one-story brick residences . . . . Secondly, the girls' boarding-school, and the residence, belonging to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society . . . . Thirdly, our domestic chapel, a very pleasant, good-sized building, used for the more private and orderly services of the Church members. . . . On the second piece of property, unfortunately separated from the first by two or three intervening Chinese properties, we have, first, a very comfortable and well built brick residence . . . . Secondly, a neat and pleasant home and comfortable hospital and dispensary . . . . This last property belongs to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.

Tientsin impressed the Bishop as "a very important" point. The compound here, about 300 by 200 feet in size, had one good home on it, with another house needed. The reinforcement of Tientsin the Bishop believed to be the most pressing need in North China. The rural work he also considered to be "very promising," some of the Circuits reaching out as far as four hundred miles from Peking, north to the Great Wall and south into Shantung Province.[121]

There was no more outstanding feature of the China Christian missionary program during the early decades than that of the W. F. M. S. in its medical work for women. Lucinda L. Coombs, the first woman medical missionary to China of any denomination, arrived in Peking in 1873 and in 1875 opened China's first hospital for women and children. Following her marriage two years later to Andrew Stritmatter she was succeeded by Leonora Howard, M.D., a graduate of the University of Michigan, who took charge of the hospital. Dr. Howard soon became widely known as an unusually skilled physician and in March, 1879, was called to Tientsin to attend Lady Li

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* Wang Cheng-pei was killed in 1900 in the Boxer Uprising as he led the Chinese Christian forces in the defense of the legation quarter of Peking. The Wang Christian dynasty were virtually the founders of Shantung Methodism. Wang Cheng-pei left two sons who graduated from American colleges, one later becoming the head of the department of education in Shantung Christian University and the other a successful pastor in the Shantung Conference. A son of the latter in turn entered Christian service.—Perry O. Hanson, "The Methodist Mission in Shantung, 1873-1933," *China Christian Advocate,* XX (1933), 4 (April), 14; R. T. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Hung-chang, wife of Viceroy Li. Dr. Howard and Lady Li soon became intimate personal friends. Of the result Superintendent Lowry wrote:

> The importance of the present opening at Tientsin can scarcely be overestimated. Dr. Howard's attendance on the Viceroy's wife has made an opening such as has never occurred before in China, and if lost, may never occur again. The homes of many of the best and most influential families of the city are open to the visits [of Dr. Howard] . . . .

Within a short time the doctor was treating "from thirty to fifty patients a day, besides performing surgical operations. Women [came] . . . from far and near for treatment." [122] In 1881 the Isabella Fisher Hospital was opened in Tientsin and managed by Dr. Howard for three years.* In the meantime the medical work in Peking was left to be supplied.

In his 1879 report to the Missionary Society Superintendent Lowry reviewed the progress of the first decade in North China. Beginning with two families, the mission now has, he said,

> five mission families, and three ladies of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society; two ordained deacons, six local preachers, seven students in the Training-school, six pupils in the boys['] and thirty in the girls' boarding schools; three Sunday-schools; two stations for street preaching in Peking, and one in Tientsin, and four organized circuits . . . and a total membership of *two hundred and fifty-seven* under our charge . . . . The past strengthens our hope for the future. All the usual agencies of evangelization have been put into operation. The country is open; the people friendly and accessible.[123]

Other than Peking and Tientsin the mission included at this time four Circuits: (1) Tsunhuachow, a hundred miles east of Peking and approximately the same distance north of Tientsin, with its center "in the sub-prefectural city of Tsun-hua," the only Christian agency "in all the vast eastern region stretching away to the [Chihli] gulf," where a beginning had been made in 1874. (2) Tsangchow, a Circuit in a region a hundred miles south of Tientsin. (3) Nankung, two hundred miles southwest of Tientsin "in the midst of a populous, fertile country." (4) Taian, still farther south, in an area some three hundred and fifty miles from Tientsin, and the only Methodist work in Shantung Province. In 1877 the first Quarterly Conferences were held in Peking and Tientsin, and in 1879 two more were organized. A boys' day school was in operation in Tientsin, and a training school for men in Peking.[124]

The eighties brought to the North China Mission an increased personnel which included some outstanding missionaries. Among them were Frank D. Gamewell, who arrived in 1881 to begin his long and distinguished career in education and in relation with the government; Marcus L. Taft, transferred from Central China in 1885, able educator and publicist; and Nehemiah S. Hopkins, M.D. (arrived, 1886), who won wide fame as a specialist in eye diseases and surgery.* The caliber of these men did much to strengthen the *esprit de corps* of the mission.

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* In 1884 Dr. Howard was married to the Rev. A. M. King of the London Mission. Her marriage terminated her connection with the North China Methodist Mission.

District organization was begun in 1882-83, with three Districts placed in the charge of missionaries. During 1886 Dr. Walter R. Lambuth of the Shanghai Mission, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was resident in Peking and by his zeal and skill also lent aid and encouragement to the mission.[125]

In its early years the girls' boarding school had found it impossible to realize its ambition of drawing pupils from the rural districts but in 1882 Superintendent Lowry wrote that people everywhere were speaking well of it.

> In the matter of unbinding small feet, and saving young flesh this torture, it has done good work. In many places mothers have . . . told, either of the children in their arms or of girls of older years, that these children should not have their feet bound, *for they were going to Peking* to school.[126]

Anna B. Sears, who in 1887 was made principal of the school, was convinced that the rule established in the beginning requiring the unbinding of feet as an inflexible condition of admission had been fully justified. It commends itself, she said, "as the strongest Christian protest we can make against this barbarity. It almost invariably makes each girl thus rescued an earnest advocate of it for others."

At the end of 1881 a women's training school was opened in Tientsin, with six women enrolled. The next year it was moved to Peking. In 1884 a new Bible school was organized in Tientsin.[127]

Stress was placed during this second decade on evangelism by chapel preaching. Peking in 1887 had eight street chapels—seven in the Tartar city and one in the Chinese city. George R. Davis urged further expansion. With the Methodists now operating the only chapel in the great Chinese city, we "should open another immediately and a third at no distant date." At four different places the sick were treated and medicines dispensed daily except Sunday. At Tientsin in 1888 two preaching places were maintained, Wesley Chapel and East Gate Street Chapel—the latter in rented quarters. A "new and commodious [East Gate Chapel was under construction] just within the east gate of the native city." For this, funds were procured by solicitation from "Russian . . . English . . . and American friends: . . . consuls, business men, and missionaries." A third chapel was secured in 1889, located on a back street, difficult of access, in the "West City," a northwestern suburb. Dispensaries were maintained in connection with most of the chapels.[128]

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* Other North China recruits were the Rev. and Mrs. Oscar Willits of the Detroit Conference (1880); Anna B. Sears of the Cincinnati Branch (1880); Elizabeth Yates, New England Branch (1880); the Rev. William T. Hobart and wife, Minnesota Conference (1882); L. Stella Akers, M.D., New England Branch (1882); Mrs. Charlotte M. Jewell, New York Branch (1883); Anna D. Gloss, M.D., Northwestern Branch (1885); the Rev. George B. Crews, M.D., and wife, Rock River Conference, temporarily transferred in 1886 from West China; Nellie R. Green, New England Branch (1886); Frederick Brown and wife from the English Methodist Free Church (1886); Edna G. Terry, M.D., New England Branch (1887); William Curtiss, M.D., and wife (1887); Vesta Greer, Board missionary (1887); Lillian G. Hale, New England Branch (1888); Mary Ketring, Cincinnati Branch (1888); D. E. Osborne, M.D., and wife (1889); Frances O. Wilson, Des Moines Branch (1889); Anna E. Steere, Northwestern Branch (1889); Hattie E. Davis, Board missionary (1889).

In 1885, by reorganization of Circuits, the Taian District was eliminated and in its place Tsunhua was made a District. In 1886 a long-contemplated missionary residence was established in Tsunhua. A parsonage and a second house were erected. Dr. Hopkins was assigned to the city for medical work and maintained regular dispensary days. In 1887 a small temporary hospital was set up and in 1888 the W. F. M. S. completed a missionary home and dispensary. In 1889 a girls' boarding school was started. At the 1891 annual meeting Te Jui was appointed Presiding Elder of the District, the first Chinese to be appointed to such an office in North China.

By 1889 the three Districts, by the addition of Shantung and Lwanchow, had become five. Lwanchow reflected the extension of work to the far northeastern corner of China, with a new Circuit, Shanhaikuan, opened at the eastern terminus of the Great Wall in Inner Mongolia, two hundred miles from Peking. In an area of about seven thousand square miles Lwanchow District possessed a population of some two and a half million people living in eight walled cities, about fifty or more populous market towns, and innumerable villages. Progress in the District was hindered by determined opposition of the *literati,* lack of efficient native leadership, and want of funds for expansion.

The Shantung District was created by reorganization of the Tientsin District, and its boundary extended to the southernmost point of the Conference, four hundred and fifty miles from Peking.

The principal missionary activities other than chapel preaching during 1880-89 were in accordance with the usual methods: "preaching to . . . Sabbath congregations in organized churches; . . . at markets and fairs, and in the streets of small towns and villages; in the distribution of Christian books and tracts, by work in hospital and dispensary, by work among women and girls, and in day-schools for boys and girls." Few innovations were introduced. However, at the Wiley Institute in 1887 a Y. M. C. A. was organized among the older students. Every Sunday, Hobart took some of the members with him to the street chapel and enlisted them in talking with those who gathered. Those who manifested an interest were invited to go to the Sunday school. At Asbury Church in Peking, after the 1885 annual meeting, for the first time in the history of the mission responsibility for collecting the Chinese pastor's salary was placed upon the stewards and paid by their hands to the minister. In one station the Chinese members, in addition to contributing to local expenses, paid about a third of the preacher's salary. On one of the Circuits members from their own slender resources rented land, contributed seed and labor for its cultivation, and applied the harvest toward payment of the pastor's salary.

On occasion Superintendent Lowry accompanied a missionary on the round of a rural Circuit, a description of which he wrote home to the Board as illustrative of missionary life:

> To rise at three or four o'clock in the morning and be pounded in a cart over rough or muddy roads till long after dark, with only an hour for rest and lunch at noon, and then find only a dirty, cold, mud-built room, without floors, and sometimes without doors or windows, for your accommodation at night, is not the kind of life that is fairly open to the charge of too great ease.

At the end of twenty years the five Districts* had a Chinese staff of sixteen preachers, seven licensed Exhorters, and several colporteurs who combined selling books with preaching. There were on the field one single woman and fourteen married missionaries with their families, sent by the parent Society, and nine W. F. M. S. missionaries.[129]

The most far-reaching movement in the life of the North China Mission as its third decade opened was the development of a comprehensive plan for the incorporation of the Wiley Institute as Peking University with a college of liberal arts and departments of theology and medicine.† The two latter departments were already in operation in 1890 with eight theological students, and five medical students, two of whom were later dropped. Three years later intermediate schools, established as feeders to the university high school, were in operation in Peking, Tientsin, Tsunhua, Taian, and Lwanchow; and by 1895 the college of medicine was fully organized. It charged a $50. tuition fee. Nine students made up the first class.[130]

After several years of destructive floods and serious famine, general conditions in the North China area improved and church membership which had lagged began to increase again. "Its numbers," Lowry stated,

> might have been largely augmented had we received all applicants, but we are still convinced that it is wise in China to insist on a long trial, not only as condition for membership, but before entering names as probationers. Serious persecutions have prevailed in some districts, not only testing the faithfulness of our members, but diminishing the numbers of inquirers.

Many of the chapels were crowded with attentive hearers, including all kinds and conditions of men. Frederick Brown noted that about the only place "where the official and beggar can meet on equal terms is in 'Jesus Hall.' " He and others, however, had become convinced that if the Church was to attract as serious inquirers any others than "the coolie class" it was necessary to have better and cleaner chapels. As it became possible to increase the number—more new chapels were opened in 1892 than in any previous year of the mission—an effort was made to construct an improved type of building. In 1893 a new East Gate Chapel—built on another site—in Tientsin was dedicated. Davis regarded it as "a very acceptable chapel, the most substantial structure in the Mission . . . commodious . . . and . . . the largest audience room in Tientsin for union services." [131]

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* Of the five Districts Peking now had the largest membership—308 full members and 137 probationers—with nine day schools (including high schools), enrolling 244 pupils. The four other Districts were: Tientsin, 151 full members, 51 probationers, 5 schools, 87 pupils; Tsunhua, 190 members, 63 probationers, 5 schools, 78 pupils; Lwanchow, 62 members, 90 probationers, 7 schools, 32 pupils; and Shantung, 71 members, 136 probationers, 1 school, 8 pupils.—*Seventy-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1889), p. 104.

† For complete details see Vol. VI.

By 1891 in two of the largest cities of the Lwanchow District property had been procured and the Church rooted through the organization of Societies, and in a third, land had been rented and a school begun. In 1892 a boys' boarding school was opened in Lwanchow. At the end of this year Pyke reported that the Church owned two chapels,

> has the lease of a third, and rents five. Regular Sunday services are held in twelve different places. Including probationers and baptized children, there is a membership of three hundred and eleven. Seventy-eight adults and eighteen children have been baptized during the year.[132]

The Districts were reorganized again in 1894 by the newly formed Annual Conference. Shantung District was now incorporated with the Tientsin, and South Peking District established since the work in that area had steadily increased.

In pursuance of an enabling act of the 1892 General Conference, the North China Annual Conference was organized on September 29, 1893, by Bishop Randolph S. Foster, with twenty-five charter members, of whom thirteen were missionaries* and twelve were Chinese. Of the Chinese members six were elders, two were deacons, and four were probationers. Forty Stations and Circuits were listed in five Districts. Institutional appointments were thirteen in number: nine to schools and colleges, four to hospitals. Appointments of the Woman's Conference numbered seventeen, of which thirteen were to schools and four to medical work. Full members of the Church were reported to the number of 1,835; probationers, 1,003. Dr. Lowry had been Superintendent of the North China Mission for twenty consecutive years, a longer continuous term of service than that of any other mission Superintendent in the Church. Dr. A. B. Leonard who was present at the Conference session—the first Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society who had visited North China—wrote home that "the only objection made to the organization of the Mission into an Annual Conference was that it would do away with the superintendency, and thereby remove Dr. Lowry from office." [133]

North China Conference began its corporate existence under a triple handicap. In 1894 the missionary personnel suffered crippling loss. One of the two most influential leaders, Dr. Pilcher, at that time president of Peking University, died on November 24, 1893. The gain of two missionaries who had arrived on the field at the time was offset by the loss of two others. Wilbur F. Walker after twenty years of faithful service decided not to return from furlough and Charles O. Kepler, M.D., after one year in China for some unexplained reason returned to the United States. The death of Mrs. William Curtiss also temporarily removed Dr. Curtiss from the field. On July 24, 1894, LaClede Barrow, less than two years on the field, suddenly died from smallpox.* Disheartened by this drastic decrease in personnel Lowry wrote to the Missionary Secretaries that the only prospect seemed the suspension of some part of the work that it had taken twenty-five years to build up.

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* North China recruits who came during 1890-95 were: Isaac T. Headland and wife of the Pittsburgh Conference (1890); Thomas Jones and wife (1890); Ida M. Stevenson, M.D., of the Topeka Branch (1890); Rachel Benn, M.D., Philadelphia Branch (1890); Cecelia M. Frey, Cincinnati Branch (1891); Effie G. Young, New England Branch (1892); Ella E. Glover, New England Branch (1892); Isabella Crosthwaite, New York Branch (1892); Charles O. Kepler and wife, Newark Conference (1892); LaClede Barrow and wife, Tennessee Conference (1892); Julian Scott (1892); James F. Hayner and wife (1893); George Verity and wife, Wisconsin Conference (1893); Dr. George D. Lowry and wife (1894); Harry King and wife (1894); Alice Terrell (1894); Miranda Croucher, New England Branch (1895).

> In all our afflictions we are sure of your sympathy, but can nothing be done to replenish our ranks? Greater, or rather other losses will certainly follow unless the overburdened workers can be relieved. . . .
>
> . . . I do not expect to break down, but I can see more work ahead of me than any two men can do. The result must be that the work will be neglected. It will take years now to repair our losses to say nothing of advance.[134]

The financial difficulties of the Missionary Society in 1893 brought a cut in appropriations which to North China threatened additional hardship. "To be frank," wrote Lowry to Secretary Leonard, on May 14, 1894,

> I believe a reduction in salaries for this field must compel some of the best men to retire from the Mission. It is next to impossible for an average family to lay by anything for the education of children or emergencies. . . . Perhaps a wiser economy might be sought than shaving the missionary's allowance to the lowest possible limit.

Supplementing Lowry's letter the mission as a group sent a formal protest to the Board against reduction of salaries. Nineteen months later Lowry wrote another protest against an equal salary schedule for all of Eastern and Southeastern Asia on the ground that the rigorous climate of North China required larger expenditures for heating and clothing than that of Malaya; also against a graded salary scale based upon length of service. Since the Board undertakes to provide only a living support, years of service, he contended, should not enter into the calculation. Let the previous salary scale be restored, he pleaded, for unless this is done the work will lose more by broken health, discontent, and compulsory anxiety than will be saved by the reduction. In 1896 $1,300. was granted by the Board "as special relief from the Incidental Fund to married missionaries in North China."[135]

During the early and middle nineties the entire missionary program was also hampered by the associated evils of war, famine, floods, and pestilence which in some areas became so serious as to threaten the existence of the churches. Many members died or removed from the affected regions. In the Tsunhua District in 1895 several of the day schools were closed and in those which remained open the principals found it necessary, in order to save the lives of the pupils, to provide one meal a day. In the Lwanchow District, also, in the same year thousands of the people were enabled to survive only by the relief provided by the mission.[136]

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* His wife continued in missionary service, becoming an appointee of the New York Branch of the W. F. M. S. in 1895.

Despite all handicaps, the Church continued to grow. On the Lwanchow District the largest increase in membership in the history of the District was registered. As the period closed (1895) full members of the Church numbered 2,300; probationers, 1,726; native ordained preachers, 9; unordained preachers, 22; foreign missionaries, parent Society, 16; assistant missionaries, 12; W. F. M. S. missionaries, 7; native workers, W. F. M. S., 18.[137]

WEST CHINA MISSION

Restless after eight years in the Foochow Mission, Franklin Ohlinger in November, 1878, urged the founding of a Methodist mission in West China and offered, with his wife, to go to Ichang, Hupeh Province, or possibly to Chungking, Szechwan. If Board funds were not available he proposed to contribute $100. of his personal savings toward the necessary expense. While his proposal led to no immediate action it evidently made a lasting impression on the minds of Bishop Wiley and other missionary leaders of the Church. On October 1, 1880, Nathan Sites—indefatigable pioneer that he was—approached the subject from a different angle. Writing to Missionary Secretary Fowler he emphasized the importance of the fact that foreign commerce, not content with eastern and central China trade, was advancing into the nation's westernmost provinces. The British government had stationed a consular agent at a principal mart of trade in Szechwan. Roman Catholic missionaries already "for scores of years" had been laboring there "with a good degree of success." Protestant Bible colporteurs also had distributed Bibles in numerous far-western cities.

> Shall not our American Methodist Episcopal church, be among the first to enter this promising field of over twenty million souls . . . ?
>
> The opening of this new and vast field, and its occupancy by our church, will give new stimulus at home and abroad, to the benevolent activities of the whole church.[138]

At the meeting of the General Missionary Committee on November 4, 1880, Bishop Wiley presented a proposal to establish a mission in West China. Because of the size of the existing Missionary Society debt, considerable hesitancy was expressed. As the meeting was about to adjourn without action a note from John F. Goucher was delivered offering in effect $5,000. a year for two years, and longer, if necessary, for founding a West China mission. This led to immediate decision. After some general inquiry the

Board decided to draft an experienced China missionary, Lucius N. Wheeler, who since his return from North China in 1875 had been serving in the pastorate in the Wisconsin Conference.

In his letter appointing Wheeler, Bishop Wiley said:

> I am willing that Ichang, in the Hupeh Province, shall be duly considered. It may be possible that is as far west as it would now be wise to go. Still our desire is to reach Se-chuen, and, if possible, Ching-tu-fu [Chengtu], its capital. Our ultimate outlook from this movement is into Thibet, and for that . . . [Chengtu] is the proper center.[139]

As Wheeler's associate Bishop Wiley appointed the Rev. Spencer Lewis of the Rock River Conference, a recent graduate of Garrett Biblical Institute. On September 6, 1881, Wheeler with his family and Lewis and his wife sailed from San Francisco. At Shanghai the party was met by Bishop Bowman, who was then visiting the China missions, and Lewis was ordained. Bagnall, of the Central China Mission, was designated to accompany Wheeler on a preliminary tour of exploration while Lewis stayed at Chinkiang for language study. Wheeler and Bagnall left Kiukiang in November for their long trip up the Yangtze, a ten weeks' journey. Wheeler made "a full survey" of the province, chose a location in Chungking for his residence and mission headquarters and returned, reaching Kiukiang on March 16, 1882. In October, 1882, Wheeler accompanied by his family, and the Lewises, again headed westward and reached Chungking safely on December 3.[140]

The headquarters which Wheeler had rented consisted of Chinese-style buildings with small mud-wall rooms possible for use as a residence, chapel, and school. The place was not large enough for the accommodation of both families and for the reception of men and women guests but after three months of house hunting Lewis succeeded in locating and in purchasing a suitable residence "by the city wall overlooking the Gialing [Chialing] river."

In October, 1883, Miss Frances I. Wheeler who had accompanied her parents to West China under appointment as a W. F. M. S. missionary established a girls' school. In December of the following year Gertrude Howe came from Kiukiang to aid her with the school and "to take charge of an orphanage which, almost before they knew it, the missionaries had on their hands, though they had no buildings." A large number of unwanted girl babies had been left at their doors, only fifteen of whom they were able to receive.

Much of Lewis' time was occupied by itinerating in the rural areas and villages surrounding Chungking, preaching and selling books and tracts.

> On market days I could not stop on the street to offer books without danger of obstructing traffic, since everybody stopped to see me. I was accustomed to resort to a large temple court, much used in marketing, taking my stand with my back against a wall . . . . I would hold a variety of books, calling out something like this, 'The holy books of the Jesus religion. A gospel of Matthew for ten cash.

> The way of salvation six cash. A short digest of the Christian religion three cash. An illustrated sheet tract, showing the evils of opium smoking, for one cash. Take a book and look at it. See, you could not buy the paper for that money. We half give it to you, because we wish you to know about the one true God, who made all things and sent his son Jesus to redeem the world from Sin.' . . .
>
> If the sales are slow, one spends more time in explanations and running comments. Connected preaching generally gets scant attention. Even when the crowd was inclined to mischief, one was usually all right while facing them. Getting away often had its difficulties. Young fellows would often try to push me down, especially when going down steps, but being strong and wary, I never have fallen. . . . Missiles were often thrown, but cumbrous sleeves hindered the aim. . . . It was well to be ever alert and watchful, ready by a joking remark or apt answer to keep the crowd friendly.[141]

A boys' school was opened in February, 1884, with an enrollment of twenty-four pupils. The attendance was drawn chiefly from the homes of poor families, mostly renters who moved frequently, resulting in irregular attendance and shifting enrollment. Books and instruction were free.

A recurrence of the ill health which he had suffered some years before while in North China made it advisable for Wheeler to leave Chungking for America in March, 1884. He was succeeded by Frank D. Gamewell of North China.[142]

In the early autumn of 1883 Lewis made a quick trip to Shanghai and returned, bringing with him Dr. G. B. Crews of the Rock River Conference, who had been appointed medical missionary to West China. Following his return Lewis occupied himself "in fitting up a chapel for Sabbath services" and in February, 1884, the first public preaching services were held.

> The news of the opening of the chapel was soon noised abroad, and on the second Sabbath several hundred people, led by curiosity, tried to crowd into the little chapel, which would seat only about two hundred persons. Thereafter the crowd was less, but for several months we were seldom able to seat all the women who came. At length we removed a partition, allowing the women to spread out into an adjoining court; yet on the following Sabbath not less than three hundred hearers occupied every available seating and standing space.[143]

In his first report to the Missionary Society Wheeler said he had already received an application for baptism from a literary gentleman, possessed of an unusual talent for public speaking, who if consistent in his Christian profession might be found "very useful as an evangelist." A small number had been admitted as probationers and others were willing to be received but he considered it better to give each case deliberate consideration. In less than twenty-four hours after his arrival, Dr. Crews reported, patients presented themselves for treatment and within the first year came in considerable numbers from long distances.[144]

The nucleus of a Sunday school had been in existence for some time in several classes which met separately. When at the beginning of 1885 they were brought together in a regular organization "with 8 officers and teachers," one hundred persons attended the first meeting. In February a street chapel was opened for daily preaching not far from the mission headquarters. While the attendance was small, averaging not more than twenty, several probationers came into the Church during the first year through its influence. Gamewell gave attention soon after his arrival to a search for permanent mission headquarters and in about a year succeeded in purchasing "a finely situated property" some three miles from the rented quarters in the city.

> It was planned to erect two or three residences, a hospital, a chapel, and later perhaps a building for a boys' advanced school. There was no reason to anticipate difficulty. The fact of purchase was well known and the district magistrate had put his official stamp on the deed. On April [should be March] 10, 1886 ground was broken for the residences, and when the erection of buildings began no opposition was manifested.[145]

Suddenly, however, a storm broke, resulting in the destruction of all property occupied by foreigners in and near the city. The fury of the attack, which began on July 1, 1886, was not directed primarily against Americans, since the property of English, French, and Russians was also indiscriminately plundered. Gamewell's report to the Missionary Society read:

> Our place in the city was attacked last, and when we saw the mob at their work of destruction on the Catholic cathedral near by, and knew that our turn would come next and that the destruction of our property was inevitable, we sent a man to secure a boat for us, hoping to escape to the river for safety. While the rioters were gathering at our front gate a local constable rushed up to our back gate and urged us to escape for our lives. We left immediately, saving nothing but the clothing we wore, and after various experiences and hours of separation from each other reached the magistrate's yamen. . . .
>
> In the vile atmosphere of a Chinese yamen, in close quarters at a trying season, the health of over a score of foreigners was preserved through fourteen days; down hundreds of miles of a river dangerous at all times, but doubly so when swollen by summer floods, our lives were preserved, and in our every experience God was wonderfully with us . . . .[146]

This riot, which temporarily put an end to the West China Mission, was attributed to various causes. Spencer Lewis stated that it was incited chiefly by the presence in Chungking of many lawless and turbulent military students who had come up to the city for their triennial examinations and who systematically spread false rumors as to why the mission was doing extensive building: the residences were alleged to be forts; the workmen were soldiers who were being drilled; the stone structures were built on the neck of a great dragon and to crush him would bring sore calamities upon the people. Placards were posted "calling upon the people to rise, burn and destroy." A minor disturbance took place on June 6, when Mrs. Gamewell happened to be alone at the new residence. As the gate was being battered by a crowd she opened it, with a gun in her hands, to expostulate with the leaders and was attacked with stones but when the blood began to flow they fled. At this juncture building construction was discontinued but this did not put an end to the turbulence.

Indignities against Chinese immigrants in America had created strong resentment and United States action about this time on Oriental immigration accentuated anti-American feeling. While these were undoubtedly factors, local causes—as Reid contends—

> such as the suffering among the poor owing to the high price of rice, . . . [were] made the occasion by the large number of candidates for military position, who were in attendance on the examinations by the Government, to stir up the people to deeds of violence that they themselves might share in the plunder.[147]

The missionary personnel were widely scattered. Lewis and his wife, and Mrs. Gamewell, went to the United States for rest and recuperation; Dr. and Mrs. Crews to Peking; and the missionaries of the W. F. M. S. to Central China.

Without loss of time Superintendent Gamewell went to Peking and made representations concerning the mission's losses to the imperial government, seeking full redress and restoration to Chungking. In a surprisingly short time agreement for settlement was effected,* the government agreeing to pay damages in amount of 22,000 taels—about $28,000.† This lacked some eighteen per cent of full compensation. Rights in the real estate were acknowledged, with the understanding that insistence upon reoccupancy of the original property would not be made and that if the local authorities so desired it would be exchanged "for other eligible and suitable property in a different locality."[148]

Virgil C. Hart, Superintendent of the Central China Mission, was embarking at Shanghai in the early spring of 1887, bound for San Francisco on furlough, when a message was delivered from Bishop Fowler informing him of his appointment to make a tour of inspection of the West China Mission, and bidding him to go to Chungking at once for the purpose of re-establishing the mission.‡ Within a few weeks, Hart, accompanied by H. Olin Cady, who had been appointed to West China, embarked at Hankow on the Kiangtung for the long trip on the Upper Yangtze. In May (1887) the party reached Chungking. This new and unexpected commission required Hart "to visit, inspect, and take steps toward the restoration of . . . [the] West China Mission." First, it was necessary to rent a missionary house. After scouring the city for several days an ancient mansion was located—"not a single bright room in it—every room . . . dark, badly ventilated, damp and sepulchral," which he finally secured at a rental of three hundred dollars a year. On June 27, in company with a young English physician, Hart left Chungking for Chengtu, the capital of the province, 350 miles northwest, on a journey the purpose of which was

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* Acknowledgment for aid in effecting the favorable settlement was made by the Missionary Society, in addition to Gamewell, "to United States Minister Denby, to Hon. Chester Holcombe, American *Chargé d'Affaires*, late himself a missionary of the A.B.C.F.M.; . . . [and especially] to F. S. A. Bourne, H. B. M. consular agent at Chung-king, who could not have done more had he been an American."—*Sixty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1886), p. 100.

† This action was in striking contrast to that of the United States in relation to the unredressed wrongs suffered by Chinese immigrants in California, Oregon, and in eastern coastal cities.—See pp. 9 f.

‡ Why F. D. Gamewell was superseded as Superintendent of the West China Mission is not clear. Neither the *Annual Reports* of the Missionary Society nor Reid's history offers an explanation. In a letter to Secretary Reid, dated Shanghai, March 5, 1887, V. C. Hart makes the puzzling statement: "I accept the difficult task because the general work of Missions in China is somewhat involved in the ultimate settlement of that affair. From all I learn it would be both hazardous personally for Mr. Gamewell to return and highly detrimental to the interests of our own and other Societies, to say nothing of individual foreigners."—Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.

> to mingle among the people throughout the populous districts and test their present temper and attitude towards foreigners; to obtain as much knowledge as possible of the country and of those centres, particularly, that might likely be occupied by Methodist and other denominations as mission stations; to disseminate religious literature; and to satisfy a longing to see the provincial capital and the far-famed 'Glory of Buddha' on the top of Omei.

After his extended tour of observation Hart "returned to Chungking in August, and soon after left for Central China." In his report to the Missionary Secretaries he expressed the opinion that great caution would be necessary, not only at Chungking but at all other points in the province. He considered the city to be a good center for mission work, but not to be compared "for compactness and natural facilities . . . with Chen-tu." He advised that a second center should be opened, either "at Chen-tu or Kiating-foo." [149]

Near the close of 1887 Spencer Lewis arrived at Ichang on the Upper Yangtze on his way back to Chungking. In the meantime Cady had been busy in Chungking re-establishing former contacts, building a mission residence, and getting school and church work again under way. Lewis sent word to Cady to meet him at Wanhsien, a halfway point, and from there, he writes, they "started on a land trip of twelve days," taking with them several coolie loads of books for distribution.

> From dawn till dark we tramped and sold, stopping only a few minutes for lunch. . . . For me it meant only a healthy tired[ness], but not so with my new missionary. . . . On arrival at an inn. . . , he would . . . throw himself down on a dirty Chinese inn bed and go sound asleep so that he had to be called up for supper. . . . I did not realize until afterwards that he was making the whole trip on blistered feet . . . .

The two "made the journey overland to Chungking in fifteen days, preaching and selling a large number of gospels and tracts." They arrived at their destination on January 30, 1888. Within the next twelve days Lewis "succeeded in renting suitable places for Sabbath chapel, street chapel and boys' school." A few days later he started on a seventeen days' journey, taking Cady with him "to preach and sell tracts and to learn the prices of building materials." Returning to Chungking on March 1 he opened the boys' school on March 2, the Sunday-school chapel on March 4, and the street chapel on

March 6. After an interim of twenty months the mission schedule was reestablished.[150]

Spencer Lewis very soon demonstrated that he was a man of action, possessing administrative ability, and it is not surprising that he was appointed Superintendent of the mission. Nineteen months after resumption of the program he reported that the double mission house, built of brick, had been completed and one half of it occupied, the other "standing empty, awaiting the fortunate man who shall some time be appointed to West China." He lamented the fact that the mission continued to be only a single station, without even an outstation. He pleaded passionately for reinforcement:

> The West China Mission is intended to embrace a territory greater than that covered by any other of our missions in Asia, and yet for all these years we have been confined to one station. We have now members or probationers from four different places in the country and all these might be openings for country work if we could attend to them. . . .
>
> Two men in a region with a population larger than that of the United States, and with a territory half as large as the United States east of the Mississippi can hardly be considered an adequate force.
>
> There is such a thing as wasting money by doling it out, and wasting forces by having too few.

He reported having purchased property for a hospital but to be waiting for a doctor to come before building; also having bought a ground site for a "good chapel." [151]

Lewis' urgent appeals for additional missionaries were evidently heeded for between 1889 and 1895 six married men, and one single man, were added to the West China staff.* The Superintendent was greatly encouraged as the longed-for reinforcements began to come. In 1890 he wrote:

> We seem at last to have fully recovered from the losses due to the interruption to our work and the scattering of the workers, and to have entered on a period of steady and healthful growth. More preaching has been done in the past year than in any year in the history of the Mission, and the results are most encouraging. . . . We are becoming better and more favorably known, and are gaining an influence in and about two other cities. That some who come to us do so with impure motives is no secret . . . . But we do not value the wheat less because of the chaff mixed with it.

The one boys' school also increased in enrollment from eleven pupils to fifty. Although no W. F. M. S. women had as yet returned Lewis felt that schoolwork with girls could not be longer delayed and Mrs. Lewis made a beginning. By the end of the year she had "about twenty girls in charge and about sixteen women in weekly classes." [152]

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* These seven missionaries (and their Conferences) were: 1889, Stacy A. Smith, who after a year's struggle with persistent attacks of malaria, returned to America. (*Seventy-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1892], p. 120.) 1890, James H. McCartney, M.D. (m. Kasiah Thomas, July 25, 1890. She died on Jan. 4, 1895. On Jan. 8, 1896, he married Sadie Kissack). McCartney was ordained under the missionary rule in 1908 and continued in missionary service until 1916, when he withdrew but continued to reside in China engaged in private practice. 1892, Harry L. Canright, M.D., and wife. 1893, Wilson E. Manly, Upper Iowa (m. Florence M. Brown, Oct. 15, 1893); Jacob F. Peat and wife, Illinois. 1894, Quincy A. Myers and wife, Northwest Indiana. 1895, James O. Curnow, a British citizen who had been in the service of the China Inland Mission (1887-94), joined the West China Mission in November, 1894, was received into the Foochow Conference in 1895, and in 1903 was transferred to the Philadelphia Conference.

In November, 1890, Dr. James H. McCartney arrived at Chungking and soon afterward began to receive patients. When his supply of drugs came, three months later, a temporary dispensary and a hospital were fitted up and the foundation of a permanent hospital laid. On October 2, 1891, it was dedicated, including in all seven buildings.

The first annual meeting of the mission, held in June, 1890, gave a strong spiritual impetus to the work. In June, 1891, Cady removed to Chengtu to establish the long-contemplated second station. He at first occupied rented property but in 1892 a plot was purchased, described by Lewis as "well situated . . . on a good street and near one of the principal thoroughfares of the city," with grounds sufficiently spacious to provide room without crowding for two mission houses, hospital, dispensary, chapel, and day school. Medical work was begun in 1893 by Dr. Harry L. Canright.

Cady's account of the first year's work tells of the gathering in of seven probationers and nine inquirers, with thirty persons regular in attendance at Sunday services. Hope for the organization of a Sunday school centered in a class of more than twenty which met on Sunday afternoon for the study of the Old Testament. An inquirers' class met weekly for the study of the catechism and daily for a lesson in the New Testament. A small day school had been established and a street chapel was open daily with an Exhorter present to sell books and converse with questioners. Chungking was drawn upon for a nucleus of native workers, among others a preacher, a colporteur, and a woman to serve as a Bible reader. The first baptisms, three in number, occurred in June, 1893. In August, after seven years in China, Cady left on furlough and after acquiring a wife in America, Hattie Yates Cady, returned in 1895.[153]

Pressing need for a hospital in Chengtu was felt by Dr. Canright. He found himself hampered by petty annoyances which he was confident would be banished if facilities were available for the healing of the physical ills of the people. "We have already done enough in a medical way," he said, "to prove that as soon as we are ready to receive all who come we shall be besieged by crowds of sick people." An appropriation for the needed hospital was not forthcoming from the Board, but Dr. Canright at his own expense managed early in 1895 to open a new brick dispensary, the first foreign building in the city, and as a hospital makeshift to fit up "a few beds . . . in some inferior Chinese buildings."

In 1892 schools were three in number, a girls' school and two boys' schools—a primary school and a high school. The arrival of Wilson E. Manly on March 15, 1893, and of Florence Brown (later Mrs. Manly), an experienced teacher, seven months later, gave a new impetus to the schoolwork in Chungking. In February, 1894, the high school was moved from its crowded quarters in the city to spacious country grounds a mile and a half distant. "Scarcely a week passes," wrote Manly, "but some one desires admission." The 1895 enrollment totaled forty-eight, with an average attendance of thirty-eight.[154]

The need for W. F. M. S. missionaries, year after year, was emphasized in the Superintendent's annual reports. Finally on March 25, 1895, four deaconesses* arrived in Chungking, "the first representatives of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society in the field for nearly nine years." A gift of $4,000. to the Society by Mrs. Adeline Smith of Oak Park, Illinois, presumed to be "sufficient to provide a home for the missionaries," was conditional on their being deaconesses. Thus the Deaconess Movement became a factor in the projected evangelization of West China.[155]

Nine years after the destructive Chungking riots the tragedy was repeated in Chengtu, following much the same pattern. Unexpectedly, a serious riot broke out on May 25 (1895) and continued for several days. The surprise was the greater because of all Chinese cities Chengtu had been considered by all the missionaries of the various denominations "the most peaceable and well-disposed." The Roman Catholic Mission which at this time included, in addition to several churches, a hospital, a pharmacy, and residence, had been in existence for a century and a half. When the fury finally subsided the missionaries' homes and practically all of their possessions had been destroyed or carried away.† Not "a missionary, Protestant or Catholic, in all that great city but was homeless." From Chengtu the rioting spread to many cities and villages in the province, including among others Yachow, Suifu, Kiating, Paoning Fu, Pingshan, and Singking.[156]

A committee was appointed at a meeting of American missionaries held at Shanghai on July 1, 1895, "to ascertain all the facts" pertaining to the riots. The report submitted to a meeting of American citizens on July 15, including proclamations of various Szechwan officials, led to the conclusion that the riots "were officially inspired and encouraged." As in the case of the Chungking riots the government paid promptly "the indemnity required for . . . [the] property destroyed at Chentu" and guaranteed future protection. The Board on January 21, 1896, granted authority to the West China Mission to rebuild

> provided that the entire cost, including all other extra expenses incurred in resuming work in that city, shall not exceed the indemnity received from the Chinese Government.

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* One of the four deaconesses, Clara Collier, had served in the Central China Mission under the Missionary Society for four years. The other three were Helen R. Galloway and Fannie E. Meyer of the Des Moines Branch, and Sadie E. Kissack, nurse, of the Baltimore Branch.

† Spencer Lewis: "Of the three Chen[g]tu families Mr. and Mrs. Cady remained at Chungking, and Dr. and Mrs. Canright and Mr. and Mrs. Peat went on to Shanghai, Dr. and Mrs. Canright finally going on to Nagasaki."—In *Seventy-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1895), pp. 88 f.

In about a year the Cadys and the Canrights were back in Chengtu with "a larger attendance on the church services, class and prayer meetings, and the Sunday School," than before the riot.[157]

At the close of 1895, thirteen years after its founding, the West China Mission had seventy-three full members and sixty-seven probationers. Foreign missionaries of the Board on the field in 1895 were eight in number, of whom seven were married men; W. F. M. S. missionaries, four. As yet there were no ordained Chinese preachers. Unordained preachers numbered seven; native teachers, eight. Average attendance on Sunday worship was 285. Twenty-two conversions were recorded during the year. The mission had seven day schools, of which one was a high school. Scarcely a beginning had been made in the building of churches. Of five places of worship, only one was a church; the others, rented halls.[158]

Lewis' experience in the mission—which from its beginning had a very small missionary force, compelling the Superintendent to rely to a great extent on native preachers—had convinced him that if China was to be Christianized it must be through the labors of "a trained and devoted native ministry." His helpers were not literary men in the Chinese sense but they were earnest and zealous and knew their Bibles. "Every missionary," Lewis declared, "should regard it his highest privilege to train such a band of workers." [159]

FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF CHINA METHODIST MISSIONS

Between September 30, 1847, when the first Methodist missionaries to China arrived at Shanghai, and the close of this period, the Methodist Episcopal Church had sent to the Celestial Empire—counting the wives of married men—a total of 257 missionaries. Of these, 196 were missionaries of the parent Board; and sixty-one were representatives of the W. F. M .S.* Of the total, ninety-eight were in China at the close of 1895.

In 1895 in the two Annual Conferences and the Central China and West China missions, there were 7,280 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and 9,456 probationers. Regular attendants upon the church services, many of whom were inquirers under instruction but not yet accepted for baptism, probably numbered as many more. These members and inquirers were tangible results of the half century's missionary effort, comparatively small in terms of the many millions of Chinese unreached by the Gospel, but reassuring in that at least a beginning had been made. What other evidence can be cited of significant outcome? What phases of Chinese life were influenced, and to what extent? What results were observable in the personal life and character of converts? What impression was made upon communities and community institutions where local missions were maintained? These are a few of many

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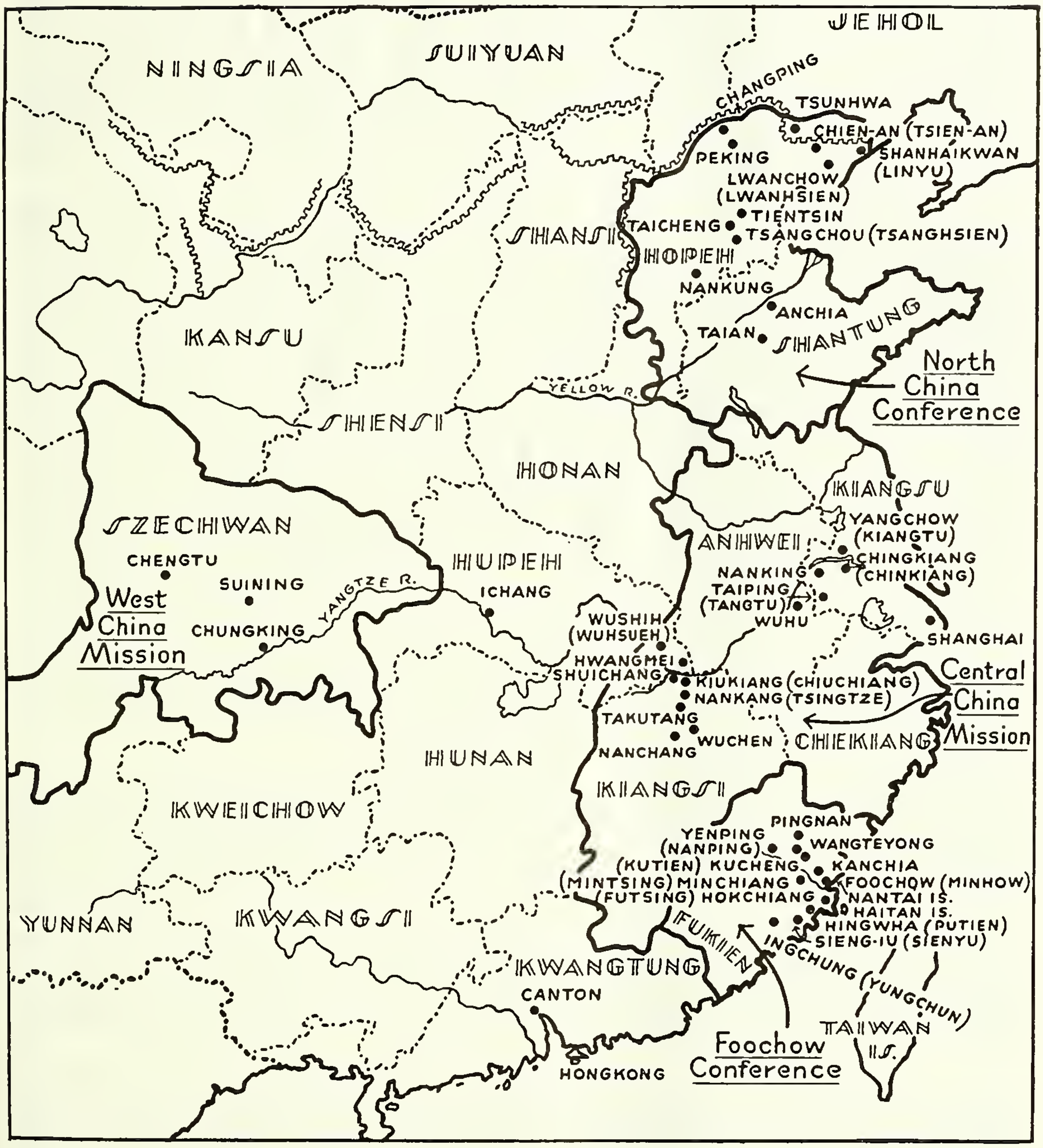
* Of the wives included in the total of 196 missionaries, some had formerly been W. F. M. S. representatives. The sixty-one reckoned as W. F. M. S. missionaries did not include those who married Board appointees and thereby became Missionary Society personnel.


JEHOL
NINGSIA
SUIYUAN
CHANGPING
TSUNHWA
CHIEN-AN (TSIEN-AN)
SHANHAIKWAN (LINYU)
PEKING
LWANCHOW (LWANHSIEN)
TIENTSIN
TAICHENG
TSANGCHOU (TSANGHSIEN)
SHANSI
HOPEH
NANKUNG
ANCHIA
TAIAN
SHANTUNG
North China Conference
KANSU
YELLOW R.
SHENSI
HONAN
KIANGSU
YANGCHOW (KIANGTU)
CHINGKIANG (CHINKIANG)
SZECHWAN
CHENGTU
SUINING
West China Mission
CHUNGKING
YANGTZE R.
HUPEH
ICHANG
ANHWEI
NANKING
TAIPING (TANGTU)
WUHU
SHANGHAI
WUSHIH (WUHSUEH)
HWANGMEI
SHUICHANG
KIUKIANG (CHIUCHIANG)
NANKANG (TSINGTZE)
Central China Mission
TAKUTANG
WUCHEN
NANCHANG
CHEKIANG
HUNAN
KIANGSI
KWEICHOW
PINGNAN
YENPING (NANPING)
WANGTEYONG
(KUTIEN) KUCHENG
KANCHIA
(MINTSING) MINCHIANG
FOOCHOW (MINHOW)
(FUTSING) HOKCHIANG
NANTAI IS.
HAITAN IS.
HINGWHA (PUTIEN)
SIENG-IU (SIENYU)
INGCHUNG (YUNGCHUN)
YUNNAN
KWANGSI
KWANGTUNG
FUKIEN
CANTON
TAIWAN IS.
HONGKONG
Foochow Conference

China Missions

questions to be asked and answered if a fair estimate is to be made of the fruits of the China Mission.

Factors Retarding Progress.—It should be recognized that Christian missionaries were uninvited visitors. China was self-sufficient and intensely isolationist. She desired neither commerce nor cultural contacts with other civilizations. For many centuries she had regarded "all foreigners as *barbarians,"* who had no right to come within her borders, "save for the purpose of paying her tribute." When merchant vessels of other nations approached her shores they were repulsed. Only by force of arms were her ports opened to trade with the West.*

This anti-foreign attitude was intensified by the treatment which China received at the hands of Western nations. Her first foreign war, commonly known as the Opium War, 1840-43, waged by England, was avowedly for the purpose of breaking down China's wall of arrogance and seclusion and as a means of exacting compensation for debts owed British merchants. China, for her part, was determined to stamp out the odious opium trade which England was chiefly guilty of forcing upon her. The penalties so unjustly exacted from China were deeply resented by the Chinese people. The several treaties signed between 1842 and 1866, all obtained by duress, strengthened the already existing anti-foreignism. While the official governmental relations between the United States and China were on a high level and feeling for the most part was good, the United States' position on restricted immigration of Chinese in the 1880's was bound to cause some chafing, and reports of injustices and indignities suffered by Chinese laborers on the American west coast contributed to the unpopularity of foreigners.[160]

After missionaries succeeded in gaining entrance to China every slightest advance made by them during the fifty years was against persistent, intense opposition. All foreigners were suspect. All kinds of anti-foreign ideas and attitudes were prevalent among the people, although there were many incidental cases of hospitality and kindness. Wherever a missionary encountered any considerable number of people congregated on city streets or in rural villages he was almost certain to hear such cries as "Drive out the foreigner," or "Kill the foreign devil."

Secret societies of large membership among the common people organized conspiracies against foreigners; and the *literati,* who constituted the ruling class, were generally uncompromising opponents of all foreigners and foreign influences. A contributor to the *Missionary Herald* in 1892, referring to the slanderous pamphlets and handbills circulated in great quantity among students and the common people, stated they were "prepared evidently by the

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* The Treaty of Nanking (Aug. 29, 1842) specified as one of its eight provisions that the ports of Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, Shanghai, and Canton should be open to foreign trade and residence. With the exception of Canton, the five ports thereafter were open as agreed; foreign "concessions" or settlements were established; and trade flourished.—Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History,* pp. 503 f., 517.

literati." The most vituperous of the slanders appeared in books and pamphlets along with official and semi-official documents whose authors were known to be men in official life. "If the scholars and the magistrates would only let us alone," wrote Dr. Griffith John, longtime China missionary, "we should have no difficulty whatever with the people." [161]

More often than otherwise the anti-foreign attitude was manifested by the spreading of malicious rumors, false charges, and libelous and inflammatory statements. An oft-repeated rumor accused foreigners of employing unscrupulous persons to distribute poisonous medicines among the people and to poison wells and springs. The variations of this one theme alone were numerous. For instance, it was reported that a foreigner had been caught in the act of poisoning wells, for which he was beaten by enraged citizens; at Hinghwa the prefect circulated the statement that he was afraid to use the water from his well for fear that it had been poisoned; at Changchow, the mandarins issued proclamations that foreigners planned to destroy the Chinese people by poisoning their drinking water. Another time it was reported that a large quantity of poisonous medicine had been seized by customs officers. Rumors of this kind were specially prevalent about 1870-71. Over a long period missionaries were accused of seizing young children to use their eyes and vital organs in manufacturing medicines.[162]

The years 1890-91, also, witnessed a spate of abusive posters, cartoons, and pamphlets attacking Christianity, circulated wholesale in the valley of the Yangtze which "resulted in riots that destroyed several mission stations and caused the death of some . . . missionaries." *The Missionary Herald* said:

> These publications . . . are sent by the boat-load in all directions from Changsha, the capital of Hunan, as well as from other cities, not for sale, but for free distribution among the people. They appear on the billboards, posted side by side with the imperial proclamations denouncing them. . . . the common people believe the infamous lies that they tell.[163]

In many cases the anti-foreign attitude took the form of outright persecution. It is not too much to say that some one or more of the missions were constantly doing their work in the fear of imminent persecution or undergoing some form of overt attack.*

In 1864, an outbreak occurred in Foochow in which the East Street Church and the missionary residence were destroyed. About 1865, a building was rented in Pingnan, north of Kutien, to be used as a chapel, but it was soon razed to the ground by a mob and a stone erected on the site bearing the inscription, "This building shall never be rebuilt." At Shuichang, in the Central China Mission, in 1875, the Chinese helper was driven from the city and shortly afterward Stritmatter and Hykes escaped, severely beaten and bruised, from the rage of a violent mob. Six months later the mission schools and chapels were sacked. In December, 1879, Sites was severely wounded, his eyes almost blinded by a Nanping mob. Antagonism at Nankang in 1888 culminated the next year in a riot in which the property at that station was destroyed. This same year J. H. Pyke, Presiding Elder of the Lwanchow District, North China, reported to the Missionary Society: "Persecution has been general and malignant. Indeed, it has met us at every point and has been more than usually . . . vindictive." On the Wuhu District in 1891 riots "very nearly put a stop . . . [to all missionary work] for over a month." The hospital was closed for a short time, but the regular services of worship were continued. In the country stations of the Kiukiang District, according to James Jackson, the work was "all but paralyzed."[164]

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* Many of the persecutions suffered by them and their successors have not been included in the missionary records of the Church and even scant mention of those referred to would overtax the space limitations of this history.

The growth of the Christian movement was greatly hindered by the extension of persecution from the missionaries themselves to their converts. Fear prevented many non-Christians from expressing interest in the Gospel or from allying themselves in any way with the Christian cause. In 1870 near Sienyu City, Ting Kie-hwi, a Christian helper, "was arrested . . . taken to the city jail . . . severely beaten, without judge or jury, and cast into prison." * In numerous cases over a period of years the crops of Christians were destroyed and carried away. At Sungchang City the Chinese elder and the preacher were beaten and dragged around by ruffians "in the very presence of the magistrate." This abuse was repeated three or four times. In Hinghwa in 1888 Christians were beaten and imprisoned by the authority of the officials, the persecutions "provoked chiefly by the refusal of the Christians to contribute money to defray the expenses of idol processions." In 1889 William H. Lacy reported that in the Hokchiang (Futsing) District Christians were driven from their homes, their fields pillaged, fruit trees destroyed, and houses razed.[165]

How much of the continuous persecution was due alone to the chronic outbursts of anti-foreignism which could be whipped up by leaders in any peaceable crowd or among the rabble? And how much might be blamed on larger movements, dimly understood by those contemporary with them, of a nation seething with restiveness, in the birth pangs of a new day? As Latourette points up:

> The Protestant missionary . . . was a disturber of existing customs and institutions; the permission to travel and the protection promised him had been wrested from China by force; he journeyed farther from the treaty ports than did most of his fellow-countrymen, and so was often the only alien on whom anti-foreign spleen could be vented; he often sought to rent or purchase property in places where all foreigners were unwelcome; and his actions and his purposes seemed . . . mysterious and gave rise to ugly rumors which . . . were believed by the credulous.

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* When the case was reported to the magistrate, he checked on its veracity and then ordered the evildoers punished. This was true, also, in many other instances.

> . . . To all [the educated, the officials, people of local importance, students] . . . the missionary was peculiarly obnoxious, for he appeared to be threatening the established order to which their training and interests committed them—to be, in other words, little better than an anarchist.[166]

The reliance also of missionaries on their consuls, under whose protection they automatically came, must often have been irritating.* It is easy enough to understand the natural impulse of fleeing to a foreign compound when danger arose or of going aboard a French or British or American gunboat nearby, which was at that moment firing on Chinese citizens among whom possibly were some of their own innocent converts, but it must be faced that the end result would not be to establish trust in the missionary as a completely free agent who endured all wrongs for the sake of the Gospel.†

Nor can it be claimed that missionaries were at all times tactful. In zeal to stamp out superstition and suppress idolatry, some failed to consider the effects of their actions and to remember how much they must have appeared to be the intruders. The choice of building sites, for instance, was often unfortunate as it came into conflict with local beliefs. As one instance, when the mission constructed a building on a hill in Nanking the townspeople felt it necessary to erect a pagoda to restore the *feng shui* (good luck) of the area. When the riots broke out in Chungking it was claimed that the mission was being built on a dragon's neck. At another place, when a convert boldly rid herself of the town idol she had been housing by dumping it in the public square the entire village was distraught, begged her to take it back, and when she would not, covered the idol's head until a new home could be found.[167]

It must be said to the credit of the Chinese people that for the most part their government honored its treaty agreements, although entered into unwillingly. Individuals and groups deprived of rights or property received restitution and evildoers were punished, more so than in the reversed circumstances in California in the same period. From time to time imperial edicts were issued and publicly displayed ordering the protection of missionaries and the suppression of false rumor about them.

Methodism in China was handicapped also by deficiencies within itself.

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* A less than creditable instance of this took place at Chinkiang about 1885. A Chinese who contracted with Methodist missionaries to build some houses defaulted on the contract. The missionaries tried to hold him to the contract by withholding pay for work already done. The contractor retaliated by trying to carry away the blinds of a veranda. When one of the missionaries, assisted by a second, interfered the contractor bound them and took them to the tipao. The American consul intervened and the taotai and tipao freed the missionaries. The consul then demanded that the contractor be punished but the taotai refused until the accounts of both parties could be examined and he had determined who was originally in the wrong. The consul refused to agree, and reported the matter to the consul-general, following which a British and an American gunboat were sent. The taotai became cowed and ordered the Chinese offenders put in the cangue and beaten.—Denby to Bayard, Feb. 9, 1886, in *Foreign Relations,* 1887, pp. 74 *et seq.* as cited by Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China,* p. 475 *n.*

† It is to be questioned whether the net result of government protection during this period was beneficial to the Christian missionary cause. Tyler Dennett is definitely of the opinion that it was not: "From the history of Christian missions in China . . . one conclusion stands out sharply: much harm and little good has come from governmental patronage and protection of missionary work; and the missionary renders the most enduring service to the people among whom he labors when he separates himself farthest from political concerns."—*Americans in Eastern Asia . . . ,* p. 576.

From the outset, the Movement was retarded by sadly inadequate missionary forces. Bishop Mallalieu lamented the paucity of missionaries in the Foochow Mission in 1893:

> The appalling fact in connection with our Foo-Chow Mission is that we have not a quarter part of the force that we ought to have. We have [there] only four or five missionaries . . . who can stand up in the presence of the people and talk to them in their own language. This is a sad showing after forty-five years of effort. We have three others who have not been long in the country, and have been so burdened with work of various kinds that they have had no chance to learn the language . . . . Here we have a force of eight men, the ninth one absent in America on leave, and there are fifteen million of people in this one province . . . .[168]

The lines were too thin and too widely extended for intensive work. The concentrated continuous instruction and training necessary for permanent results in faith, character, and life were impossible in a large proportion of cases. This wide expansion was the policy of the Church * and was by no means confined to China.

Another weakness of the program was the lack of continuity in the service of individual missionaries. This was recognized and deplored by some of the more discerning. As Superintendent Lowry reported in 1891:†

> If in any place in the world there is special value in continuity of labor, it is in missionary work. No matter what the ability and qualifications of a missionary, if for any cause he is compelled, after a brief period of service, to leave the field, his work cannot be regarded as a success.[169]

Of the 196 missionaries sent out by the Missionary Society during the five decades, forty-four had a tenure of less than two and a half years; twenty-six additional of less than six years; thirty-one more of ten years or less. Which is to say that 101 missionaries, more than one-half of the total personnel, were in service less than eleven years. Only two missionaries—Lowry and his wife—fulfilled Durbin's hope of an entire lifetime given to the service, although the careers of a number who might have rounded out a full lifetime of service on the field were cut short by death. In the matter of tenure the record of the sixty-one missionaries of the W. F. M. S. was somewhat better. Eight were on the field for less than two and one-half years; ten less than six years; and six less than eleven years. That is, twenty-four, a few more than one-third of the total number, had a tenure of about a decade. Six spent between thirty-six and forty years in the service; seven between forty-one and forty-five years; and two between forty-six and fifty years.

Two principal factors contributed to this lack of continuity. Contagious diseases, malaria, and disorders of the intestinal tract were widely prevalent and facilities for treating them were inadequate. Strong constitutions and

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* See p. 156.

† See p. 159.

rugged physiques were required, qualifications which many missionary volunteers did not possess. The missionary office paid far too little attention to medical examinations preceding acceptance of candidates, with the consequence that many physical weaklings were sent to the field who within one, two, or three years returned home. Strange to say, the Missionary Society neglected to take into account the health risk to missionaries to arrive in China at the worst seasons, although it was evident that more than one missionary had failed to become acclimated because of the debilitating conditions met up with immediately upon debarking.

The second factor was the failure of the Missionary Society to look into the qualifications of volunteers with sufficient care and to provide special training for missionary service. As a consequence of his long experience as Superintendent of the Central China Mission, V. C. Hart wrote in 1887:

> I sincerely hope some steps may be taken to give missionary candidates a searching examination at New York. It would pay to have men stay three months in New York and do City Mission work, that they may be seen and something of their qualifications for this most important work tested.[170]

Early in the period the Bishops asserted in a quadrennial address that "the chief obstacle encountered in prosecuting . . . [the] foreign work . . . [arose] from the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of missionaries of suitable qualifications." Too frequently men lacking the aptitudes, staying quality, and training for the work were sent to the field, the Bishops said, who became

> discouraged on account of the climate, or the small prospect of immediate success, and quit the field. Thus double expense . . . [was] incurred in going and returning; much time . . . lost, and the enterprise embarrassed, if not defeated, and the natives still left in the darkness and misery of sin, and on the way to perdition.[171]

Within the period little was done to remedy this situation.

The Methodist tradition of an itinerant ministry, since it involved frequent changes in appointments, was likewise a contributing factor. In his initial report as Presiding Elder of the Chinkiang District, C. F. Kupfer called attention to the fact that in the ten years in which the District had been in existence three different men had been in charge, and asserted that "every change in China means a great loss to the work." Greater or less dissatisfaction with short pastorates was expressed by the churches. A particular case was reported in 1883 by G. R. Davis, missionary-in-charge of the Peking District:

> The members [at Liangtzu Ho] have been dissatisfied because we would not return to them a preacher who had served three years. This feeling has greatly hindered the present pastor in his work during the year. At one time a large number seemed ready to leave the Church, but the danger, except in the case of a few, has passed away.[172]

Character deficiencies and personality maladjustments in the leadership also contributed to the slowness of growth. In *My Missionary Apprenticeship* Bishop Thoburn says that he went to the foreign field under the misapprehension that "a missionary is not like other men, that his devotion is more pure, his life more saintly, and his labors more apostolic than if he lived in a Christian land . . . ." His illusion was soon dispelled. "A missionary," he continued, "is no better after reaching his field than before leaving his native land."[173] In China the morale of the missionary group as a whole and ultimately that of the Chinese Church was lowered by the partisan spirit and party divisions growing out of different opinions and temperamental conflicts between leaders of the mission. Mention has already been made of the dissension within the missionary group concerning the superintendency. There were also serious disagreements between individual members of the mission. Perhaps the most serious was that between Ohlinger and Plumb—two men who differed in temperament, in theological opinions, and on questions of mission policy. Differences bred distrust, and distrust grew into open antagonism. As newcomers arrived they were drawn into the existing controversies. The effect of such contention on the life and work of the Church was a matter of much concern to several of the Bishops who visited China.*

Members of the Methodist mission were inclined to disagree on other matters, too, and from the very beginning were drawn into a long-existing controversy† over what was basically a philological problem but which also had profound theological implications. In August, 1865, a majority of the Methodist mission, after months of consideration finding themselves "divided in opinion as to the best terms to be used in China for God and Spirit, and, also with reference to the best version of the Scriptures in Chinese," agreed that missionaries and native helpers should have liberty to use the Chinese terms and Scripture versions which they preferred. However, "the minority, as they studied the question, found it magnifying in importance, ceasing to be a philological question, and becoming a moral one. Not content with the liberty to use the terms they preferred, they felt bound to contend with those who used others." Two refused to circulate the Bible version preferred by the majority and refused to allow hymns in which the objectionable terms were used to be sung in their churches. The controversy marred the spirit of harmony, prevented full cooperation, and created discord and ill feeling among missionaries and native leaders. Bishop Thomson, after listening to discussion of the whole question, concluded that the difference in terms was of slight consequence but the controversial spirit and unwillingness to compromise were serious matters.[174]

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* Ohlinger and Plumb particularly disagreed on the policy concerning the teaching of English in the Anglo-Chinese College in Foochow, a policy supported by Ohlinger but opposed by Plumb. Contention between them became acute. Both wrote letters reciting their complaints to the Missionary Secretaries and to Bishop Wiley. The Woolston sisters and Sia Sek-ong were drawn into the controversy. (Ohlinger to C. H. Fowler, Dec. 5, 1882; April 6, 1883; to Bishop Wiley, June 27, July 3, 1883; Plumb to Fowler, Feb. 24, 1883. All letters are in Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions, Board of Missions.) The conflict was brought to a head at the 1883 session of the Foochow Conference when Ohlinger felt "compelled to draw up formal charges against [Plumb] in order that he might . . . defend himself." The Conference committee was prepared to act but was deterred by the ruling of Bishop Merrill that the Conference was competent to try a member "only on matters having to do with his character as a minister, that difficulties between missionaries should be referred to the Board." The Bishop supplemented his ruling by a written statement which he ordered printed in the Conference *Minutes,* but the Publishing Committee suppressed it, whereupon the mission printed it separately. In view of objections made by some Foochow Conference members to the ruling, Bishop Merrill brought the whole matter to the attention of the 1884 General Conference. It was referred to the Committee on Episcopacy which reported that no action was required.—*G. C. Journal,* 1884, pp. 243, 313; Supplement, *Foochow Conference Minutes,* 1883.

† Edward Thomson: "Two hundred years ago a controversy arose in the Roman Catholic Church in China concerning the proper name for God; the Jesuits using the term Shangti, the Dominicans Shin. . . . The first Protestant missionaries used Shin for God and Hung for Spirit. . . . In 1847 the missions in Foochow adopted Shin and Hung, often using Shangti as an appellative; subsequently they adopted Shin and Ling. This continued until 1860. About this time the Church of England used Shangti and Shin, and in the following year all the missionaries of the American Board here adopted the same terms."—*Op. cit.,* I, 256 f.

Problems of membership common to all missions from the first Christian century to the present inevitably were encountered in the effort to build the Church in China. There were some who united with the Church from mercenary motives, moved by expectation of material gain, and when their hopes failed generally lost interest and ceased attendance. The number of these were such as to pose a major problem. There were also times when for a year or more spurts in church attendance occurred without apparent explanation until it became clear that the idea had been circulated of temporal advantage to be gained by embracing church membership. These merely temporary increases in interest were sources of no little discouragement to the missionaries.[175] Not all who were admitted to the Church, even after all precautions had been taken, proved to be genuine converts. This was true of some for whom great hopes were held. Edward S. Little tells of one such, a Taoist priest who after months of training renounced his Taoist practices, delivered his prayer books to the missionary, and asked for baptism. Two years later Little wrote:

> Some of our members have backslidden and become, if anything, worse than they were before—not all. The Taoist priest, about whom we had such high expectations . . . has fallen away and utterly belied the promises concerning him. This is a sore disappointment to me.[176]

These same problems were met in recruiting and training men for the ministry. The Missionary Society provided an allowance of about $2.20 per month for board and clothes for ministerial students. This was a meager contribution but it was sufficient to tempt some to represent themselves as candidates for the ministry who had no real purpose of becoming preachers.

During the early decades difficulty in recruiting pupils for the day schools led to the practice of paying students a small amount for attendance. Especially in the case of the girls' schools it was difficult to make headway until the expedient of paying a few "cash" a day was hit upon. Many parents were so poor that they would accept any means offered to relieve themselves of feeding and clothing their daughters. While the custom helped in getting schools established it had the unfortunate result of causing many non-Christians to misinterpret the nature and purpose of the Church, leading them, as one missionary said, to look upon it merely "as a grand undiscriminating charity establishment." [177]

In some of the local churches religious devotion after a few years fell to a low ebb, and in others contending factions among the lay members dissipated Christian fellowship. When one of the most saintly of the Christian pastors was appointed to Tiengang Tong—one of the largest of the Foochow churches—he found a "sad condition of bickering and lack of spirituality" prevailing among its members. His efforts to overcome dissension and to exclude unworthy members met with strong opposition.[178]

While a goodly proportion of the pastors in the later decades of the period possessed a high order of native ability and were well qualified by training for effective ministry there were a considerable number who were lacking in basic education and without any special preparation and training. Concerning the employment of the latter there were divergent views among the missionaries. Virgil C. Hart was persuaded that "the almost universal crowding . . . [of] uncalled, untrained native agents" into the ministry was a serious mistake. With slight knowledge of Christianity, he said, "they can impart very little instruction, and lacking Gospel power [they] produce unhealthy results." Spencer Lewis viewed the matter somewhat differently. He was convinced that native preachers who were not literary men were capable of rendering good service. Those whom he had used in West China, he stated, were earnest and zealous, were becoming acquainted with the Scriptures, and were "constantly increasing in efficiency." [179]

There were a few defections from the ranks of the ministry. At the 1875 annual meeting of the Central China Mission a committee reported that a certain pastor "had induced persons to connect themselves with the Church as inquirers by promising them help in litigation at the civil courts," and on this charge he was excluded from the ministry. At another time one of the ordained men of the Foochow District, who had been giving much of his time to the practice of medicine in which he consulted the spirits of divination, became offended because his Presiding Elder presented his case to the Conference, and refused to go to his appointment.[180]

Results of the Missions.—While growth of membership of the Church in China was very slow it is significant that some converts were made from all classes of the Chinese people. Year after year inquirers from among the *literati* presented themselves at the chapels and churches and a few became believers, although it was not until after 1890 that any considerable number of students or literary graduates entered into membership. In his annual report for 1893 Huong Pau-seng, Presiding Elder of the Hokchiang (Futsing) District, Foochow Conference, stated:

> Twenty-one persons, fifteen of whom are men between nineteen and forty, belonging to three of the oldest and most distinguished literary families in the city, have been baptized and openly professed faith in Christ. Three of them are first-degree men, and the others are studying for it. Several are exceedingly zealous in proclaiming the good news, and it is hoped God will call them to the ministry.[181]

There were many cases of opium smokers who, having tested the power of the Gospel to free them from their addiction, embraced the faith and united with the Church. Shopkeepers, merchants, farmers, rickshaw pullers, and students—all were numbered among Christian believers.

Men and women who rose in the churches to confess faith in Christ were often charged with becoming Christians "for the sake of the foreigners' rice." The measure of truth in the charge was sufficient to make the missionaries cautious in accepting applicants for baptism. Rigorous tests were applied. Had the candidate destroyed his idols? What evidences of spiritual concern did he give? Did these evidences clearly surpass all possible hopes of material gain? Was he stedfast and firm in his stand against the opposition of family and friends? Was he definitely interested in the reading and study of the Bible? Did he possess clear witness of the presence and power of the Spirit in his daily life? Only when such tests were met was the candidate baptized and admitted to membership.[182]

An evaluation of the China Christian missions must take into account their effect upon the individual and the community. Did the lives of the men and women who professed to be Christian give evidence that they had been with Christ and learned of Him? Did they show in their lives the fruit of the Spirit—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance? Did they influence community life, lift its moral tone? Judged by such questions the sincerity and depth of conversion of many was beyond dispute. "The moral quality of the results," said Bishop Fowler, "does not suffer by comparison with the converts and disciples of any age, or any land . . . ."

J. Campbell Gibson, missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, bears witness to the changes wrought in individuals and the community:

> We have seen unclean lives made pure, the brokenhearted made glad, the false and crooked made upright and true, the harsh and cruel made kindly and gentle. . . . We have seen the abandoned gambler become a faithful and zealous preacher of the Gospel. . . . We see many Chinese Christians who were once narrow and avaricious, giving out of their hard-earned means a month's wages, or more, yearly, to help the church's work. . . . And the men and women and children who are passing through these experiences are gathering in others, and building up one by one a Christian community . . . .[183]

The vitality of the Christian movement was in no wise more strikingly demonstrated than in its creation of a new and influential unit in Chinese society, the Christian family. The Chinese family was *sui generis,* deeply rooted in age-old custom and tradition. Powerful as these ties were, within a generation they were displaced in Christian households by an institution distinctively different and vigorous enough to perpetuate itself in successive generations. Wherever Christian churches were planted, within a few years Christian families were established to become centers of light and life throughout the community. To print a catalogue of Methodist family dynasties whose members made significant contribution to the civic, political, and religious life of China would overtax the limits of these pages. One of the most remarkable and widely known was that of the Hu family whose founder, Hu Ngieng-su, was one of the early converts of the Foochow Mission. He was the father of six sons who attained positions of leadership in the Church.

After about 1865 noteworthy results were achieved in the training of leaders. When Wiley returned to China as Bishop in 1877 he was much encouraged by what had been accomplished. Writing from Foochow, the Bishop said that nothing so impressed him with "the reality, strength, and permanence" of the work as the men who had been raised up by God as ministers of the Church.

> There are now thirty of them in the conference. At the head stand the five presiding elders, staid, thoughtful, pious, experienced men. Behind these are the five newly-made elders, younger men, yet fine looking, educated in the Chinese sense; pious, earnest, devoted to their work. Behind these again are the five deacons, another class, which will be fully qualified by a few years of experience to come forward to leadership. Then, behind these, are fifteen probationers, all having had experience in preaching, and all promising men; and then behind these, I see stand a class of bright, pious, hopeful young men, students in our theological school, who are hastening to take their places in this young conference; and then, outside of all these, about thirty or forty local preachers of very fair ability, whom we are using as supplies.[184]

No effort was made in China during this period by any denominational group for a central coordinating missionary agency. The area and the population of the Empire were so large and the total missionary personnel was proportionately so small that division of territory among the denominations was not imperative. It is doubtful whether in these early decades a central agency could have allocated territory more strategically than was decided upon by the several missions acting separately. However, early in the period the need for cooperative effort in literature production and in education became so urgent that joint efforts were readily agreed upon. Cooperative action received encouragement through the actions of two Conferences in Shanghai.*

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* The first of these was the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, May 10-24, 1877, with 142 in attendance. Almost all problems confronting the China missions were discussed, including education, literature, medical work, and attitudes toward the native religions. Resolutions on some subjects were adopted and several continuation committees appointed. The second conference was held on May 7-20, 1890, with 445 delegates present, all missionaries. The basic work of the conference was done mostly by committees, with general discussion of papers and reports. Resolutions were adopted; an appeal drafted for 1,000 missionaries to be sent to China in the

In estimating the achievements of Christian missions in China, their contribution to social reform must be recognized. Methodist participation in organizations for reform was less than it otherwise would have been by reason of the brief tenure of a majority of the missionaries. They were not in China long enough to become acquainted and to affiliate themselves with the interdenominational organizations for reform.

Opium smoking was the most widely indulged vice in China. The devastation wrought by the drug to body, mind, and soul was beyond estimate. In the city of Foochow alone there were hundreds of registered "opium dens." The Foochow Mission from an early date had a standing committee on opium smoking, and the Foochow Conference at its first session (December, 1877) approved the organization of an Anti-Opium Society. The twelve hundred Church members in the Conference were "all of one mind that no opium-smoker should be admitted" to membership. The next year the organizing committee reported:

> The Committee . . . obtained the appointment of Committees from the American Board [of Commissioners for Foreign Missions] and English Church Missions, and in conjunction with said Committees called a public meeting of members of the three churches . . . at which the Foochow Anti-Opium Society was organized. . . . Several public meetings have been held during the year. The Society has supported three men . . . while they were learning . . . the methods of treatment to be pursued in the cure of opium smokers; and has about completed arrangements for . . . establishing an Anti-Opium Hospital . . . where two of these men will receive patients for treatment. . . .[185]

The anti-opium interest and activity of the Foochow Conference continued throughout the period (1877-95). The 1883 *Minutes* of the North China Mission contain a report of its Committee on Temperance and Opium which declares the evil effects of opium to be "greater than those of alcohol." "Our church," it says, "must exert all its influence against its use," and "endeavor to put an end to the traffic." In Kutien, of the first seventeen Christians fourteen had been opium smokers "but every one had abandoned the habit, and . . . they would not think of receiving any one" who had not done so.[186]

The acute suffering and crippling physical effects of footbinding were matters of early concern to Christian missionaries, yet not all were ready to oppose the cruel practice. There were those who warned against interfering with the customs of a country when "no moral question is involved," as though crippling the body does not involve a moral question. It was asserted that the custom had nothing whatever "to do with the Gospel" and that missionaries had enough opposition to contend with without creating a new source of antagonism among the *literati* and the commercial class. While the

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next five years; and a permanent committee on conference authorized, thus laying the basis for a continuing organization. The conference strengthened the morale of the missionary group as a whole and developed a sense of unity which had not previously existed.—*Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China*, 1877; *ibid.*, 1890.

more Christian view steadily gained ground action against the custom in some cases was fainthearted. In Foochow when the Girls' Boarding School was established the mission resolved that there should be no cramped feet among the pupils. Within a few days three of the six girls were withdrawn. Of the three who remained, "one was of the large-footed class; the second a preacher's daughter whose feet were so hopelessly crushed it was utterly useless to think of unbinding them; and the third, a sister of the same preacher, remained, on condition we would furnish her with white stockings and foreign slippers." "We at once concluded," said Sarah H. Woolston, "the feet were not of the first importance, and if they were, it was a matter beyond our control." As for the day schools, she continued, we "have found it much easier in the suburbs of Foochow to keep . . . [them up] with the small, rather than the large-footed children. The latter are ready on the slightest opening to go off to work, while the former on account of their general helplessness have time to read." [187] The Misses Porter and Brown were much more forthright when in 1872 they founded the Methodist girls' school in Peking and made unbound feet a qualification for admission. Older missionaries had told them that if they undertook to do so they would never be able to establish a school for girls in China. But they were women of independent minds and strong moral convictions and they decided—to use their own words—"to unbind the feet, and in so doing emphasize our teaching that the body is the temple of the true God and must not be profaned." In time the Peking girls' school (later the Mary Porter Gamewell Girls' School) "grew to be the largest girls' school in China." [188]

At the 1876 meeting of the Foochow Mission, attended by five missionaries, eleven ordained and forty-seven unordained native preachers, a resolution was adopted forbidding the practice of binding the feet in families connected with the Church.[189]

By 1895 footbinding, although still widely practiced, had come into disrepute among a very large number of Chinese people. Within a few years the government gave official sanction to the reform, although few wives of officials unbound their feet. The movement against footbinding became nationwide, led largely by Chinese, many of whom had been inspired by missionary influence.[190]

No Chinese custom moved the hearts of missionaries more than the common practice of infanticide. Erastus Wentworth commented:

> A family in good circumstances will tolerate two or three daughters; but the poorer classes destroy them without compunction and without ceremony. Fathers and midwives believe themselves to be doing a meritorious act in quietly suppressing existence at the threshhold by immersion in the nearest vessel of water, or exposure by night to the chance mercies of the public highways, with the surer hazards of cold and starvation . . . . [It is said] that in the rural villages there was 'scarcely

> a house in which one or more had not been destroyed;' that . . . [one woman] out of a family of seven daughters, had destroyed five . . . .[191]

In Fukien Province, where it was especially practiced, Mrs. S. L. Baldwin observed after eight years' residence in the area that "the rule . . . [was] to destroy the female children, the exception to save them."

> One or two girls in a family may be saved; more are regarded as a nuisance. . . . I have been in the habit for some years of asking the women . . . about their children, and almost all of them that have had girls will tell me that they have drowned one, two, or three. Worse still, I have to say that in all these eight years I have met but one mother that showed the slightest sorrow for the loss of her girls.[192]

Estimates of the proportion of infant girls sacrificed in the several provinces varied widely, ranging from one in twenty to one in ten. The motive was economic. Parents too poor to rear and later support daughters had no alternative than to sell them into a life of slavery or dispose of them at birth.[193]

Needless to say, infanticide was odious to Christian missionaries. However, no concerted effort was made to combat the practice and so far as evidence is available it was not condemned in public meetings of the missions. Seemingly they found that indirect methods and personal influence were more effective in dealing with this evil which the Chinese were loath to admit really existed. Once taught the Christian emphasis on the value of individual life, the convert, too, recognized the evil of the practice. The establishment of orphanages for foundlings was not too general a practice of Protestant missionaries. Even so, within this period at least two asylums were opened by the Methodists and orphans were otherwise looked after as free boarders in the girls' schools, or by placement in homes. The non-Christian community soon recognized the Christian mission as a refuge for daughters, and there are many accounts in the annual reports of unwanted babies being left on their doorsteps.

The sacrifice of infant females was symbolic of the status of womanhood in China. Confucius taught that women are human beings but "of a lower state than men. They never can attain a full equality with men." He held that the "aim of female education, therefore, is perfect submission—not cultivation and the development of the mind." Under the influence of Confucian teaching, and age-long custom antedating the times of the sage, Chinese women were held in abject subjection and subordination in a score of ways.*

Women were allowed no part in the determination of their marriage, decisions being made by their grandparents, or, if the grandparents were not living, by their parents. After marriage wives were under the complete domination of their husbands and their parents-in-law, in many cases subjected to the humiliation of concubinage. When widowed they could be sold into concubinage by their in-laws. Mrs. Gee, the oldest daughter of an official family, who had married a Christian and later, after the death of her husband, attended the Hitt Bible Training School and become a capable Bible woman, barely escaped this fate. ". . . the arrangements had been made," she told the missionary who rescued her, "for me to be sold to an official as a concubine for $300 and my little daughter was to be sold as a daughter-in-law in a family for $80. They were coming after us the next day . . . ." There were many such cases.[194]

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* A fair appraisal of woman's lot in China would have to state that despite the operating principle of inferiority and all the customs that sprang from it, the Chinese woman was not necessarily unhappy. To a degree, at least, she ruled her household, and as mother-in-law she gained status and certain rights.

Education was denied girls and women on the ground that they were incapable of learning. Reading and book learning, it was contended, would unfit them for their duties as wives and for manual work. To read and write was considered useful for boys but not worth-while for girls. Very few Chinese women in this period were able to read. Mrs. John (Lucy H.) Ing, Methodist missionary, wrote in 1874: "When we came to Kiukiang three years since we could not, by diligent inquiry, find a woman who could read . . . ." The opposition to the establishment of schools for girls by the missionaries was almost unbelievable.[195]

By patient, persistent effort Christian missions did much to change the conditions affecting women. The principle of unequal rights for men and women, they insisted, was unjust. They opposed the subjection of women to parents, in-laws, and husbands. They prohibited polygamy and concubinage among church members. They demanded Christian marriage of their converts. They opened doors to freedom by employing women workers. They practiced equality of the sexes by doing away with the custom of placing women behind partition walls in the churches and seated men and women together in services of worship. Most of all, Christian missions everywhere established schools for girls. The missionaries were as much interested in girls' schools as in those for boys; facilities for girls' education were equal to those for boys; and in general the curricula of the two types of schools were much the same. By 1895 girls' schools were widely scattered over China and large numbers of parents—both mothers and fathers—cherished the hope that their daughters as well as their sons might have the advantages of an education. Waiting lists for vacancies had to be drawn up in the larger city schools. That this great advance in the national life must be credited to Christian missions is evidenced by the fact that the first government school for women was not opened until 1887.

Various other customs indicative of women's inferiority to men were likewise eliminated by Christian missions. At an early date it became common practice at baptism to change the given names of men and boys. When the first women were baptized question was raised whether they, too, should have Christian names. Some of the Chinese pastors said they did not think this necessary. At this point Mother Hu arose in the assembly and said quietly, "Of course the women would have Christian names! Woman in Christ has a name." And then, with emphasis, "If you brethren cannot find names for these sisters I can!" And she did. After this incident no more question was raised about Christian names for Christian women.[196]

The life and the thought of the common people of China were plagued with a superstitious belief in demons, of which one of the most feared was the fox demon. At the 1874 meeting of the Foochow Mission a spirited session was given to a consideration of current superstitions. Li Yu-mi in a discussion of the fox demon declared that the real demons in China were dirt and bad air, and concluded:

> Use the broom! Clean the dirt out of your houses! Keep the cats and dogs and chickens and pigs outside, where they belong! Wash your whole bodies frequently with warm water! Poke some holes in your close houses; put in windows, and let in the fresh air of heaven! Do this, and you will not only be forever rid of the fox demon, but you will get rid of the itch at the same time![197]

The missionaries insisted on the strict observance of the Sabbath of which one feature was the wearing of fresh, clean clothes. Providing a change of clothing once a week meant also cleaner houses, and along with cleaner houses went cleaner door yards and streets in front of the houses, all of which contributed to better health and fewer cutaneous, ulcerous, and leprous diseases. They taught the people to whitewash the walls of their houses, within and without; to scour the floors of the schoolrooms and the churches; and to do away with the rubbish of the yards, alleys, and byways. Just such practical counsels as these of social hygiene constituted a not unimportant contribution of Christian missions to Chinese life.[198]

Not least of the achievements of the missionaries was succeeding in what they set out to do—founding the Methodist Church in China. Where there was not one Methodist Society on their arrival in 1847, by the end of the century Methodism had approximately 160 local churches, many of the buildings erected and maintained—at least in part—by the Chinese believers themselves; and some hundred fifty halls and rented places which were the nuclei of future churches. In many cases, the Methodist Societies were as well organized as in America; they had their Quarterly Conferences, Classes, Sunday schools, Epworth Leagues, and temperance organizations. Native ministers were administering to the congregations; and delegates were being chosen and sent to the Foochow and North China Conferences and mission annual meetings. The women had their comparable organizations and met yearly at Conference time to discuss unofficially the problems and program of the Chinese Methodist Church.

There is slight evidence that the two and a half hundred Methodist missionaries sent to China in the second half of the nineteenth century concerned themselves with or were influenced in any marked way by the imperialistic ideology which as we have seen so definitely characterized the commercial and political thinking of the period.* That they were witnessing the beginnings and contributing to a new phase of a historical and religious movement of vast and unending significance they scarcely seemed aware. They saw their work in far more limited terms—the conversion of individual men and women and the planting in China of a Church patterned after that of which they were ministers and missionaries.

In 1895 the total Protestant Christian community constituted only a negligible fraction of the population. Communicant members of all denominations were estimated to number approximately 60,000 or about one in 7,500 of the inhabitants of the Empire. Of these approximately one in eight, counting full members only, were Methodists.

Measured in the terms thus stated, the results of the first fifty years were not highly impressive. It is only as the immensity of the task is considered, the obstacles recalled, and the paucity of the material and human resources set over against the superhuman undertaking, that the achievements of the period begin to be seen in perspective. Moreover, they cannot be statistically measured. Within the half century we have seen the beginnings of Annual Conferences, the founding of schools destined to grow into great colleges and universities, the publishing to the nation by the spoken word and the printed page the glad tidings of Christ's Gospel, and the inculcation in the minds of many thousands of Chinese not affiliated with the Church of Christian ideals to contradict conflicting principles of Buddhism and Confucianism. The Methodist Church had been rooted in the soil of China.

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* See pp. 33-38.

VI

Expanding Program of Foreign Missions—India and Malaysia

On September 25, 1856, the Rev. William Butler[*] of the New England Conference, with his wife, Clementina Rowe Butler, and two of his children, arrived at Calcutta, India, commissioned by the Missionary Society to establish an India mission and appointed by Bishop Simpson as its Superintendent. After consulting with other missionaries and British officials concerning the opportunities for missionary openings in Banaras, Ghazipur, Lucknow, Kanpur (Cawnpore), Moradabad, and several other centers, Butler finally settled upon Bareilly, capital of Rohilkhand, in northwest India, as his headquarters. His field of mission operations was to include the provinces of Rohilkhand and Oudh,[†] which together had a population of more than 18,000,000 people. In a letter to Commissioner Tucker, in charge of the Banaras Division, who had strongly urged him to locate the mission in his Division, Butler gave as two principal reasons for choosing Bareilly that there was not enough unoccupied space in the Banaras Division while in Rohilkhand there was and that in Rohilkhand he could be sure that he would not "build on another man's foundation." He arrived in Bareilly on December 7, 1856, and on March 4, 1857, having settled in his headquarters, wrote to Dr. Durbin:

> I have set up a place for preaching, and have two little congregations—one of about 8 to 10 persons attending the Hindoostanee—Sunday forenoon and Tuesday evening—and about 15 attending the English service on Sunday evening and Thursday evening. . . . We have a class meeting of six regular members, two natives, one East Indian (half blood) and three English or Americans.[1]

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[*] William Butler (1818-99) was born in Dublin, Ireland. Early orphaned, he was brought up by his great-grandmother. In his nineteenth year, while a member of the Church of Ireland, he experienced a Methodist conversion and immediately began to preach. He joined the Irish Conference in 1844 and was ordained elder in 1848. In 1850 he came to America and united with the New York Conference but was transferred immediately to the New England Conference and stationed at Williamsburg, Mass. He became much interested in missions and in 1852 published a *Compendium of Missions*. Widowed with three small children in 1854, he married Clementina Rowe, whom he had previously known in Ireland. After eight years and four months in India, he returned to the New England Conference. In 1869, after becoming secretary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, he removed to Passaic, N. J. In 1872 he was appointed Superintendent of the Mexico Mission. In 1879 he returned to the United States. He retired in 1892.—*William Butler, The Founder of Two Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by his daughter [Clementina Butler], *passim*.

[†] The area later was enlarged to include Kumaon and the mountain district of Garhwal.—J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship*, p. 50.

An American Methodist mission* had been planted in India.

What course of events led up to the establishment of this, the second mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Orient? The General Missionary Committee meeting on May 3, 1847, gave some consideration to India as a possible new mission. The discussion resulted in the following action:

> Resolved, that we look upon *India* as a most inviting & promising field for missionary enterprise and that we deem our Church called upon to establish missions there as soon as a sufficient amount of funds shall be provided for the purpose.[2]

As in the case of China years elapsed before anything further was done. The Corresponding Secretary reported in 1848 that Hindu shrines were doomed, and the next year that Christianity was "paving the way for the ultimate extinction of paganism" in India but still no specific action was taken toward establishing the mission. Though a substantial balance in the missionary treasury was announced in 1850, leading to the appropriation of $150,000. for extension of missionary work none of this 33 1/3 per cent increase was allocated for India. The joint meeting of the General Missionary Committee and Board, however, did request the Corresponding Secretary "to make inquiries concerning the best point for a mission in India" and to report the next year. In April, 1852, the Board voted that—with concurrence of the General Committee and the Bishop in charge of foreign missions—$5,000. be appropriated "to commence a mission in India," but the General Committee did not concur. Seven months later (November, 1852) by action of the General Committee, the Board, and the Bishops, an India mission was authorized, to be begun "as soon as the Bishop can command the services of the proper men," and for it $7,500. was appropriated.[3]

This was only the first hurdle. More difficult still was that of finding "the proper men." The appropriation was renewed in 1853, in 1854, and in 1855. Not until 1855 was the search for a leader successful. James M. Thoburn wrote, "I have heard of so many men who were asked, and who for various reasons were unable to accept the post, that I incline to the opinion that no other prominent post in all the history of our Church was ever declined by so many nominees." Finally on October 10, 1855, five months after an appeal by Dr. Durbin appeared in the *Christian Advocate and Journal* William Butler offered himself as a candidate and was accepted. A farewell meeting was held on the evening of April 8, 1856, in Lynn Common Church, Lynn, Massachusetts, where Butler had been pastor for two years. In the presence of a large congregation Durbin delivered to him his commission, his letter of instruction, and his passport, and on April 9 he sailed with his family on the steamer Canada for Calcutta.

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* The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (English) established a mission in Madras in March, 1817. Between 1817 and 1901 the Wesleyans organized seven Districts: (1) Madras; (2) Negapatam and Trichinopoly; (3) Mysore; (4) Hyderabad; (5) Bengal; (6) Lucknow and "Benares"; and (7) Bombay and "Panjab." A personal link between the Wesleyan and the American Methodist India missions may be noted in the fact that James Lynch, the first Wesleyan missionary to India, had in Ireland "laid his hands on . . . [the] youthful head" of William Butler and kindled in his heart a desire to become a missionary.—G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,* V, 178 f., also Part II, chs. 3, 4.

The instructions given were brief and principally two: (1) the mission was to be solely to the native population "to preach the Gospel to those who have not heard" and all plans "must be devised with this end in view"; (2) to "regard the preaching of the word to the people as the principal efficient means of their awakening and conversion, and all other means as only auxiliary." [4]

The Butler Era, 1856-64

The Butlers were hospitably received in India. In marked contrast to the hostility shown toward the early missionaries to China by officials and people, the Indian people, in general, as well as British officialdom, were cordial and cooperative. Typical of the attitude of British officers was that of the judge at Bareilly who took the Butler family into his home and entertained them until they could obtain a house and furnish it. He expressed delight at their coming since he was a "strong believer in Christian missions" and "in the power of the Gospel to reach the hearts of the heathen." [5]

On March 10, 1857, Butler sent to Bishop Simpson and the Board a formal report of the region he had chosen, the number of missionaries required "to occupy the field," the distribution which should be made of them, and the order in which the several centers should be taken up. The proposed stations and the number of missionaries required for each on a "very moderate calculation" were: Lucknow, eight missionaries; Bareilly, four; Fyzabad, three; Shahjahanpur, two; Moradabad, four; Budaun, two; Pilibhit, two; in all, twenty-five missionaries.

> I know that you cannot at once give me all the men I need. I only ask you to adopt my plan, and give me, *promptly*, as many men as I can retain the *occupation* of the field with—and then as soon as convenient fill up the outline. I want, then, *eight* men *at once*. . . . Give me these, and I will *hold the ground* until you can send the rest.[6]

This masterful plan,* thought out in great detail, formed the basis of organization of the India Mission and later of the North India Annual Conference. Of the stations named by Butler all but two—Fyzabad and Pilibhit—were promptly occupied and have remained as prominent centers of Methodist activity to this day.

Butler had scarcely become settled in Bareilly when India's first war for independence, the Sepoy Rebellion, broke out and the provinces of Oudh and Rohilkhand became the main theater of its operations. The first serious uprising took place in Meerut beginning on May 10, 1857, with the slaughter of numerous Europeans. On May 11 arson, plunder, and murder caused the fall of Delhi. Rebellion spread rapidly and British officers urged Butler to leave Bareilly with his family lest disaster overtake them. For a time he refused but he yielded to persuasion and on May 18 fled to Naini Tal in the mountains seventy miles distant, leaving Joel T. Janvier* and his wife to care for the little flock of adherents and to guard the mission property. The flight was none too soon. On Sunday evening, May 31, the outbreak came.

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* Butler insistently pressed this plan upon the Board. Durbin replied on May 22, 1857, following receipt of the plan, indicating that the Board considered Rohilkhand a favorite missionary field but that a purpose ought not be announced to occupy the province of Oudh or the city of Lucknow as it probably could not be done "in force for several years, if indeed . . . at all."—Butler-Durbin Correspondence of the Clementina Butler MS. Collection, in the Correspondence Files of the Division of World Missions.

> During the closing prayer [of the evening service] the guns opened fire, and the awful slaughter began. The rebels went to the mission premises, set fire to the house, and expressed their regret at not finding the missionary. Miss Maria Bolst, the first woman member of our Mission in India, was beheaded by a Sepoy just as she fled to the mission house . . . . Fully one half of those who had attended the services were murdered, in some cases with great cruelty.[7]

The nawab of Rohilkhand erected a gallows and published a standing offer of five hundred rupees for the arrest of Butler or the delivery of his head. The mission house was burned to the ground, the Superintendent's library destroyed, and the little group of servants and Christians either slain or dispersed. Fortunately Janvier and his wife succeeded in reaching Allahabad in safety. For months Butler was so cut off from the outside world that Alexander Duff, eminent Scotch Presbyterian pioneer missionary, published an obituary of him. When danger at Naini Tal became imminent, on August 4, they moved on to Almora. Delhi was retaken from the insurrectionists on September 20 and soon after Butler, with his wife, ventured to come down to the city from the mountain and thence proceeded to Meerut, where they remained for two months. In the meantime Ralph Pierce and James L. Humphrey of the Black River Conference with their wives had arrived at Calcutta on September 22. There they learned of the Sepoy Rebellion and the impossibility of continuing their journey. In March, 1858, at Agra, they met Butler who came down from Meerut for the meeting. Leaving there, soon all returned to Meerut. Since peace had not yet been restored in Rohilkhand and Oudh, they returned to Naini Tal.[8] Here temporary headquarters were established.

> The younger Missionaries devoted much time to the language. Services were kept up in both English and Hindustani, and open-air preaching in the vernacular was regularly done. Two schools for native boys and girls were opened. The first real Church of the Mission was improvised from a sheep house which was rented for $4.36 . . . a month, and renovated, and cleaned, and white-washed by

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* Joel T. Janvier was born a Hindu at Banda, in Bundelkhand, about 1834. He was converted in his youth and was educated in the American Presbyterian Orphanage at Allahabad and became a teacher in their mission. On Butler's request his services were made available to the Methodist mission and he was licensed as a Local Preacher. (*Thirty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1857], p. 59.) At the organization of the India Mission Annual Conference (1864) he was admitted on trial and elected to elder's orders. (*Forty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* [1864], pp. 93, 94.) He was physically a strong man, had a good mastery of English, was an effective preacher, and in every way an efficient Christian worker. In his old age he became completely blind but even then, despite this limitation, continued to render excellent service.—*Sixty-sixth Ann. Rep. M. S.* (1884), p. 126; William Butler, *The Land of the Veda . . . ,* pp. 214-20; J. E. Scott, *History of Fifty Years . . . ,* p. 9.

the Missionaries themselves, . . . and dedicated . . . to the service of God by prayer. In October, the Commissioner, Major [Henry] Ramsay, laid the corner stone of a new chapel on land eligibly situated, which had been purchased for the Mission.[9]

Butler was impatient to return to Bareilly but the British commander was cautious, urging the necessity of clearing the region of all straggling mutineers. Finally permission was given and the Superintendent revisited the city on August 28. Before he had been there twenty-four hours a subscription had been started for the reopening of the mission. Butler promised, as soon as work in Lucknow was begun, to resume the Bareilly program.

From Naini Tal as temporary headquarters lines were almost at once extended in several directions.

In 1859 six missionaries, five of whom were married men, arrived at Calcutta. Of this group James Baume and wife of the Rock River Conference were the first arrivals, reaching India on June 27. The second contingent—Charles W. Judd and wife of the Wyoming Conference; Joseph R. Downey[*] and wife, North Indiana Conference; Edwin Wallace Parker and wife, Vermont Conference; James W. Waugh and wife, Southern Illinois Conference; and James M. Thoburn, Pittsburgh Conference—arrived on August 21.[†] All six men were ordained preachers of recognized ability, consecrated to their mission, and prepared to make contribution to the planning of the India program. Three—Waugh, Parker, and Thoburn—were destined to continue in missionary service throughout the period of forty years and to have a large part in the mission's founding and development.

The first annual meeting[‡] was convened on September 4, 1859, in Lucknow. Concerning this session Parker wrote in his "Journal" "that it was a time never to be forgotten by anyone present, as it was from beginning to end one continued contention, into which all . . . were more or less drawn before the close." Butler's office as Superintendent, wrote James H. Messmore in his *Life of Edwin Wallace Parker,* "made him virtually bishop, presiding elder, finance committee, treasurer, and corresponding secretary." He was energetic, "impetuous, strong-willed, and at times changeable." He was by birth and early training a European, with old-world ideas of prestige and authority, disposed to make the most of his official powers. The missionaries, with two or three exceptions, "were American Methodist preachers with New World ideas of freedom and independence." * In India "they found themselves disfranchised, without authoritative voice in the management of affairs, and with no law or guide but the will of the superintendent." The chief subjects of discussion were on the nature of the work to be undertaken, requirements governing reception of members, proportionate emphasis on evangelism and on schoolwork, the problem of vernacular or Anglo-vernacular schools, and like topics.[10] Much earlier Durbin had detected a self-willed, autocratic attitude on the part of the Superintendent and had written, "I fear you do not or may not employ your brethren in the administration as much as they might be employed," and had gone on to make specific suggestions as to how this might be done. This counsel, however, had had little or no effect on the Superintendent, and his attitude in the annual meeting provoked acute controversy.

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[*] Jospeh R. Downey became ill a few days after his arrival, and died on Sept. 16. He preached but one sermon in India. By prior agreement, his wife, the future Mrs. James M. Thoburn, remained to carry on his work.

[†] In addition to these recruits four men of English birth, already in India, volunteered in 1858-59 for missionary service. Josiah Parsons, the son of English Methodist parents, who for several years had been working under the Church Missionary Society, on representations from India was admitted on trial at the 1857 session of the Northwestern Indiana Conference, transferred to the New York Conference, and appointed to the India Mission. Before the close of 1859 he resigned. (*Thirty-ninth Ann. Rep. M. S.* [1857], p. 59; J. M. Thoburn, *India and Malaysia,* p. 229.) Wesley Maxwell, who had been in the British army, remained with the mission for a few months only. J. A. Cawdell, a British Wesleyan, served until 1864 as a Local Preacher. In that year he was admitted on trial to the India Mission Conference and appointed to Sambhal, where he continued until the 1869 Conference when, because of ill health, he was located at his own request. (*Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1864, pp. 28-32; *ibid.,* 1869, p. 52; J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* pp. 233 f.) Samuel Knowles, when Butler came to India. was in a volunteer British cavalry company. He decided to resign and join up with the Methodist India Mission. For almost forty-five years he continued in effective service. He was a successful evangelist and a "superior scholar in the languages of India."—J. L. Humphrey, *Twenty-One Years in India,* pp. 65 f.

[‡] A meeting of the three first missionaries in India took place in August, 1858, but this could not be considered on a par with the annual meetings held, beginning the following year, which brought together the missionaries from their distant stations for counsel and reappointment. At the 1858 meeting Butler drew up a request to the Missionary Society for twenty more missionaries and promised to issue a "Statement and Appeal" to India residents for provision of homes for the hoped-for recruits.

At the request of the mission Butler corresponded with Durbin asking for an official statement of the Board and the Bishops in answer to several questions including who in the missions was to be considered qualified "to give Counsel." Under date of December 21, 1859, Bishops Janes and Simpson wrote a joint letter:

> We recommend the most free and full consultation, and the acquirement of all possible information, while the *decisions*[*s*] must rest with the legal members of conference. . . . permit us to recommend you to avail yourself to the utmost possible extent of the assistance of the various members of the mission as Secretaries, or Treasurers, and in whatever other way they may lighten your labours in these matters, and leave you more time for your preaching, and superintending the general interests of the Mission.
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> * * * *
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> We trust . . . that you may act in the spirit of harmony and brotherly love. . . . differences should never create any unkindness or alienation of feeling.

More correspondence† of much the same tenor passed back and forth between the missionary office and the Superintendent, continuing up to the time when Butler left the field.[11]

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* Scott's comment on this meeting is somewhat less critical than Messmore's. He says: "The majority of the men . . . were considerably annoyed and embarrassed by the new *regime* under which they found they had little or no authority in the administration of affairs, for the deliberations and discussions of the Conference could end in no conclusions not subject to the sanction and approval of the Authorities at Home, whose representative was present in the person of the Superintendent."—J. E. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

† For example, as one of numerous letters in the voluminous correspondence, Durbin wrote on Aug. 25, 1862, in a communication marked "confidential" and "not of record": ". . . there has been in your mission, occasionally, and to a greater or less degree, a feeling of uneasiness owing to the power and privileges of the Superintendent, & sensitiveness in regard to the manner of exercising them. . . . The problem for you to solve therefore, is, so to execute the office of Superintendent, as not to be feeble or deficient, & yet to show deference & respect to the opinions & feelings of our younger American Brethren."—Butler-Durbin Correspondence.

At the first annual meeting eleven missionaries were appointed by Butler to six stations: Lucknow, Shahjahanpur, Bareilly, Moradabad, Bijnor, and Naini Tal. Working with the missionaries were four native Local Preachers, three native Exhorters, and eight native teachers. Between January 1, 1861, and the close of 1863 twenty-five additional missionaries arrived * which made possible considerable extension of operations. During this period appointments were made to three more stations:† Budaun, Sitapur, and Lakhimpur.

At the end of the first two years the Superintendent could report that

> Comfortable homes have now been provided, chapels built, schools organized, native teachers and preachers found and trained, orphans collected, the confidence and sympathy and princely aid of the English community secured, native congregations collected at all our seven stations, and small native Churches organized with each of our means of grace in operation.

In addition to setting up the city programs several of the missionaries pushed out into surrounding regions in Methodist itinerant spirit so that in 1860 the Gospel was preached in not less than 250 towns and villages. The occupied stations were widely separated, each missionary approximately fifty miles from his colleague, set down in the midst of a vast population of from 800,000 to 2,000,000 souls. In three of the centers the Methodist mission represented the only Christian ministry.[12]

THE NINE STATIONS

The nine stations that were first occupied were opened in the following order: 1858, Naini Tal and Lucknow; 1859, Bareilly, Moradabad, Bijnor, and Shahjahanpur; 1860, Budaun; 1861, Lakhimpur and Sitapur. It is quite impossible to get from the sources a clear picture of the stationing and terms of service of the missionaries during these early years. Appointments were presumably made at the annual meeting. But no annual meeting was held in 1860 or in 1862. It was considered to be within the province of the Superintendent to transfer a missionary at any time from one station to another for reasons that seemed to him desirable or necessary. For one or another cause—most frequently for reasons of health—numerous shifts were made without systematic record of time or place.

Bareilly, chosen by Butler as his place of residence and the mission headquarters, had a population of approximately 100,000. Here the Superintendent

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* On March 11, 1861, a group of six arrived in Calcutta: Henry Jackson and wife, New York Conference; Isaiah L. Hauser and wife, Wisconsin Conference; James H. Messmore, Michigan Conference; and Miss Libbie A. Husk. In October, 1861, Miss Husk married J. H. Messmore. Also in 1861 John T. Gracey and wife, Philadelphia Conference, arrived in India. In 1862 another group of six arrived: D. W. Thomas and wife, Black River Conference; and J. D. Brown and wife and W. W. Hicks and wife, East Baltimore Conference. They were followed on Jan. 21, 1863, by a party of nine: Thomas J. Scott and Henry Mansell with their wives, Pittsburgh Conference; Dr. and Mrs. Thomas S. Johnson, North Indiana Conference; Peachy T. Wilson, Southern Illinois Conference, and the Misses Sarah E. White (who married the widowed Ralph Pierce), and Emma C. Porter, teachers. (Miss Porter withdrew from the mission in 1864.) Later in 1863 Martha Terry and Mary Whitcomb arrived.

† In India the term station was used, not in contradistinction to Circuit to designate a single city appointment, but as the center of a large area of dense population with numerous preaching places. The station was the headquarters of the missionary from which he itinerated at intervals throughout the civil district to which he was assigned.—J. E. Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 52.

had secured in 1857 the first property to be owned by the Methodist Episcopal Church in India. In February, 1859, Humphrey,[*] who had been appointed to reoccupy the station, reached Bareilly. The destruction of nearly all the European bungalows by the Sepoy mutineers, including the mission residence, had left few buildings in the city fit for occupancy. The free use of the Kashmir Palace (Kashmir Kothi) with its outbuildings was offered by the government and in these dilapidated quarters the missionary took up his residence. He was fortunate in having as his native helper Joseph Fieldbrave,[†] whose aid as a bazaar preacher and assistant in building the needed mission houses proved invaluable. Within a few weeks a school was organized in a spare room of the old palace with eight pupils—three orphan boys, Fieldbrave's girl and boy, and three others. From time to time inquirers appeared, none of whom at first manifested deep interest, but one evening while preaching in a crowded bazaar Humphrey noticed a young man who seemed intensely concerned. A meeting with him was arranged and a long conversation was held. This young Mohammedan teacher exhibited constantly deepening interest until finally he requested baptism. For a week the missionary demurred, urging him to be patient and to inquire more thoroughly, that he might be doubly sure that he knew what he was doing. His relatives did their best to dissuade him. His wife sent him word that she would not continue to live with him or allow him to have possession of his son. Nevertheless, he had made his decision and was determined to abide by it. Sometime previous to June 10, 1859, Zahur ul Haqq,[‡] the first Methodist convert in Bareilly and probably the first in India, received Christian baptism.[§]

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[*] James Lorenzo Humphrey (1829-1910) was born in northern New York on Aug. 11, 1829. In 1850 he was married to Emily Jane Trussel, a daughter of an influential family of St. Lawrence County, N. Y. In 1852 he was admitted on trial to the Black River Conference and appointed to Hopkinton, Potsdam District. After serving several other charges he was sent to India in 1857. He returned to America on his first furlough in 1864, studied medicine, and in 1867 was awarded the M.D. degree by Albany Medical College. Returning to India he was given charge of several medical centers in and near Naini Tal under government support and in 1868 established a medical class for Indian women. He was the pioneer Methodist medical missionary in India, supremely interested in evangelism, a competent administrator of schools, "always dignified and scholarly in the pulpit, indefatigable in the discharge of his pastoral duties . . . [a] gracious, kindly and cultured gentleman . . . [whose] name was revered wherever it was known."—"Memoir," *Minutes, North India Conference,* 1911, p. 75; Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *Gospel in All Lands,* October, 1900, p. 462.

[†] Joseph Fieldbrave was a Eurasian who had been baptized at Kanpur and had worked with other missions before he made connection with the Methodist missionaries and asked to be received into the mission. "He served the Mission faithfully for nine years at Bareilly, Muradabad and Lucknow, and died in peace on the 20th of July, 1868."—J. E. Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 48.

[‡] Maulvi Zahur ul Haqq (1834-96) was born near Shahjahanpur of Mohammedan parentage. He was brought up in the faith of Islam, married, and had a son. When he became a Christian his wife was divorced according to Mohammedan law. He remarried in 1862. In 1870 he was ordained elder by Bishop Kingsley and appointed to Amroha. He also served the missions at Bareilly, Moradabad, Naini Tal, and Bijnor, and in 1882 was appointed Presiding Elder of the Amroha District, the first Indian Presiding Elder. He continued in the presiding eldership until 1892; then became pastor at Chandausi, where he died. He was characterized by Scott as "a faithful man, a good preacher, an able administrator and wise in counsel." Of his nine children by his second marriage, "three of his sons became Christian ministers, two Christian doctors, and two of his daughters married Christian doctors."—*Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1870, p. 50; J. E. Scott, *op. cit.,* pp. 48-50; James L. Humphrey, art., *Epworth Herald,* XIX (1908), 15 (Sept. 5), 363 f.; Robert G. Tuttle, "Seedtime and Harvest," *World Outlook,* XV (1954), 10 (October), 19 f.; *Autobiography of Rev. Zahur-Al-Haqq, First Convert in the Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India,* pamphlet, translated from Hindustani by Mrs. E. J. Humphrey, pp. 8-18. Zahur ul Haqq in his printed account says that he was baptized on Sunday, June 15, 1859, but June 15 did not fall on a Sunday.

[§] The tradition is that Zahur ul Haqq was the first Methodist convert in India but this claim cannot be fully substantiated by the evidence of existing sources. Ralph Pierce in a report of the Lucknow Mission, published in the *Missionary Advocate* in November, 1859, stated: "Early in April, Early in the next year (1860) Humphrey was transferred to Budaun, but in 1861 he was back again in Bareilly. During his first period in the city a young Hindu "baboo" (gentleman), Ambica Charn, had become interested in his preaching and on his return continued attendance at the preaching services and conversed with Humphrey about the way of salvation. He finally resolved, despite the bitter opposition of relatives, to become a Christian. Although his wife left him because of his decision, he remained stedfast. As Ambica Charn Paul he became a Conference member and served many years as an influential minister.[13]

In 1863 Bareilly reported two schools, the Sadar Bazaar, a boys' school of sixty pupils, and the orphanage school of 140 girls. In 1864 there were thirty-five church members, of whom twenty were probationers. The average Sunday congregation numbered 160; Sunday-school pupils, 140.[14]

At Naini Tal, when the Butlers left in the latter part of 1858 to begin work in Lucknow, Samuel Knowles was placed temporarily in charge. At the 1859 mission meeting James M. Thoburn was appointed missionary-in-charge with Knowles as his associate. Within a few weeks Knowles was removed to fill a vacancy at a station on the plains.

The entire Naini Tal population did not exceed three thousand natives, some three hundred convalescent soldiers housed in military barracks, and in the summer season about sixty families of Europeans whose white houses were located on the margin of the lake and perched here and there on the surrounding mountainsides. A short distance above the houses was the bazaar—the business streets with their shops and markets and native dwellings. Here Thoburn found a strenuous schedule awaiting him.

> The missionary was expected to hold two English services weekly, one at the barracks on Sunday afternoon, and another in the school-room in the evening. He was also to hold a Hindustani service in the morning, and to preach in the bazar at least two or three times a week. He was also expected to teach at least two hours daily in the school, and meantime vigorously prosecute the study of at least one Indian language.

A stone chapel was in course of construction when he arrived and he was also expected to supervise its completion.[15]

During the summer of 1861 opportunity was afforded for study, for review of mission prospects among the native population, and for making plans for extending the work. The cooperation of the government inspector materially aided the extension of schoolwork and development of outstations. The program was also so liberally supported by the British residents that within

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at our Friday evening meeting, while Joel [Janvier] was preaching, Hoosin Beg, an inquirer, was smitten with conviction, and that night found peace. Having been instructed in the way of the Lord more perfectly, and having maintained a consistent walk, on Sunday, June 12, with his wife, who is of like mind, and his daughter, . . . was baptized." This was a Mohammedan family. In the same issue of the *Missionary Advocate* Josiah Parsons, writing on June 16, 1859, reported that two men, one an Afghan soldier—formerly "a most bigoted Mussulman"—and the other a Sikh guru, had come forward "and made a public profession of their faith in Christ," and both were baptized by William Butler on May 29.—Ralph Pierce and Josiah Parsons, reports in *Missionary Advocate,* XV (1859), 8 (November), 57, 59.

Thoburn's second year the station not only became self-supporting, except for the missionary's salary, but even paid a surplus into the treasury. In November the missionary's heart was overjoyed by winning his first convert, a young man of nineteen who had attended a mission school but had never before manifested any spiritual interest. In a meeting at Naini Tal the Holy Spirit, as he expressed it, "came into his heart like a breath." At once he asked for baptism and on November 3, 1861, was publicly baptized in the mission church and given the Christian name John Barker, after that of Thoburn's college president. He later became "a valuable laborer in the North India Conference." About this same time an outstation was established at Haldwani, at the foot of the mountains, about fourteen miles from Naini Tal. A boys' school there had been turned over to the mission, and as this opened the way among the Tharus, a people dwelling in the great Terai swamp whom Thoburn was eager to reach, he closed the mission house for the winter and began work among them. He found numerous opportunities of preaching among them but after becoming acquainted with their habits, customs, and beliefs decided that to make Christians of them was something more "than a ten days' task." [16] Through a combination of unfortunate circumstances Thoburn gave up the work and it was included in the Pilibhit appointment.*

During 1862-63 the work of the mission, particularly among the natives, "developed very encouragingly." The Sunday-school attendance increased, religious services in the mission church took on more of the Christian spirit and form, three converts were baptized, and the future seemed bright with promise. The death of Mrs. Thoburn† made it necessary for him to return to America with his child. He was absent from India on furlough from October, 1863, to the close of 1864. Fortunately Parker's presence in Naini Tal for health reasons made it possible for him to carry on. The Naini Tal station at the close of 1864 reported two communicants (natives), four schools with 114 pupils, and eighty persons in the English congregation.[17]

Lucknow, capital of the province of Oudh, fifth in size of India's cities, had a population in the fifties of approximately 250,000. The population included in addition to the native people a large group of military and an increasing European and Eurasian community. Work was begun in Lucknow in September, 1858, by Pierce, in association with Butler, with the assistance of Joel T. Janvier. They were substantially aided in their undertaking by the

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* See p. 483.

† James M. Thoburn was married to Minerva Rockwell Downey, widow of Joseph R. Downey, in 1861. She died in Naini Tal in October, 1862, leaving an infant son, Crawford. As Mrs. Thoburn had requested that the child should be taken to her mother in America as soon as practicable and as the father felt that the child could not be cared for suitably in India he requested a furlough. The Superintendent opposed the request, whereupon Thoburn asked for approval of the missionaries, who almost unanimously advised him to go without waiting for action of the Board. Butler, in correspondence with Durbin, charged Thoburn with "bad spirit" and characterized his procedure as "self-willed and stubborn." The correspondence was referred to the Bishops, and Bishops Simpson and Janes in a letter to Thoburn stated they believed him to be candid and sincere in his "understanding of the authority of the Mission," but "not sufficiently respectful and courteous" in his correspondence with the Superintendent.—Butler-Durbin Correspondence, Sept. 17, 1863; Bishops Simpson and Janes to James M. Thoburn, 1864 [month indecipherable], *ibid.;* J. M. Thoburn, "Wayside Notes: An Autobiography," *Western Christian Advocate,* April 5, 1911, p. 9.

British commissioner, Sir Robert Montgomery, who made over to the mission a headquarters, together with other buildings, fitted up at the expense of government and by subscriptions, which he personally raised and to which he contributed half. The properties were in the western part of the city, Hussainabad. Preaching was begun in both English and the vernacular. Preaching places were established in the bazaars, schools were opened, and a girls' orphanage and school in the charge of Mrs. Pierce. By 1860 work was also under way among soldiers in the eastern part of the city, with services in a chapel built by themselves. Regular preaching was scheduled three times a week; also prayer meeting, Class meeting, and Sunday school.

At the close of 1864 the station had thirteen church members; two Class meetings with an average attendance of fifteen; and six schools with an enrollment of 225 males and 150 females.[18]

Moradabad, a city of some 60,000 population, located about fifty-five miles northwest of Bareilly, was headquarters of a civil district of approximately a million people. The district contained numerous large towns, such as Chandausi and Sambhal, and many villages at intervals of a few miles. Butler wished to occupy Moradabad as one of his first centers and in 1858 appointed Parsons to it and asked that Humphrey assist him while he "was waiting for the way to open to go to Bareilly." Soon after their arrival they were visited by a representative of the Mazhabi Sikhs "who had heard of Christ from the Presbyterians in Fatehgarh, [some] one hundred miles away," and all wanted to become Christians. Such an opening could not be disregarded and in January the Parsons and the Humphreys visited the Mazhabi Sikhs at the village of Joa, about twenty miles from Moradabad. A large number were assembled, "eager for instruction" as to what they must do to be saved. After preaching to them the preachers prayed and all the Mazhabi Sikhs prostrated themselves, many repeating the words of the prayers. This was the beginning of a long-continued and fruitful work among these poverty-stricken and ignorant people.

Once settled in a house rented as a mission residence, Parsons began bazaar preaching. From the beginning the missionaries were treated respectfully and kindly. By the second quarter of 1859 the sense of strangeness of many had broken down and inquirers were taking the initiative in visiting the missionary's house and asking questions about religion and the Bible. An outstation was soon started at Babukhera, a school established, a congregation assembled, and a chapel built.[19]

During 1859-64 Moradabad was served by C. W. Judd (three years) and Humphrey (two years), and also—for brief periods—by Brown, Jackson, Parker, and Cawdell. In 1863 Henry Mansell * was also appointed and in 1864

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* Henry Mansell (1834-1911) was born in Trumbull County, Ohio. He had his first conversion experience Nov. 7, 1851, called to be a missionary at seven years of age by reading "Little Henry and his Bearer." At twenty-five he graduated from Allegheny College and from that time until 1862 he was an itinerant in the Pittsburgh Conference. He married three times, Ann E. Benshoff,

reappointed to the station. During these years village work was begun, bazaar preaching in the city was maintained, a second school of sixty pupils was opened, and a third at Sambhal, twenty miles distant, with Ambica Charn as the teacher. Zahur ul Haqq was assigned to Babukhera and Andrias, an Indian helper, to the Chamars at Kundarki. The year 1864 brought marked advance to the station as a whole. At its close eleven persons were received into membership by Bishop Thomson at Moradabad and twenty-seven were baptized at Babukhera. Butler's final statistical report showed six missionaries, two Indian preachers, six Exhorters, and seven teachers in connection with the mission. Full members numbered thirty: sixteen men, fourteen women; and twenty probationers. Three Class meetings had an attendance of fifty. The Sunday school averaged seventy. Two hundred and twenty-two pupils—188 boys and thirty-four girls—were enrolled in seven day schools.[20]

Shahjahanpur, one of the larger of Rohilkhand's cities, was located close to the border of Oudh, surrounded "by a very populous district." James W. Waugh was commissioned by Butler to establish a mission in the city, where he arrived on October 1, 1859. At the close of the first year, in addition to one missionary (Baume, his successor), the station had a Local Preacher, and an Exhorter. It reported three probationers, a day school with eleven pupils, and a Sunday school of ten. Two houses had been acquired, with seven acres of land, altogether valued at Rs. 9,000. On his transfer to Shahjahanpur in 1861 Humphrey was much impressed by the possibilities which it offered:

> I found a great field and many open doors of usefulness. I found it necessary to make some changes in the boys' school which had been opened on the Mission premises, and to enlarge its scope. I succeeded in obtaining a commodious building in the Bazar, and secured some capable teachers, and soon our attendance rose from about twenty to over one hundred. We carried on Bazar preaching regularly, as we had done in other places. In the course of the year several persons were baptized, and the work grew rapidly upon our hands.[21]

Butler's report for 1863 stated that "preaching in the bazars and chapel, and occasionally in the villages," was maintained faithfully; also that the bazaar school, in Brown's charge, with five teachers, was "in a flourishing state." Fourteen girl pupils were also reported. This year the boys' orphanage was moved to Shahjahanpur.* In 1864 in addition to four missionaries—two men and two women—the station had one native preacher, one Exhorter, and eight teachers. Members of the Church numbered twenty-two, the majority men, and six probationers. The two Class meetings reported an average

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1861; Lula Benshoff, 1875; and Nancy Monelle, 1876. He was in India at the organization of the India Mission Annual Conference, 1864, later the North India Conference, and remained in this Conference until 1893 when he was transferred to the Northwest India Conference. In North India he served as Presiding Elder of the Moradabad and Oudh Districts and principal of Bareilly Theological Seminary. While in the Northwest India Conference he was Presiding Elder of the Mussooree District and principal of the Philander Smith Institute. He was a delegate to the General Conference of 1872. In 1877 he opened the Centennial High School at Lucknow, which later became Reid Christian College. He retired in 1902 but remained active in Mussooree and Bareilly until 1910 when he removed to Bristol, Conn.—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

* See pp. 468 f.

attendance of twenty persons; the Sunday services, eighty-five; and the Sunday school, seventy-eight.[22]

Bijnor, a small city of 13,000, located in a civil district of the same name, in the province of Rohilkhand, was 250 miles from Lucknow. Edwin W. Parker and wife, sent at the 1859 annual meeting to open the Bijnor station, held the first formal service out-of-doors under a mango tree. Parker's native helper, William, preached to the congregation. On Christmas Day the missionary attempted his first brief sermon in the vernacular. In a letter to the Board he gives his impression of his field of service:

> The city is small, but there are several large towns, fifteen or twenty miles away, and a number of places having over five thousand inhabitants. Besides our work in Bijnor city, we have been in nearly all the important places of the district. This is an excellent field for itinerating, as we can seldom go three miles in any direction without finding a village, so that on our way to the cities we can preach continually.[23]

In about a year a congregation of some fifty persons was attending chapel services and two day schools were in successful operation—thirty in the boys' school and twenty in the girls' school, the girls being taught by Mrs. Parker and the native preacher's wife. The Sunday school had forty pupils, enrolled in five classes. A mission residence had been completed as well.

The 1860 famine struck the Bijnor area particularly hard. Parker was called upon to serve as a member of the government local famine relief committee which required his giving much of his time to food distribution.

That year and the next both Parker and his wife suffered from serious illnesses, which made it necessary for them to leave the plains and spend considerable time at Naini Tal recuperating. While there Parker was appointed to the Lakhimpur Circuit to organize and administer the agricultural colony (Wesleypur). They bade farewell to Bijnor, feeling that a good beginning had been made. In two years they had "collected a little church of ten members and as many more probationers" and had "acquired much of the language." Before they departed Isaiah L. Hauser and wife had been assigned to the station. They were reappointed annually until 1867. Hauser's report for 1863 complained of the great difficulties he was having "with insincere inquirers"—men who professed to be influenced by good motives whose subsequent conduct proved them to be false. Converts in many instances were persecuted to such an extent that they threw themselves upon the missionary's support even though he had no funds to sustain them. He tried for a time the experiment of cooperating with them in mulberry cultivation and raising silk worms as a means of livelihood.[24]

Bishop Thomson visited the boys' school in 1864 and was not too favorably impressed. He particularly questioned the use of non-Christian teachers.

> The average attendance is eighty-nine, all boys. There are five teachers; namely, two Hindoos, two Mohammedans, and one Christian. The head master is a

> Hindoo, but the school is opened with prayer and the reading of the Bible. Pagan and Mussulman teachers will teach the Holy Scriptures as ours do Homer. An examination of the classes in the ordinary branches and the Bible was quite satisfactory.

Bijnor station in 1864 had four schools with an enrollment of 200 boys and ten girls. In addition to Hauser and his wife there were fourteen native workers—one preacher, two Exhorters, and eleven teachers. Church members numbered ten—seven men and three women; probationers, seven. The average Sunday congregation was twenty-four.[25]

Budaun was located twenty-eight miles southwest of Bareilly. The district had a population of almost a million people and included several cities of some size of which Budaun with 30,000 was the largest. Early in December, 1859, James L. Humphrey and wife and Joseph Fieldbrave started on a tour of the region. At Budaun they were warmly greeted by two native Christians who said they had been praying for a long time that missionaries might come to their city. They were members of a small group which had been formed in Bareilly before the Sepoy Rebellion by a Church of England chaplain. The English magistrate also extended a welcome to the missionaries and gave them five hundred rupees toward the expense of opening a mission. An opportunity also was offered to purchase a well-located compound and a house suitable for a missionary residence. The lieutenant-governor of the Northwest Provinces, with his suite, arrived at Budaun at about the same time and several of the party made "handsome donations" to the mission. Under these circumstances Humphrey decided that a mission should be established at once and wrote to the Superintendent asking his approval. Butler assented, took steps to purchase the house, and authorized Humphrey to remove to Budaun as soon as possible. Short shrift was made of moving. Soon (1860) the Humphreys were in their new location and the house remodeled. Schools were opened for both boys and girls; a Sunday service begun for the eight or ten European families living in the city; and preaching places established at suitable centers. A "neat, commodious chapel" was built to serve for both Hindustani and English Sunday services and for the boys' day school. Before the beginning of the hot season the missionary made a quick trip into the western part of the district, preaching in some of the larger towns. At one place a bright young lad of about fifteen by the name of Chimman Lal, after hearing Humphrey preach, asked for tracts and later followed him to Budaun where the missionary engaged him as a teacher for a low-caste school. He soon became a Christian and was received into the North India Conference. Later he became a charter member of the Northwest India Conference. He was a composer of hymns that were sung all over North India.[26]

Humphrey relates that in the fall of 1860 Samuel Knowles accompanied him on a visit to a vast mela on the Ganges about twelve miles from Budaun.

For five days, November 23-28, Humphrey, Knowles, and two native helpers preached daily, usually both in the morning and the evening, to great crowds of people, many of whom listened intently to the messages which they delivered. At the 1861 annual meeting Knowles was appointed to Budaun. For the second quarter of the year Butler reported:

> Three days in the week he preaches in the bazars, where he has from seventy to one hundred hearers, and he speaks hopefully of 'the hearing ear' which the people have. He has two services on the Sabbath in our nice little chapel, where an average of seventy persons regularly attend. Among these are some native soldiers . . . and several of our schoolboys there willingly and regularly come to worship.

This year Budaun added another boys' school. The "chapel school" enrolled fifty-nine boys; the "city school," thirty-eight; and the girls' school, twenty-five. There was also a Sunday school. A Class meeting was held on Tuesday evening and a prayer meeting on Thursday evening. One day in the week Knowles set apart for visiting surrounding villages.[27]

Within a few months of the Conference year 1862-63 three different missionaries were appointed to Budaun. Immediately upon their arrival in India in January, 1863, Thomas J. Scott and wife assumed charge. The breaks in continuity in missionary service were not conducive to a sustained program but in 1864 with two missionaries, one native preacher, and nine schoolteachers the station reported thirteen full members—eight men and five women—and three probationers; a Sunday school of thirty pupils; a Class meeting with an average attendance of thirteen; and seven day schools with an enrollment of 126 boys and forty girls.[28]

The Lakhimpur station in the province of Oudh was opened in May, 1861, by Henry Jackson. In July Butler reported the dedication of a chapel, "the nicest place of worship in our mission," for which the cost was supplied by "good friends in that station." A schoolhouse also was under way.[29] A year later the girls' school was the largest in the entire mission. In September, 1861, Parker—the son of a Vermont farmer—was appointed to Lakhimpur "in order that he might have charge of the Christian agricultural colony," Wesleypur, twenty miles distant in uncultivated track. Parker foresaw difficulties and very reluctantly accepted the appointment. "We would have preferred remaining at Bijnor," he wrote in his "Journal," "but we go as sent, hoping there may be a providence in all." Butler was optimistic. "Christianity," he said in his 1862 annual report, "may here . . . be rooting itself in the soil." The best brief description of the unique experiment is given by J. E. Scott in his *History of Fifty Years:*

> The first Christian Settlement . . . was attempted in 1861, to provide a home for the scattered and persecuted converts, especially from among the Mazhabi Sikhs, and other agriculturists, in the Muradabad and Bijnor districts. Dr. Butler secured a Government grant of five-thousand acres of fertile waste land in

North Western Oudh, . . . and on the 9th of October, Mr. and Mrs. Parker arrived at the new Settlement to superintend it. They were joined by about twenty families from Bijnor and work was commenced to lay out a village. But the enterprise was a failure from the beginning. The location proved to be an unhealthy one. The Parkers, and Mr. Hicks, who joined them later, had no house to live in. A disastrous fire destroyed the native huts. Nearly all the colonists came down with fever. The Parkers left the place, shattered in health, on the 20th of January, 1863, and at the Conference held in Bareily on February 5th, the enterprise was abandoned.[30]

Theoretically the project had much to commend it. When the Christian agriculturists came under the paternal authority of the mission they were delivered from the persecution of the landlords; they became members of a Christian community; and a settlement was established which promised to become a center of "Christian light and influence benefiting the whole region round about." But the difficulties, some of which certainly might have been foreseen, were insuperable and at the end of the Conference year Butler saw no other alternative than the discontinuance of the enterprise.[31]

At Lakhimpur in 1863, with Jackson and Wilson in charge, a mission house was erected. Butler's final report (1864), in which Lakhimpur and Sitapur were grouped together, with four missionaries, four Exhorters, and four teachers, stated that full members numbered fourteen and probationers two. The one Class meeting had an attendance of eight persons, the Sunday school, five. The two schools had eighty boys and three girls.[32]

John T. Gracey* and wife on their arrival from America were assigned to Sitapur, in the province of Oudh. The city was six miles from Khairabad, an important Hindu and Mohammedan center, and about thirty miles from Lakhimpur. In a letter written soon after his arrival Gracey narrates important particulars of the mission beginnings:

> On our arrival here we found some ten or twelve native Christians, who had been converted elsewhere, and were located here in business. These we organized into a society at a little prayermeeting at the house of one of . . . [them] on the evening of October 31.
>
> We had no mission premises . . . but organized our first school under the trees, which rapidly swelled to an attendance of twenty-two young men from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, desirous to learn English. In January, still unable to procure property, we rented an old bungalow . . . [had it repaired and moved in. The school was held on the verandah.]
>
> On the 18th of January we opened a school in Khairabad with an attendance

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* John Talbot Gracey (1831-1912) was born near Philadelphia, Pa., on Sept. 16, 1831. For two years he studied medicine in Philadelphia but later decided to become a minister. In 1850 he was received on trial in the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Two years later (March, 1852) he became a member of the Philadelphia Conference and was appointed to Springfield, Pa. In 1858 he married Annie Ryder, a minister's daughter. In 1861 he was appointed a missionary to India. He established the Sitapur station and served later in Bareilly and Naini Tal. After six years Mrs. Gracey's failing health compelled them to leave India. He was a delegate from India in the General Conference of 1868, the first delegate seated from an overseas Conference. After pastorates in Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Syracuse, and other cities, he gave himself exclusively to writing. He was missionary editor of the *Northern Christian Advocate* for eighteen years, of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* seven, and associate editor of the *Missionary Review of the World* for a long period. He revised and extended Reid's *History* of Methodist missions.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *Missionary Review of the World*, April, 1912, pp. 283-91.

> of twelve, which rapidly grew to forty. It was originated and is taught by an elderly and scholarly man, who has become an inquirer . . . and . . . has sought baptism . . . .[33]

Within two years Gracey and his helper had preached in more than seventy outlying villages. In 1863 Butler was able to procure a suitable location for the mission upon which Gracey erected a convenient and substantial missionary residence. In the meantime he had made good progress in learning the language, had sustained the customary Sunday services, and opened a *zyatt* in the bazaar.[34]

EARLY METHODS OF EVANGELIZATION

The Board's primary instruction to missionaries, no matter what field, was in all cases the same: to preach the Gospel to the native population and to allow nothing to supersede this injunction. In the beginning preaching methods used in India differed only slightly from those which prevailed in China during the same period. As soon as the first India missionaries gained an elementary grasp of the vernacular, they went to the bazaars and the melas to preach. But they faced insurmountable barriers. Following the Sepoy Rebellion people of all castes and classes were imbued with an unreasoning fear against everything foreign and a deep-seated prejudice against Christianity. This prejudice, Thoburn says, was universal.

> [It] stood in the way of the missionary to an extent which . . . can hardly be realized. . . . The very lowest castes, and even the outcastes, dreaded the name of Christian.

In consequence, the missionaries were everywhere baffled in their attempts to influence the people by preaching and yet they persisted. Within a few years a number of native assistants were available to assume the leading role —Janvier, Fieldbrave, Ambica Charn, Zahur ul Haqq, and others. The missionaries were constantly on tour, particularly during the cold months from October to March, living in tents, itinerating from village to village, and from mela to mela. In these many experiences the missionaries gradually became more and more convinced of the practical impossibility of effecting a real meeting of minds by casual contacts with crowds of people in preaching. Thoburn was particularly impressed:

> A great gulf separated us. Their habits of thought, their accepted traditions, their low plane of morals, their reliance upon erroneous maxims which had to them all the force of religious axioms, their dense prejudice, and the caste rules which hedged them about on every side—all these things kept us at a vast distance from the people who stood close around us and looked with kindly interest into our faces.[35]

Pantheism also stood as an impenetrable wall of separation between the preacher and the minds of his hearers. There was between them no theological common denominator of understanding. The Christian's concept of God and that held by the Hindu were as far apart as the poles. Henry Haigh wrote in 1896:

> at bottom the average Hindu is a Pantheist and by that I mean that he regards God as a being undistinguishingly diffused throughout His creation, as closely related therefore to any one thing in that creation as to any other, independently of all moral consideration. . . . worship with him is inevitable idolatry, and to denounce idolatry seems to him like denying the existence of God . . . . Not only does he regard God as equally diffused through all forms of existence; he holds Him to be equally present in all forms of activity, and this again, independently of all moral considerations.[36]

As one consequence of their developing conviction, instead of confining their efforts to the noisy bazaars and crowded melas the missionaries with their native helpers resorted to more quiet places where conversation with individuals or small groups would be possible. The *zyatt,* as used by Adoniram Judson in Burma, was tried in some places. In 1859 Butler wrote, "we have . . . tried [the] plan of *zyatts,* or open rooms in the native city, where the missionary sits daily for two or three hours and receives all who come to him, reading and conversing with them." [37] The *zyatt* was used with some success, particularly in Moradabad and Budaun. Cognizance was also taken of the fact that people lived in small groups, both in the cities and in country villages, according to caste, which simplified group approach.

> A group, for instance, of two or three dozen houses will be found on the outskirts of the town, inhabited exclusively by Chumars [Chamars], or leather-dressers; another by Chuhras, a very low caste of laborers, and so on. Going into one of these quarters [a mohalla] . . . the workers began to hold meetings in a more formal way than was possible in the bazaars. They would sometimes sing for half an hour while the people came together, when one or more of the brethren would preach, and this would sometimes be followed by a prayer-meeting. This kind of preaching was in every way more satisfactory than the work in the bazaar had been, and much more fruit was gathered . . . .

This new method brought a valuable discovery:

> Much greater progress could be made by following family and caste lines than by the more general effort to reach a whole community . . . . When one family is converted, it is always found that six, or perhaps a dozen, other families are related by marriage or otherwise to the new converts. These relatives invariably belong to the same caste as the converts, as intermarriage with other castes is not permitted; and when they, in turn, are brought under Christian influence and converted, each family opens the way to as many more, and thus the circle of Christian influence widens rapidly. In this way, following family lines, a steady advance from family to family has led our workers in some instances for fifty miles across the country, with the result of establishing a line of what might be called Christian settlements, or at least Christian families in a large number of Hindu villages.[38]

Still another consideration entered into the missionaries' thinking. They were increasingly impressed with the fact that the great majority of their converts were low-caste and outcaste people. There were outstanding exceptions, as has been noted, but there were few. Decades earlier Alexander Duff had been convinced by his experience that it was impossible to reach high-caste Hindus by evangelizing methods and that much more attention must be given to education as a means of securing entrance for Christian ideas and principles into the minds of high-caste Hindus and Mohammedans. Duff's influence was widespread among both government officials and missionaries of all denominations, and his opinions reinforced the Missionary Society's injunctions concerning establishing schools.

The importance of schools was also heightened by the fact that the British patrons in many cases made their contributions conditional on the establishment of one or more schools. For their part the missionaries were quick to recognize that a school for children—particularly for boys—was the most effective way of gaining the favor of the Indian people and of interesting them in listening to preaching. The schools were open for all who chose to attend on the unvarying condition of accepting the religious as well as the secular instructions.

To maintain the schools after the missionaries had succeeded in getting them started was difficult. Pupils came and went and even in the case of those whose names were continued on the rolls attendance was very irregular. Thoburn, who was not easily discouraged, wrote:

> the whole work seemed so utterly unpromising that at times the thought could not but present itself that it might as well be given up. No one, however, ever yielded to such a suggestion. The work went on, each little school slowly gaining in numbers and efficiency, . . . and the prospects very slowly, indeed, . . . yet certainly brightening.[39]

Butler's proposal of a strict limitation on the extension of schools did not commend itself to a majority of the mission members. Five years after his 1859 letter he wrote again to Durbin:

> I have been hard pressed by some, to alter my purpose, & consent to see your money locked up in fine buildings for Schools & Churches, or lavished on schools (for which we have not, & cannot have for years, proper Christian Teachers) or, for other purposes; all of which . . . could well stand over in favor of efforts which directly bring Christ's living Ministry with his Gospel to these perishing multitudes for whose souls no man cares![40]

The maintenance of schools for girls during these early years was difficult. Alexander Duff had written years earlier that one "might as well attempt to lift the loftiest peak of the Himalayas and throw it into the Bay of Bengal" as to establish female education in India and conditions remained unchanged during the intervening period. The first Methodist mission girls' school in India was begun at Naini Tal by Mrs. Pierce and Mrs. Humphrey while waiting for conditions to settle after the mutiny. In 1859 Mrs. Butler wrote from Bareilly:

> We have commenced our little school in the bazaar, but I do think it is the hardest kind of missionary work! . . . We use every effort to try to coax the girls in, but they are so timid; they say we are going to kidnap them, to send them to foreign parts. They don't seem to want to learn to read; they don't want to learn to sew, or to get clean clothes, or to have their faces and hands washed.

Dr. Butler was equally unsuccessful in trying to persuade the fathers to place their daughters in school. "The only women who were supposed to need an education were . . . public characters," and men could not conceive of other women wanting to learn. Soon after Pierce's appointment to Lucknow in 1858 Mrs. Pierce opened a little school for wives of native preachers, servants' wives, and two or three orphans. Her attempt was almost as fruitless as that of Mrs. Butler. In no instance were results encouraging. Attendance was irregular. Pupils absented themselves for the most trivial and often for imaginary causes. A real desire to learn was seldom in evidence.*

In 1854 the British government had established an elaborate system of grants-in-aid to schools. It agreed to support, according to a definite scale, any school "no matter by whom established or how directed, providing it complied with certain conditions as to school premises and teaching staff, and as to a certain amount of instruction in prescribed subjects, religion alone excepted." At the 1859 annual meeting the Superintendent proposed the acceptance of a grant of Rs. 2,400 per year for the maintenance by the mission of a school at Shahjahanpur, with probable eventual transfer of property title to the schoolhouse. The mission was divided on the question, six for and five against. Butler then submitted the proposition, together with a statement of the attitude of the members of the mission, to the Board. The General Committee and the Board sanctioned acceptance under certain conditions, the chief stipulation being that the mission should be "entirely unfettered in the free teaching of the word of God." But when word of this action reached India the offer of government aid had been withdrawn.[42]

Foreseeing a famine as inevitable in war's wake, Butler wrote home on the eve of 1858: "help us to save . . . [the orphaned] ones! If you take them, you will think about them, if you pay for them, you will surely pray for them." He estimated the cost of feeding, clothing, and educating a child at $25. a year. In November of 1858 he wrote, "Providence put into our hands the first native orphan girl." † Responses from Sunday schools and individuals in America were soon pouring in, and two homes were established, for boys at Lucknow and for girls at Bareilly. The famine struck in 1860. Thousands of homeless children were cast out to die of starvation on the roadsides and the city streets. Butler went to the British government and offered to care for some hundred and fifty orphans of each sex. His proposal was approved and from hither and yon, in native carts, "fifteen to the load," they were gathered in. From year to year the number increased until it reached five hundred. Response to the mission's call for funds was so generous that the Missionary Society relaxed the rule against direct solicitation and the institutions received support. Waifs admitted to the orphanages were brought under the control of the mission which meant that the India Church would have a body of young people reared in Christian schools and prepared for Christian marriage. At Shahjahanpur, where the boys' orphanage was moved in 1863, a training school was established, and both institutions were supervised full-time first by J. H. Messmore and then by T. S. Johnson.* In 1906 J. H. Messmore reported to the India Mission Jubilee:

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* These were by no means the earliest attempts by Protestant missions to establish girls' schools in India. One of the first successful efforts was made by Mrs. John Wilson, wife of the eminent Scotch missionary of Bombay. Beginning in 1829, within a few years she had opened six girls' schools. Ten years earlier (1819) the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society for the Education of Native Females had been organized, beginning its work with one school and eight children. In 1824 it had six schools with 160 girls. Other efforts also had been made.—Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India,* translated by Sydney H. Moore, pp. 333 ff.

† This was Almira Blake. She fulfilled the hope of the mission by becoming an active Christian worker, later serving as matron, doctor, and friend to the children of the orphanage at Pauri.

> during the forty-five years of . . . [the orphanages'] maintenance, those admitted are counted by thousands. We have tried to make good Christians of these orphans, and have measurably succeeded. There have been many black sheep among them, and many who have become honored and valuable members of the Christian community. We have . . . tried to develop manual labor departments in the orphanages, but have not been very successful. . . . the average mission orphan believes that he will be fed, whether he works or not; and he will seldom work hard enough at any handicraft to become a good workman. The prejudice against manual labor among literary folk in India . . . has very seriously hindered our persistent efforts to make of our boys good mechanics.[43]

From the beginning the missionaries felt an urgent need for printed materials in the vernaculars of Rohilkhand and Oudh for general distribution. As nothing suitable was available the preparation and printing of literature became necessary. One hundred rupees each was pledged by a dozen of the missionaries for the purchase of a printing press. On January 25, 1860, Humphrey wrote to Durbin from Bareilly:

> God having provided us, in the person of Brother Waugh,† with a man eminently suited to take the charge of a printing establishment, the incipient steps have . . . been taken toward the establishment of such an institution in connection with the orphanage.

The transfer of Humphrey to Budaun in early 1860 opened the way for the appointment of Waugh to Bareilly. In the cold season of 1860 the American Mission Press (later the Methodist Publishing House, Lucknow) was established, destined to become "one of the largest, if not indeed the largest [of] Christian publishing [agencies] in the empire." The first ambitious project was the printing of a Methodist hymnal, the *Git Ki Kitab,* in Hindustani. The press soon became one of the indispensable adjuncts of the mission in the work of evangelization.[44]

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* Thomas Stuart Johnson (1833-1917) was born in Monmouth County, N. J. He moved with his family to Indiana early in life. He received a medical degree from the Ann Arbor Medical College but in 1858 yielded to promptings of the Holy Spirit to enter the ministry and was received on trial in the North Indiana Conference in 1859 (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1859, p. 70). After preaching four years in Indiana he was appointed to India by Bishop Simpson and sailed with his wife in April, 1862. They arrived in India on Jan. 20, 1863, and were appointed to the Boys' Orphanage, Shahjahanpur, where they remained ten years. In 1881 he inaugurated the "Industrial School" in Kanpur. In 1897 he founded a girls' school at Jabalpur, later named the Johnson Girls' School. He retired in 1909 and returned to America. T. J. Scott says of him: "As a medical man he did much in promoting this form of work, maintaining dispensaries and aiding hospitals."—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

† James W. Waugh (1832-1910) was born in Mercer, Pa. In 1854 he was graduated from Allegheny College and in 1858 was received on trial in the Southern Illinois Conference with per-

BUTLER ERA ENDS

William Butler was characterized by boundless ambition for missionary extension, certainty in the rightness of his own judgments, and an impatience with the limitations and restrictions imposed by Missionary Society administration. Given these characteristics and John P. Durbin's determination to administer the foreign program as a whole impartially and in accordance with the principles and rules laid down by the Board it was inevitable that tension should develop. There was, in fact, an almost continuous succession of tense situations, in several of which not only the Missionary Secretary but the entire Board, the General Missionary Committee, and the Bishops became involved. Following a year (1862) in which the Board was straitened for funds, Butler on his own authority without consulting the Missionary Secretary, made a second direct appeal to churches in America for contributions to continue the support of and relocate the boys' orphanage. He had anticipated continued financial aid from the British government to provide a major part of the expense of operating the institutions and when this was not forthcoming it finally became necessary for him to draw on the Board to meet accumulated obligations. The Board then felt obliged to take over the institutions. The debt which this action imposed continued to be a source of embarrassment to the Board for several years. In another instance, ignoring Durbin's protest against direct appeal to the Church for field projects before getting Board approval, Butler addressed a letter to the students of the Concord Biblical Institute asking for volunteers for India. Twenty-two students offered themselves for missionary service. Whereupon Butler appealed to the Church through the *Christian Advocate* for at least twenty more men to be sent to India immediately and cited the correspondence with Concord as evidence that missionaries were available.[45] On December 28, 1858, going over Durbin's head, he wrote to David Terry, Recording Secretary of the Board:

> Here we are *waiting* and *wondering* that you don't send on some *men.* May God forgive those, whoever they may be, whose apathy is the chief cause of that 'hope deferred' which makes our hearts break.

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mission to attend Garrett Biblical Institute as a "missionary student." In the spring of 1859 he sailed for India, receiving his degree from Garrett in absentia. He was a practical printer and in 1860 or 1861, at the request of the mission, established the press, later moved it from Bareilly to Lucknow, and for much of his life was in charge of its operation. He served also as Presiding Elder of the Bareilly (1864-66), Lucknow (1866-69), and Kumaon (1885-88) Districts. For three years he was principal of the Cawnpore Memorial School (1877-79), and was the first principal of Oak Openings School, Naini Tal (1880), later Philander Smith Institute. In 1859 he married Lydia M. Hayes, who accompanied him to India. She died in 1872, while on furlough. In 1876 he married Jennie M. Tinsley. They retired in India in 1895. He died in 1910, Mrs. Waugh in 1928.—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

The letter was passed on to Durbin, who at the same time received another in which Butler complained bitterly that he had not been kept supplied with money. Durbin replied in good spirit, but with firmness.[46] Butler was insistent, however, that direct approach to churches for specific objects was necessary and finally proposed that the Board assent to his return to the United States "to make special appeals and collections for the Missions in India." The time would come when the Board would favor the principle but that time was not yet. On February 19, 1863, Durbin informed Butler that the General Missionary Committee, the Bishops, and the Board were unwilling to approve his return for the purpose.[47]

When Butler went to India he was directed by Durbin "to secure good houses for our missionaries." His theory was: "We are sending these men and women to India for life. It is for our interest as a business transaction to care for them in a way that will enable them to perform the best possible service for us in that unnatural climate." However, Durbin had the foresight to advise against outward display lest the mission should put on "the aspect, in its appointments & bearings, of European Society and thus much increase the expense, & . . . weaken its efficiency, as it respects the natives." * Butler was British to the core and his contacts in India were closer to the British officers and other European residents than to the natives and consequently his natural tendency was to pattern the missionary bungalows after the British style and to favor the management of households in accordance with British custom, with many servants.† This was a common enough practice on the mission field in the nineteenth century, followed by all the major missionary societies, based in part on the erroneous assumption that the missionary in order to command the respect of the natives must appear equal in his manner of living with other European people. Nor was this peculiar to India. In the China Methodist mission the missionaries lived in the upper-class European fashion, pausing in their activities for rest, afternoon tea, and tennis games, and in midsummer retiring to their mountain homes, removed from the intense heat of the crowded cities. Necessary as much of this was in the interest of maintaining health it cannot be denied that conforming to foreign social customs became in part responsible for creating a gap between the masses and the foreign missions which it would take many decades to bridge.[48]

As Superintendent, Butler gave his personal attention to the temporal affairs of the mission. To him equipping each station with an attractive chapel, well-

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* Durbin's clear insight is revealed in his statement that "the Mission in addressing itself to the natives, should assimilate, as far as is reasonable, with their habits & manners, so as to lessen the distance between the missionary & the native, and prevent an unreasonable expense."—Butler-Durbin Correspondence, May 22, 1857.

† E. W. Parker: "Our homes are good but every private soldier from England living in India has a better home so far as a large airy, good looking building is concerned. . . .

"Our houses cost on an average a little more than $2,000 each. . . . Some cost much less. The house in which we live accommodates two families and is a large house . . . . It is . . . built of clay brick dried in the sun and cost the mission not over $1,500 . . . . It is a very comfortable house."—Letter to Missionary Secretary McCabe, Nov. 11, 1889, in the Correspondence Files of the Division of World Missions.

built residences for the missionaries, and one or more suitable schoolhouses for the day schools was of primary importance. He was energetic and resourceful in his business relations and made a remarkable record in raising money on the field for these purposes. The exceptionally friendly and cooperative spirit of British residents, particularly government officers, encouraged him to issue and circulate widely in 1859 "a statement and appeal" for financial support. In addition to voluntary contributions received the preceding year, Rs. 12,456 were contributed. Support was continued year by year, in 1864 amounting to Rs. 29,435, a total for 1858-64 of Rs. 110,363, or $55,186.50.[49]

Begun early in 1862 and continued at frequent intervals Butler's voluminous correspondence with the missionary office reflected a growing restiveness on his part. One factor that may have contributed to this was the tension between the missionaries and himself which at times was intense. Preceding the 1863 annual meeting "friction between the missionaries and the superintendent, owing to absence of method and fixed procedure in administration, particularly in regard to finance," became so tense that "a number of missionaries," including Parker, considered absenting themselves from the session. As the date drew near, however, they relented and decided to attend.[50] When the annual meeting convened (February 5-12) Butler signified his purpose of associating the missionaries more fully with the Superintendent "in the control and direction of the interests of . . . [the] Mission."

> By the plan . . . their power at their annual meeting will be real and responsible over the entire charge of our work . . . and yet the office of the superintendent is not neutralized or necessarily weakened.

If this concession had been made earlier the morale of the mission would have been improved and the Superintendent's administration would have been less taxing upon his health.

A second factor in Butler's restiveness was increasing health difficulty. On August 14, 1863, he presented his resignation.

> I have put off this duty to myself and our work as long as I reasonably could,—but now it is *decisive*. It is a matter of conscience with me respectfully, but decidedly, to urge the acceptance of my resignation by the Bps. and the Board. . . . I have tried to do my work faithfully & willingly, but I can go no further, for I am *not able*.[51]

A month later he was suffering from ophthalmia to such an extent that he was unable to do full work or even to write. In the fall while on a visit to Calcutta he had a violent attack of cholera, from which he recovered strength very slowly.* Again, he wrote: "Excuse a brief letter. . . . one day I feel able to do something, and the next I may be quite unable to sit up or hold a pen." To his letter of August 14, 1863, the Bishops replied, stating willingness to accept the resignation, the exact date when official connection should cease to be fixed at the close of the 1864 General Conference. With his family he left Calcutta on January 18, 1865.[52]

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* To aid his recovery his physician ordered a sea voyage. He took passage to Burma where he was entertained by friends and given opportunity to visit some of the Baptist missions. Shortly after leaving he was invited by a prominent merchant to return and open a Methodist mission in that country.—*William Butler, the Founder of Two Missions* . . . , pp. 116-22.

The Superintendent's final report was accompanied by an exact, detailed inventory of all property held in trust for the Missionary Society at each of eleven mission stations. The total estimated value of the property listed, together with that of the two orphanages and the printing establishment, was $73,188.56, all stated to be "free and unencumbered."

Butler's paramount purpose was the building of the Church in India:

> From the first, I have had but one desire, & that was to see in India a reproduction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in all its integrity as a field of action worthy of our name & energy. I have desired this from no mere sectarian feeling, but from a profound conviction, (to which I shall cling till life's last hour) that, if faithful to our own well-tried and divinely approved doctrines & discipline, there is no reason why 'the God of our Fathers' may not grant to the . . . Church on this Continent a position of influence & power for good similar to that which He has granted in 'the Western World.'[53]

In his final report he stated that while his service as Superintendent covered a period of eight years, because of the interruption caused by the Sepoy Rebellion the mission had been "in full operation . . . [only] six and a half years." In all, forty-seven missionaries had been appointed—forty-three from America and four in India. The effective staff at the end of Butler's tenure was thirty-five persons. In his summary of the work accomplished, the Superintendent stated:

> Nine of the most important cities have been occupied, land obtained and secured by requisite legal forms, nineteen mission houses built or purchased, ten chapels and sixteen school-houses erected, two large orphanages provided, and a well appointed printing establishment founded in the center of our field. Twelve congregations have been gathered and ten small Churches organized, while one thousand three hundred and twenty-two scholars, male and female, are being instructed dayly in our Christian schools; one hundred and sixty-one persons are weekly speaking their experience, singing our hymns, and pouring out their hearts in prayer in our class-meetings in India's own language; and from among the converts whom God has already given us, at least four preachers and eleven exhorters are now commanding to others the salvation which they first learned from us.[54]

This matter-of-fact statement registers an achievement rarely, if ever, equaled in so short a time in Methodist missionary history. Without Butler's clearness of vision, his driving purpose, and his determination not to be defeated by lack of realization on the part of the Church in America of the imperative needs of India as one of the greatest of the world's mission fields, such a record could not have been made. While his indifference to Methodist protocol was a thorn in the flesh to the missionary authorities, his direct appeals to pastors and people did much to awaken the Church to foreign missionary needs and his resounding calls for volunteers brought out an exceptional group of capable men who stayed by and laid broad and deep the foundations of Methodism in India.

India Mission Conference, 1864-68

"Perhaps the most remarkable result of modern Christian missions in Asia," said Missionary Secretary Durbin in the 1864 Missionary Society *Report,* "is the organization of the 'India Mission Annual Conference' . . . which took place in Lucknow, India, December 8, 1864 . . . ."[55]

As early as 1859, pressure had been exerted for the organization of the mission into an Annual Conference. This was an outgrowth of dissatisfaction both with the Missionary Society's lack of counsel on specific administrative problems and with the Superintendent's attitude and methods of administration.

No systematic plan of utilizing the local workers—Exhorters, Local Preachers, and helpers—existed. No program of study and training was developed; and little supervisory work was exercised. They were merely what Thoburn characterized as "ecclesiastical nondescripts." Responsibility for administration and oversight rested wholly in the Superintendent whose time and energy were so absorbed by the business affairs of the mission that he could give little or no attention to other responsibilities. This situation an Annual Conference was expected to remedy. Preceding its organization the missionaries at Moradabad in 1863 or early in 1864 formulated a plan for training and educating native preachers. Parker says in his "Journal" that "this was the seed of the District Associations." At first they were station associations, whose members were the missionaries, the Local Preacher or Preachers, the Exhorters, and the helpers (the native Christian teachers). Writing in 1864 to the *Missionary Advocate,* Mansell gave a detailed account of the second meeting of the Moradabad Preachers' Association.[56]

The 1860 General Conference authorized an Annual Conference provided that the Bishops agreed it would advance the interests of the mission, but the Bishops did not act.* Pressure from India increased. On February 18, 1863, the Board voted to ask the 1864 General Conference to authorize the formation of such a Conference and a visit by a Bishop to India to effect organization. Authorization was given in accordance with the limitations imposed in 1860 on all Mission Annual Conferences, with an added proviso† to the effect that the exercise of Conference prerogatives should be "with the concurrence of the presiding bishop." [57]

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* See p. 167.

† Thoburn, in the United States on furlough at this time, was present when the report on an India Mission Conference was under consideration, and was much disturbed by the proviso. "I knew beyond a doubt that it would give very great dissatisfaction in India, but could do nothing but listen in silence. . . . It was distinctly a move in the wrong direction.

". . . The chief, and indeed almost the only, reason alleged for the reservation of this Episcopal veto power was that the influx of native preachers would be so great, that in a very short time they would control the Conference, and it was assumed that they would almost certainly be found more or less unfit for the responsibilities of Conference membership. . . . hence it came to be understood in India that a too rapid increase in the native membership of the Conference would be regarded with disfavor, and at first the deliberate policy was adopted of admitting only a few representative men to the Conference, and retaining the remaining native preachers in the nominal relation of local preachers and exhorters. . . . The worst result of this most unfortunate measure was thus to initiate a wrong policy, and put back the normal development of an Indian ministry for twenty years or more."—*My Missionary Apprenticeship,* pp. 108-11.

The Bishops commissioned Edward Thomson, newly elected to the episcopacy, to visit India and organize the Conference. He sailed in August, 1864. After visiting the stations in Butler's company he assembled the missionaries on December 8 and organized the Conference with seventeen missionaries as charter members.* Aware of the restiveness created by the restrictions, the Bishop took particular pains in his opening statement to reassure the missionaries of the good intentions, sympathy, and love of their brethren. It was "a classic production," wrote Messmore, "deserving preservation on account of its literary value as well as because of the themes it discussed . . . ." The address also was disarming and the Bishop in presiding over the Conference allowed the body, as Thoburn later wrote, "to assume functions which are never conceded to Conferences at home." He "virtually gave the Conference the privilege of electing" the Presiding Elders. Perhaps the most important action of the session was the admission, as probationers, of four Indian preachers, Joel T. Janvier, Henry M. Daniel,† Joseph Fieldbrave, and Zahur ul Haqq. This was thought by some of the missionaries to be a radical step. Parker strongly advocated it, and largely through his influence the policy was adopted of making native ministers the ecclesiastical peers of the missionaries. All four were excellent men, whose effectiveness as ministers of the Gospel had been thoroughly tested, and the Conference never had cause for regret over their admission.[58]

Early in the life of the new Conference financial difficulties of one kind and another developed. In 1865 the Board issued a printed circular containing rules for the governance of Mission Conferences, one of which prohibited Conference treasurers from advancing "any money in the interval of Conferences . . . unless it be an emergency seriously affecting . . . health or life." The India Conference considered this rule too stringent and voted to recommend that it be revised to permit treasurers to advance funds to meet five different types of unanticipated needs. Apparently assuming that the Board would grant the request the India treasurer contracted debts within a few months to an aggregate of Rs. 6,984 ($3,492.), on much of which it was paying 12 per cent interest. Included in the total was the cost of replacing a mission house roof that had been blown off by a hurricane; repairs on the Boys' Orphanage; completion of a sanitarium at Naini Tal; and several other items. Request was then made to the Board for payment. The Board at first refused, notifying the India treasurer that no funds were available and that the debt must be taken care of in India. Four months later, following repeated demand, the Board took further action, stating that neither

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* Those recognized as charter members were: William Butler, James Baume, C. W. Judd, E. W. Parker, J. W. Waugh, J. M. Thoburn, Henry Jackson, I. L. Hauser, James H. Messmore, John T. Gracey, D. W. Thomas, J. D. Brown, Samuel Knowles, T. S. Johnson, Thomas J. Scott, Henry Mansell, and T. Stanley Stivers. All of the seventeen were present with exception of Thoburn and Stivers. The latter withdrew before his announced sailing date.

† Henry Martyn Daniel at an early age entered the Church of England orphanage at Agra where he received a Christian education. He was eventually employed in the Punjab (Presbyterian) Mission but since "he could not accede to Calvinistic tenets, left their employ" and entered government service, first at Lucknow and later at Sitapur, where he united with the Methodist Church and entered the ministry. Few Indian preachers of any denomination were more qualified for their work. He was well versed in Greek, Hebrew, and English, and had read extensively Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian, and vernacular literature. He was a popular and effective preacher and his early death, which occurred in Lucknow in February, 1867, was widely lamented.—*Forty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1864), pp. 93 f.; *Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1868, pp. 78 f.

> the Mission nor any member thereof ought to contract debts which they expect the Missionary Society to pay, without having first obtained the Consent of the Board. Such a course cannot be allowed with any safety to or certainty of a successful administration of the affairs of the Society & it should cease at once and forever.

The Board then appropriated $3,492. from its Contingent Fund to liquidate the indebtedness.[59]

At the organization of the India Mission Conference three Districts were created: Moradabad, E. W. Parker, Presiding Elder; Bareilly, J. W. Waugh, Presiding Elder; and Lucknow, C. W. Judd, Presiding Elder.

The Moradabad District as formed in 1864 included four stations—Moradabad, Sambhal, Bijnor, and Garhwal—and the Moradabad Circuit. A missionary was appointed to each, and in addition forty-six native workers were employed. In 1867 Parker reported that all the Indian workers had "done well when carefully supervised by a missionary," and to them he credited most of the success achieved. Special attention was given to Sunday schools and prayer meetings. Most of the Christians had become accustomed to meet in small bands every evening for Bible reading and prayer, and also for instruction in reading. Besides his work as Presiding Elder—holding Quarterly Meetings, visiting outstations, and attending to official correspondence, Parker was in charge of the Moradabad station. He usually taught four hours daily in the mission school, preached once every day in the street or in the chapel, and held daily evening services for the native Christians. Two Bible women were employed in 1865 to visit homes in the city and nearby villages. Two girls' schools were begun: one among high-caste Hindus, which enrolled twenty-five girls; and one among Mohammedans, numbering twenty pupils. In 1867 Mrs. Parker established the first girls' boarding school in Moradabad, intended principally for daughters of inquirers and new Christians. Custom frowned upon girls leaving home before their marriage; consequently the enterprise was attended with difficulty. However, two girls entered the school when it opened; the next year eleven were enrolled; and three years after its founding, under the care of Mrs. Zahur ul Haqq in Amroha, enrollment had increased to twenty.[60]

Sambhal, near Moradabad, was opened in 1864 by J. A. Cawdell. Within the area of the city there were thirty-six villages, located at intervals of a quarter of a mile to three miles apart, having altogether a population of forty to fifty thousand. Three schools were maintained in 1865, with an enrollment of 180 and an average attendance of 130. The people seemed eager to hear

Christian preaching, so much so that a large congregation could be assembled at any time in the bazaar or in any of the large villages. In 1866 a start was made among the tanners; Sunday services of worship were held, a Sunday school, and a day school. Many people gave up all idol worship, but only a few made an open profession of the Christian religion.[61]

On the Bijnor Circuit Hauser was successful in maintaining the four schools which had been reported in operation in 1864, although the girls' school had only an irregular attendance. In 1865 the three boys' schools had an enrollment of 292 students. At the close of his first year's pastorate, 1868, Robert Hoskins* made a report of "unusual . . . prosperity." Communicants had increased "a hundred per cent"; beginnings had been made in several villages; and the church seemingly had begun "to assume the character of permanency." Thirty-seven adults and sixteen children had been baptized.[62]

The first Annual Mission Conference, December, 1864, approved the opening of missionary work at Pauri in the mountain province of Garhwal. The mission was founded at the request of Commissioner Henry Ramsay, who made an outright gift of $1,500. and promised $25. a month toward expenses. At his request Thoburn, with whom he had become acquainted at Naini Tal, was appointed missionary-in-charge. As Thoburn was on furlough the Parkers visited Pauri in February, 1865, and made preliminary arrangements. In April Hauser and the Mansells went up from Bijnor, Mansell staying on until Thoburn's return from America. During his stay he succeeded in getting a small school for boys under way. Thoburn reached Pauri "about the middle of April," 1866.[63]

The province of Garhwal was a wild, mountainous area of some 5,500 square miles, with a population of about 345,000 people. The city of Pauri was "eight days' journey from Naini Tal on the east, seven days from Mussoorie on the west, and five days from Bijnour on the plains." Within the province were five great peaks of the Himalayas, the highest 22,661 feet. The roads were merely bridlepaths, some of them cut into the sides of almost perpendicular mountain walls. There was not in Thoburn's day "a wheeled conveyance of any kind in the province, not even a wheelbarrow." Traffic was borne on the heads or shoulders of men and the products of the little terraced fields on those of women and children. In his search for a suitable site Thoburn located "the old Chopra Tea Estate," consisting of fourteen acres of land and many buildings, one mile from Pauri, which he purchased for the nominal price of Rs. 1,000. He described the old house as standing "in the midst of a little paradise of fruit trees," and affording from the front a landscape view "of everchanging . . . wonder and beauty."

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* Robert Hoskins (1843-1903) was born in Bennington, Vt., on May 7, 1843. Converted at sixteen, he graduated from Williams College in 1866, was admitted on trial to Troy Conference the following year and appointed missionary to India. Shortly before sailing he married Charlotte Roundey, a young woman who had been a parishioner of William Butler and had once offered herself as a teacher in the India mission. They arrived in India on Feb. 1, 1868. Their thirty-five years of service were given in four stations, Bijnor two years; Shahjahanpur four; Budaun fifteen; and Kanpur fourteen. They had three furloughs, during the second of which Mr. Hoskins received the degree of Ph.D. from Boston University. Dr. Hoskins spoke Hindustani fluently and wrote it well. He spent years and much money on an Urdu Concordance. He was one of the first to discern the possibilities in the people of the depressed classes and was especially successful in training their young men for the ministry. At the time of his death more than one hundred were in active service as a result of his labor. He died of apoplexy in Kanpur, Sept. 22, 1903.—Biographical File of the Board of Missions Library.

> The house . . . was an old stone building, built loosely, with mud for plaster, and covered with clapboards overlaid with rough flag-stones. The rats had perforated the walls in all directions, and the roof was infested with snakes which were attracted by the vast number of swallows which persisted in building their nests between the clapboards and the flag-stones. . . . Scorpions, which have a liking for old buildings, often appeared unbidden, but no one during my stay ever suffered from them in the mission house.[64]

An Anglo-vernacular government boys' school at Srinagar, on the Ganges, eight miles below Pauri, was turned over to Thoburn. The school had a hostel with thirty boys in residence, and seventy day pupils. He also found an unexpected opportunity for girls' schools. Two small schools at Srinagar were given into his care by the government—one a school for low-caste girls and the other a high-caste school. At the close of his second year, although he spent only a fragment of each in Garhwal, he was able to report "five schools for boys, two for girls, and a Christian community of twenty-six souls." Pauri was the only station established in Garhwal, and the Christian community grew very slowly. In 1876, when nine people were baptized, it numbered "only seventy souls." [65]

The Moradabad Circuit as formed in 1864 embraced Babukhera, to which Zahur ul Haqq had been assigned earlier, and a number of towns and villages which had been visited more or less regularly by missionaries for several years. The work prospered and at the 1866 Conference the Circuit was reported as having been divided into two—the Moradabad and Chandausi Circuit and the Amroha and Babukhera Circuit. The first-named Circuit was under Mansell and S. S. Weatherby, assisted by two Indian preachers. Daily street preaching was maintained at two places near Moradabad, at Kundarki, a large village, and at Chandausi, a town of some 40,000 inhabitants, and on bazaar days at all the villages within eight miles of Moradabad. In 1868 when Thoburn was appointed to the Moradabad station he held that in the city of Moradabad "very little visible impression had been made" and that "no permanent foothold has been gained among the people." The church membership was in flux, one of the members had died during the year, fifteen had removed to other stations, four had left "without proper letters of dismissal," and four probationers had been discontinued. However, twenty-three new adult members, and twenty-two children had been baptized. Report concerning Chandausi also was not encouraging. The people mostly had been hostile to Christian preaching, missionaries had frequently been insulted in the streets, and the native helpers had endured many annoyances. In one village where a Society had been organized two years before some success had been achieved, and within the year new work had been opened in one village.[66]

The Bareilly District as formed in 1864 at the first Mission Conference, with J. W. Waugh as Presiding Elder, included five stations: Bareilly, Naini Tal, Budaun, Pilibhit, and Shahjahanpur. A missionary was appointed to each station except Pilibhit, to which Joel T. Janvier was assigned. Eight other native workers were employed on the District, of whom four were preachers. At the second Conference (February, 1866) C. W. Judd succeeded Waugh as Presiding Elder, continuing until 1869.

The program of the Girls' Orphanage, which had been moved to Bareilly in 1863, included both studies and handiwork. Thomas as principal reported in 1865 three and a half hours devoted to study and the remainder of the day, for all who were old enough to work, given to "plain sewing, making and mending their own clothes; and the various kinds of knitting and crochet." The manual work was steadily expanded, until in July, 1868, an "Industrial Establishment" was organized to afford employment for native Christians. Eighteen Christian men and ten Christian women were employed, together with about thirty non-Christian mechanics. By 1870 sixty-three Christian men and forty women had found employment in connection with the institution and a village of forty families—Christians who had lost their means of livelihood as a penalty for professing Christianity—had grown up around it. The products included various types of fabrics, carpets, rugs, and ornamental iron and brass articles. Sales of manufactures in 1869 amounted to $8,556.[67] In 1872, when Thomas was transferred to the Bareilly Theological Seminary, the establishment was closed.* The Girls' Orphanage, however, was not affected by these developments. It was continued in the charge of Thomas until 1872, when Judd was appointed superintendent and Miss Sparkes† preceptress. As early as 1865 it had begun to fulfill its original purpose. Already perhaps a dozen Christian families had resulted from the marriage of young men, some of them from the Boys' Orphanage, to young women graduates of the girls' school. A normal class also had been formed which in 1867 had six members who were employed part-time in teaching primary classes of the school and who later would help to meet the need for Christian teachers in the schools.

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* All of the Methodist industrial experiments established to provide a means of livelihood for Christian converts ended in failure. Following the Wesleypur Christian Village (1861) and the "Industrial Establishment" (1868), a village near Moradabad was rented and Christian farmers located in it. The missionaries who started the enterprise lost heavily and the residents were not helped. Then an Industrial Association was formed with share capital of Rs. 750 which soon came to grief. In 1869 T. S. Johnson purchased the village of Panahpur and settled there a large number of Christian families. He sold the village in 1870 to D. W. Thomas for $5,000. Later it came into the possession of the mission. In 1895 Parker asked the Board for Power of Attorney to sell the property as the time had "passed for needing such a village as a refuge for the native Christians," and the mission cannot act as landlord. It had been a loss to the mission, he said, "of over 20,000 rupees," because as missionaries, "we have no time to attend to it." Authorization for sale was given by the Board. "Thus ended," wrote Scott, "all such efforts to relieve, in this manner, the temporal wants of the poor Christians in this Conference."—J. E. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 f.; T. S. Johnson, rep., *Fifty-first Ann. Rep.*, *M. S.* (1869), pp. 100 f., 101 f.; *Minutes, B. M.*, XV, 374 f.

† For further information on Miss Sparkes see p. 503.

The number in the orphanage varied from year to year; in 1871 there were 147. During the year twenty-one were received, three died, and eleven were married. The Girls' Orphanage, as also the boys' institution, continued its good work through the half century and beyond.[68]

J. T. Gracey, the missionary in charge of Bareilly station, 1865-66, made an extensive itinerary on which he was accompanied by the Presiding Elder, Janvier, and Mrs. Waugh and Mrs. Gracey. The party lived in a tent from the middle of January to the middle of March, remaining in one location long enough to visit all of the villages within a large radius, and then moving on to another place.

> Mrs. Waugh and Mrs. Gracey were enabled to collect unusually large numbers of women about the tent from time to time for instruction in the truth, and in some cases had access to their houses by invitation. . . . Large crowds listened attentively to the preaching. Leading men invited us into their houses, where followed long conversations . . . with the religiously learned men of the community. . . . Many of the people visited and revisited our tent for conversation and for books and tracts.[69]

In 1868 when C. W. Judd was Presiding Elder and pastor in charge of Bareilly station less emphasis was given to itineration and more to bazaar preaching. Judd reported that he and his assistant went together to "two or three prominent places in the city four days every week, thus preaching thirty, forty, and sometimes fifty times weekly in the bazar." Besides this some preaching was done in the villages.[70]

At Shahjahanpur the Boys' Orphanage had ninety-five children. The one missionary during 1865 was T. S. Johnson, whose time was so fully occupied in superintending the orphanage and the "city school" that little time remained for preaching in the city bazaars and in the villages. The congregation of the Indian church consisted chiefly of the orphanage boys and the native teachers and preachers and their families—"all nominally Christian, and regular in attendance for religious services." In the course of the year the orphanage was removed from its site in the city to Lodhipur, about a mile from the city, a beautiful and healthy location, with sufficient acreage for small farming operations, group dwellings for the boys, and houses for the teachers and preachers. The day schedule had three divisions; five and a half hours in school; a period for manual work at trades or cultivating the ground; and a period for study and recreation.

While Johnson did not have much time for itinerating he did find an encouraging change in attitude under way:

> The congregations or crowds of hearers are steadily becoming larger and much more attentive. But few objections are urged against the gospel, while many declare themselves fully convinced of the truth of the Bible and of Christianity. The change . . . is very great, and is not limited to a few individuals, nor to a single neighborhood, but is very extensive in the city and district.

On January 1, 1866, F. A. Spencer and wife, from America, joined Johnson as colaborers. After two years' service they withdrew. In 1867 the orphanage school had a theological class of thirteen, all of whom were reported to be making good progress. At the 1868 Conference the orphanage was set apart as a separate charge, the East Shahjahanpur and Boys' Orphanage.[71]

What Johnson described as "a peculiar religious movement" arose in several villages east of Shahjahanpur in 1867 under the leadership of a thakur (nobleman) landholder, Ujagar Lal, who from the study of books of his own Hindu religion became convinced of the folly and wickedness of idolatry. He was given a New Testament and soon began teaching it to the people. On visiting their villages he found that a large number were anxious to be baptized. After spending several days with them the missionary became convinced that their request should be granted and baptized eighty-seven adults and thirty-one children. With a few exceptions families—husband, wife, and children—were baptized together. Johnson felt that the development was so significant that "a little chapel and a house" for a native preacher should be provided for each of three villages in order that churches might be permanently planted. The movement proved to be short-lived, whether from lack of intensive missionary cultivation or otherwise the reports do not indicate. Johnson's comment in 1869 was that the great majority of those baptized two years before had apostasized.[72]

For six years, 1863-68 inclusive, the Budaun station was in the charge of T. J. Scott.* In 1865 he reported seven schools, "five having been formed during the past year." Four of the seven were in the city of Budaun. Of the schools one was an Anglo-vernacular school of ninety-five boys. Another was a "low class school" of twenty-five boys. A third was a girls' school of about thirty pupils. The fourth school—housed in the mission residence—under the supervision of Mrs. Scott, chiefly enrolled Christian children for whose education the mission felt a special responsibility. The other three schools were established in villages, by request of villagers. In Scott's estimation well-managed Christian schools were one of the most important kinds of missionary work. As in no other way, he believed, by the establishment of a school in a village the missionary secured the favor of the people.

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* Thomas Jefferson Scott (1835-1920), a son of Andrew Scott of the Pittsburgh Conference, was born in Jefferson County, Ohio. He was converted, Jan. 27, 1853, at seventeen; licensed to preach in 1854; and upon graduation from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1860, was received on trial in the Pittsburgh Conference, and appointed to Cadiz, Ohio. On graduation he had volunteered for the foreign field, and was accepted for India in 1862. With his newly acquired wife, Mary E. Worthington, a daughter of N. C. Worthington, also of the Pittsburgh Conference, he sailed on Sept. 2. For six years he was engaged in evangelistic and school work on the Budaun District in Rohilkhand and then was appointed Presiding Elder of Bareilly District, 1869. In 1872 he aided in the founding of Bareilly Theological Seminary and from that time until 1904 was connected with it, most of the time as principal. He was president or secretary of the India Sunday School Union, 1876-88, of which he was one of the founders. He was elected to the General Conferences of 1896, 1904, and 1908. He wrote numerous books in Hindustani—including a volume on homiletics, another on church polity and practical theology, and a third on Biblical theology—and translated other works, including Whedon's Commentary on the New Testament, in five volumes. He retired in 1906 after forty-two years of service in India. It was said of him: "His fine scholarship and almost perfect use of the [Hindustani] language . . . gave him great influence, not only with his students, but also with leading Indians . . . ."—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

This year, also, Scott undertook to put a copy of the New Testament either in Hindi or Urdu in the hands of every teacher, not only in the mission schools but also in all other schools in the Budaun district. The New Testament was given to the teachers free, and other books and tracts were offered for sale. While the number of schools varied, depending upon the amount of funds available, the trend was upward and by 1871 eleven schools were in operation. A good school building had been erected in Budaun city and schoolhouses were being built in several other places.[73]

Scott's conviction was that the evangelization of India could be accomplished only by the native Church, not by foreign missionary agencies. In addition to schools he supplied newspapers and books to church members to enlighten their minds, and was zealous in colportage work throughout the Conference. He found encouragement in the growth both in religion and in general knowledge which he witnessed among Budaun Christians as a result of his efforts. In 1867 one of his converts was a thakur zemindar (landlord) who "entered heartily into plans for the spread of the truth in his own and surrounding villages" even to building a little chapel near his home for prayer and preaching.[74]

In the absence of Thoburn on furlough, James Baume was assigned to Naini Tal in 1864. He was regularly appointed to the station at the first India Mission Annual Conference in December of that year and remained for three years. At the 1867 Conference Gracey was assigned to the mission. Humphrey, who had returned from furlough, succeeded him in 1868 and continued until 1874.

Gracey was strongly impressed by the eagerness of the boys and young men of the Kumaon region to obtain reading material. "Whosoever shall supply a literature suited to the minds of this people on an extensive scale," he said, "must needs influence the character . . . in the next ten to twenty years." The colporteurs whom he sent into the valleys of the district with the Bible and other Christian books readily disposed of their supply and at the melas "whole cooly loads of books . . . [were] quickly sold." [75]

Humphrey's interest in medical work as a means of missionary service led him, soon after his arrival at Naini Tal, to inquire into opportunities for associating medicine with other lines of mission activity. Three government dispensaries—at Haldwani, Kalidoongi, and Ramnagar—were soon placed under his charge. During the cold season, in addition to his supervision of the schools, it was possible for him "to visit one or other of them daily." This opening for medical work seemed to him to be providential and he entered upon it eagerly. Within a short time he had performed several major surgical operations and many minor ones. At one dispensary the outpatients averaged from two to three hundred monthly. All of the expenses of the dispensaries were met by the government. In December, 1868, the deputy collector of Kumaon, an Indian pundit, proposed that a class of young women be formed "in midwifery and diseases of women and children." Nine women were enrolled for the class, which was begun on May 1, 1869: three young women from the orphanage; three from the Sikh community near Moradabad; one the wife of the Indian preacher; one the Bible woman of the mission; and the ninth from the Almora Mission of the London Missionary Society. Later a tenth was added. They were all married women and their husbands attended the class sessions with them. Five members of the class passed government examination, received certificates as native doctors, and in 1870 were reported as having been called upon to treat hundreds of patients. Medical instruction was continued, the class of 1871 numbering seven women and one man.[76]

Pilibhit was begun as a mission in 1861 among the Tharus, with the appointment of J. A. Cawdell, but this first attempt was a failure. At the first session of the India Mission Conference Joel T. Janvier was appointed, serving through 1865-66. He reported in 1866 a Sunday congregation of about twenty-five persons at the native church, chiefly families in the mission's employ. He had preached "from four to five times a week in the bazars of the city and in the nearest villages." With "two brethren of . . . [the] Mission" he had attended the Sarda mela, "preached to great crowds of people," and sold a great number of books. He also conducted a school of some thirty low-caste boys. Through the years 1867-73 the station was without missionary leadership and although supplied by native Local Preachers no account of the work for any of these years was given in the Conference reports.[77]

The Lucknow District as formed in 1864 embraced the whole of the province of Oudh. Its compact territory of 24,245 square miles contained a population of more than 11,300,000. Four stations had been established: Lucknow (at the 1864 Conference divided into two appointments, Lucknow, North, and Lucknow, South, later Lucknow West, and Lucknow East), Rae Bareli, Sitapur and Lakhimpur, and Gonda. C. W. Judd was appointed Presiding Elder, succeeded in 1866 by J. W. Waugh.

Lucknow by 1866 had ten Indian schools within the city limits under the general supervision of Messmore, five for boys, five for girls; and a school for European children. The largest and best equipped was the Hussainabad Boys' School to which the Municipal Committee of Lucknow and the Society of Friends in England made in 1865 generous contributions in addition to the government grant. A second principal feature of the mission program was bazaar preaching in the most public places, attended at times by several hundred people. The large attendance aroused the opposition of the Mohammedans who countered by developing a rival program. Their speakers dwelt on inconsistencies and contradictions which they claimed to have found in the New Testament and admonished their hearers to believe only the Mohammedan sacred writings.[78]

The mission headquarters had originally been established in the western end of the city, an unfortunate location, since in the meantime the population had steadily moved to the east. In 1868 Messmore, missionary-in-charge of the western station, reported that removals of members and constituency to East Lucknow and elsewhere had so weakened the Indian church that it was "almost impossible to keep up the regular services." Only four resident members remained. Thoburn—in 1870—took the initiative in buying new property and "transferring the whole missionary force to the eastern part of the city." [79] Also—in 1866—the mission press by authority of the Conference was moved from Bareilly to Lucknow and its literature publication program greatly expanded.*

Rae Bareli was opened as a station by P. T. Wilson in 1864. He was reappointed annually until 1870 when, although fifty miles distant, the station was attached to Lucknow as an outstation. While Thoburn was named as pastor in the Conference appointments it was not expected that he would be able to do more than make occasional prolonged visits to the place. Fortunately the headmaster of the mission boys' school, a dependable man of fair preaching ability, was able to make up in part for the lack of a resident missionary.[80]

From 1864 on Sitapur and Lakhimpur were for years associated as a single station. J. D. Brown, in charge of the station, urged separation, asserting that "Lakimpore cannot be worked successfully from Seetapore, as it is thirty miles distant on a clay road," but because of lack of personnel the unsatisfactory arrangement was continued year after year. In 1870 Brown was succeeded by Knowles but the reports of "no apparent fruit," or "no marked impression," continued. In 1872 Lakhimpur was not even mentioned in the Presiding Elder's account of stations.

Gonda was opened as a missionary station in 1865 by Samuel Knowles, who continued there until 1870. From the beginning, in his bazaar preaching—regularly maintained throughout each year—he was given a respectful, attentive hearing. Not until 1868 was any antagonism expressed. This year "a fanatical Musalman . . . preacher" appeared at times, "an eloquent speaker," to declare that all Christians are "kafirs" (infidels); and that to spread religion by the sword is "the only true doctrine." Knowles felt that his proclamation of the Gospel was helped rather than hindered by this man's preaching. From 1866 on, Nawabganj appeared as an appointment under a native preacher. In 1869, it was included in Knowles' report as an outstation along with Colonelganj—also with a resident native preacher.[81]

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* In April, 1871, feeling "the need of some medium of communication with the public," particularly as a means of defending the Methodist mission program from attacks, Messmore and Thoburn established *The Witness,* a small fortnightly periodical. It was soon enlarged, made a weekly, and its name changed to the *Lucknow Witness.* For a time it was under the editorial management of James Mudge. The circulation increased and in 1882 it became the *Indian Witness.* Almost from the first the periodical had "a larger circulation than any other religious paper in the empire."—J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* p. 291; Henry Mansell, rep., *Fifty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1875), p. 112.

Bahraich, a city of about 15,000 inhabitants, appeared for the first time in the list of appointments in 1868. To the new station S. S. Weatherby was appointed, and he gave his chief attention to bazaar preaching. While a friendly interest was shown by his hearers he had no inquirers. In his second year he baptized one young man. In 1870 oversight was continued by Weatherby, and John Bernard, "a native preacher," was sent as a supply, who opened a vernacular school. In 1871 M. C. Elliott, a young man who had come to India in search of health, joined the Conference and was stationed at Bahraich but did not live to complete his first year in the ministry. Bahraich was then combined with Gonda.[82]

India Conference, 1869-76

The 1868 General Conference repealed the action of 1864 "restricting the powers of Mission Conferences," and declared the India Mission Conference—in common with other Mission Conferences—to be an Annual Conference, "endowed with all the rights, privileges, and immunities usual to Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." In a separate action the General Conference seated J. T. Gracey as delegate from the India Annual Conference.

Since the missionary interests of the Conference continued to be administered as before, "their relation to the Missionary Society being continued as foreign missions," the Conference retained for the time being its former title—the India Mission Conference.* There was no further legislation on the subject. In 1873 in the *Minutes* the title India Annual Conference was used.

The 1869 Conference (the first session following the General Conference action making it an Annual Conference) met in Bareilly, January 14-21. C. W. Judd was elected president. Sixteen full members and four probationary members answered the roll call.† Districts were three in number: Bareilly, Lucknow, and Moradabad. The *Minutes* of the session contain no mention of the changed status of the Conference.

Bishop Kingsley's presence was the outstanding feature of the 1870 Conference which met in Bareilly on January 20. Not since 1864 had a Conference session been presided over by a Bishop. "At this Con[ference] every body was present," wrote Mrs. T. S. Johnson in her "Diary," "every man[,] woman[,] & child in our whole Mission. It has never happened before . . . ."

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* The report of the Committee on Boundaries as adopted by the 1868 General Conference listed the Conference as the India Mission Conference. The *Minutes* of the Conference for 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872 continued to use the same title, as did also the *General Minutes*. In 1872, however, the Committee on Boundaries of the General Conference used the title India Conference. At the next session of the Conference the *Minutes* read, "The India Conference . . . convened . . . on the 16th January 1873." These divergences in title are very confusing, particularly in view of the fact that historical sources differ in their statements as to when the Conference became a regular Annual Conference.

† During 1865-68 four missionaries arrived in India: 1865, Frank A. and Mary Spencer, Ohio Conference (remained for only two years); Samuel S. and Rachel C. Weatherby, New Jersey Conference; 1868, Robert and Charlotte R. Hoskins, Troy Conference; Francis M. and Esther S. Wheeler, New York Conference.

The session, she said, was "pleasant and peaceful." Kingsley's sympathetic attitude, characterized by fatherly kindness rather than episcopal dignity, pleased the missionaries. Several important measures were passed. The preceding year's recommendation that a medical class should be formed at Naini Tal had been complied with. The Conference indicated satisfaction with the results and recommended the establishment of a medical school, to be located in one of the large cities of the plains. A tentative budget of Rs. 4,490 for the first year was authorized, one half of the amount to be included in the 1871 estimates. The Committee on Education reported 4,524 pupils in the 115 schools of the mission with no uniformity in organization, courses of study, grading of pupils, or salaries of teachers. And more schools were being opened every year. A Board of Education, with three members, was formed with authority to establish a uniform course of study, determine a salary scale, act on schools' applications for grants, and exercise authority on setting up new schools. Bishop Kingsley felt that too many schools had been established, a number disproportionately large if they were "all to be managed by less than twenty missionary families." "I should say that there ought to be a contraction rather than enlargement . . . even if our missionary force were doubled." The Conference also voted that "the Board of Education, together with the Presiding Elders, be instructed . . . to establish a Theological Seminary for the training of young men for the ministry" during the same year. By a rising vote of the Conference the newly arrived female missionaries sent out by the W.F.M.S., Isabella Thoburn and Dr. Clara A. Swain, were welcomed to the mission work.[83]

At the 1872 session of the Conference, at which J. L. Humphrey served as president (no Bishop being present), a strong appeal was made to "the home authorities" for funds for church building. The seventeen churches within the Conference far from met the need. Two cities—Budaun and Pauri—had no church buildings and several, such as Bareilly, Sitapur, Naini Tal, Rae Bareli, and Bijnor, had but one church and needed more. Missionaries were now persuaded that bazaar preaching was not accomplishing what had been hoped: "the better classes will not listen . . . [to street preaching], and the lower classes though benefitted are not converted." For young adults, graduates of the schools, friendly disposed toward the Church, buildings were required if their interest was to be maintained and further developed. Also, the missionaries said,

> the poorer classes have become interested through the bazar preaching, so that now we need places where we can assemble both these classes for more careful and continued instruction, with special reference to their conversion, by the use of such means as are usually employed in Christian lands, namely protracted efforts, prayer and social meetings.[84]

At the Conference session of 1873, in the absence of a Bishop, Thomas S. Johnson was elected president. A resolution was presented and adopted—by whom offered the *Minutes* do not state—calling upon the president "to so rearrange the districts that the hill territory shall comprise one district, Rohilkhund a second, and Oudh and Cawnpore a third." As rearranged the Kumaon and Garhwal District, T. S. Johnson, Presiding Elder, had two stations (Naini Tal and Pauri); the Rohilkhand District, E. W. Parker, Presiding Elder, ten stations; and the Oudh District, J. M. Thoburn, Presiding Elder, seven stations. Missionaries were assigned to thirteen of the nineteen stations; Indian preachers to four; and three were left "to be supplied."

Reports on the work during 1873, the closing year of the first decade of the Conference, showed 876 full members, an increase of eighty-three; and 691 probationers, a gain of 134. Local Preachers numbered thirty-five, an addition of five during the year. There were thirteen church buildings, twenty-six parsonages, and 104 Sunday schools with 4,549 pupils and 242 officers and teachers. Of vernacular schools for boys there were sixty-four with 2,253 pupils; for girls, 78, with 1,560 pupils. Anglo-vernacular schools for boys were thirty-three in number with 2,650 pupils; for girls, four, with 444 pupils. In all, there were 190 schools with 6,836 pupils.[85]

Bishop W. L. Harris convened the 1874 Conference in Lucknow on January 7. On the first day of the session Thoburn presented "the certificate of location of William Taylor, . . . and moved that he be admitted to the India Conference. The motion prevailed, and his name was placed on the Conference roll." George Bowen, an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church, submitted his credentials of ordination to the Conference and was formally recognized as an ordained elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church on condition that he take on him the ordination vows of the Church, and was admitted to membership in the Conference. Three of Taylor's recruits, Christopher W. Christian (formerly employed in the Bombay Bank); George K. Gilder, also of Bombay; and Charles R. Jeffries of Calcutta, were received into the Conference on trial. At the close of the Conference session the Bishop announced the appointment of William Taylor as Superintendent of the Bombay and Bengal Mission and of eight men to four stations of the mission.[86]

The 1876 Annual Conference (January 13-18) petitioned the General Conference for the organization of two Annual Conferences in India, and the General Conference of that year, on recommendation of its Committee on Missions, authorized the organization* of the North India Conference and the South India Conference.[87]

The Conference relationship of Kanpur (Cawnpore) for several years was uncertain. From 1871 on it had been a station of the India Annual Conference. The 1876 General Conference authorized the inclusion of the Kanpur District in the South India Conference "provided that the consent of both

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* The boundaries of the two Conferences were fixed as follows: "The North India Conference shall include the Province of Oudh, and the Districts of Rohilcund, Cawnpore, Kumaon, and Gurhwal in the North-west Province. The South India Conference shall include all those parts of India not embraced in the North India Conference."—*G. C. Journal*, 1876, p. 300; also pp. 375, 377.

Annual Conferences in India to such change of boundaries be first obtained." In 1873, in response to urgent demands, the Conference sponsored the opening of an English boarding school in Kanpur. So impressed was the Conference with what seemed to be a providential opportunity that the school was projected without buildings or endowment. At first three bungalows were leased at a high rental but as they were not suitable for school purposes, three buildings were constructed—a boys' and a girls' dormitory and a central school building with recitation rooms and dining hall—at a cost of about $10,000. each. Teachers were paid from tuition fees and a government grant.

The South India Conference at its organization (1876) voted "the transfer of Cawnpore . . . provided that the Memorial School is free from all encumbrance." At the 1877 North India Conference the Cawnpore Memorial School was stated to be heavily in debt and it was decided that "for the present the Station of Cawnpore should remain connected with the North India Conference." [88]

The India Annual Conference increased considerably in membership during the years 1869-75. Within these six years twelve ministers exclusive of those in William Taylor's work were transferred to India Conference membership.* Twelve W.F.M.S. missionaries were appointed to India during the same period.

Despite the additions to the missionary personnel, and the gradual increase in number of Indian preachers, net growth of the Conference membership was disappointingly slow. Some became dissatisfied and withdrew. A considerable proportion, even after several years, failed to become acclimated to India's heat and malarial air, and on account of ill health found it necessary to leave. Others died in the service.† Becoming acclimated seemed even more difficult for missionary wives than for the men.‡

The India Annual Conference, like its forerunner, the Mission Conference, was almost wholly an organization of missionaries. Ten years had passed—

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* These twelve missionaries were: 1870, Thomas Craven and wife, Rock River Conference; Philo M. Buck, Kansas Conference; John T. McMahon and wife, East Genesee Conference; 1871, Edward Cunningham and wife, New York East Conference; Joseph H. Gill and wife, Rock River Conference; Wallace J. Gladwin, St. Louis Conference; 1872, Brenton H. Badley and wife, Des Moines Conference; Fletcher B. Cherrington and wife, Upper Iowa Conference; 1873, Richardson Gray, M.D., Delaware Conference; Albert D. McHenry and wife, Troy Conference; James Mudge and wife, New England Conference; Jefferson E. Scott and wife, East Ohio Conference.

† Joseph R. Downey, as has been noted, died soon after his arrival; Hauser left after six years (1861-67) because of ill health; Gracey withdrew at the end of six years on account of failure of Mrs. Gracey's health; Hicks, in ill health, remained but one year (1862-63); Spencer withdrew after two years (1865-67); Weatherby after eight years returned to America in ill health (1865-73); Wheeler, after four years, found a health furlough of three years necessary (1872-75), and left India permanently in 1878. John D. Brown in 1875 was stricken with paralysis and compelled to retire from the field (1862-76).

‡ The death rate for wives of missionaries was much higher than that for men. In a number of cases during the early years death, probably for lack of proper nursing care, was an accompaniment of childbirth. Marilla P. Pierce, first wife of Ralph Pierce, died after five years in India (1857-62). Minerva Thoburn, first wife of J. M. Thoburn, died in 1862, four weeks after the birth of her son. Mrs. Melissa Jackson died on Sept. 14 of the same year. Mrs. Marie Baume, after seven years (1859-66), returned home in ill health and died in 1867. Martha Terry Jackson, second wife of Henry Jackson, died in 1867, after three years in India. Ann Benshoff Mansell, first wife of Henry Mansell, passed away after ten years' missionary service (1863-73), at twenty-nine. His second wife, Lula Benshoff Mansell, lived only one year after her arrival in India and her marriage (1875-76). Lydia H. Waugh died in 1872, after thirteen years in India. Mrs. Mary Whitcomb Wilson, after nine years of missionary work (1864-73), suffered a loss of health and died in 1874.

following the delay occasioned by the Sepoy Rebellion—since William Butler and his corps of missionaries set out on their Christian conquest and as yet it seemed that little had been accomplished in the development of an Indian Church. All the officers of the Conference—president, secretary, and assistant secretary, treasurer, and corresponding and recording secretaries—were missionaries. All of the committees and boards—with the exception of those that conducted examinations which included books in the vernaculars, and one other (Admission on Trial) were likewise composed of missionaries. The three Presiding Elders were missionaries and of the twenty-one stations and one Circuit only five had Indian preachers in charge.

In 1867 at Pauri where Parker, Mansell, and Thoburn were together for two weeks, a constitution had been drawn up for a District Association. At a meeting at Amroha on January 2, 1868, the constitution and a course of study were adopted in a form which provided for a District Conference "for the direction of the work generally and for the general improvement of the members." [89]

In 1870 the District Association plan* was presented in expanded form by a Conference committee and approved. As adopted it made the organization of an association in each Presiding Elder's District, with annual sessions, mandatory. All members of the Annual Conference were made *ex officio* members, and all Local Preachers and Exhorters in the employ of the mission at the time of organization were constituted members. Subsequently members were "to be received only by [two-thirds] vote of the Association." All Christian teachers and other helpers were eligible for membership. At each annual meeting the appointments of the helpers for the ensuing year were to be made by the Presiding Elders, with "advice of the Preachers-in-charge of the district," provided that "as a *general rule,* no helper except teachers . . . [should] remain more than three years in one place." [90]

It is clear that in these developments Parker was the moving spirit. In his "Journal" as early as January 2, 1868, he said, "If I do no other work in India, I think the maturing and starting of this native Conference is a good deal. . . . I believe God directed it."

When the India missionaries reported so many people added to the Church in a given year they were not saying that the new members were all converted persons. They knew that few of those who asked for baptism were real Christians.

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* This District organization was antecedent to, and prompted the organization of, the District Conference by the General Conference of 1872. Henry Mansell sent a copy of the India plan to the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate* for publication. It attracted the attention of leaders of the Local Preachers' Association who interested delegates to General Conference. In revised form it was approved by the Committee on the State of the Church and on June 3 was adopted. (*G. C. Journal,* 1872, pp. 410 f.) In the meantime the India Conference would have been involved in difficulties had it not been for the liberal course pursued by Bishop Kingsley in the India Conference session of 1870. When it was proposed by a committee that the constitution and course of study as adopted at Amroha should be approved for all three Districts of the Conference a point of law was raised as to the rights of a Presiding Elder to appoint lay workers, not members of an Annual Conference, to Stations or Circuits. The Bishop gave a "guarded yet distinct" approval to the procedure.—J. M. Thoburn, "Wayside Notes: An Autobiography," *Western Christian Advocate,* May 10, 1911, p. 9.

> In most cases their apprehension of Christian truth is too incomplete for them to receive Christ in anything approaching the fullness of spiritual life. The knowledge of sin is rudimentary, and consequently the sense of need is small; the desire for holiness is wanting, and the convert is satisfied with an intellectual acceptance of the theory of salvation by Christ. To lift a Christian community out of this merely preparatory state and lead its members into the possession of a spiritual life and the enjoyment of Christ's personal companionship is a problem which everywhere confronts the missionary . . . .[91]

In gathering the workers together for conference and study, and by providing for supervision and training, Parker and his associates were putting new and deeper meaning into their formal acceptance of the Gospel, clarifying their conceptions of what it means to live a Christian life, and strengthening their wills to follow Christ at whatever cost. As his biographer said, "In this way he exerted an abiding influence among and upon the missions of North India, for a living Christian convert means more for the conquest of India by Christ than a fine church building . . . ."

While adoption of the District Association, by the Annual Conference, which included a required course of study of four grades, marked a decided advance in the training of native workers, in itself it was not enough. More comprehensive and thorough instruction and training were required if a native ministry equal to the task of building the India Church was to be raised up. It is of interest that the necessity for an institution to meet this need was felt more keenly by the missionaries on the field than by the Missionary Society at home. In 1871 one of their own group, David W. Thomas, offered to provide out of his own funds $20,000. to establish a theological seminary for ministers. On April 15, 1872, the Bareilly Theological Seminary opened its doors and sixteen young men were enrolled as students.[92]

A remarkable increase in Sunday-school enrollment began about 1871. The inclusion of non-Christian day and boarding-school pupils in the Sunday schools, a movement started by William Taylor, accounted for much of the growth. One day when some schoolboys were present in one of his meetings he noticed that they understood English. He immediately began to sing, asking them to join with him, which they did with glee. He continued until they had learned the hymn. Taylor's experience suggested to Thomas Craven to set up Sunday schools which were mostly singing schools. Later Scripture cards were added, and boys would walk down the streets memorizing their verses by chanting them aloud. Then came more formal lessons.[93]

This increased interest was one of the most striking and encouraging features of the missionary program. In 1873, 104 Sunday schools were reported with 4,549 pupils as compared with seventy-six schools with 3,536 pupils in 1872. In 1875 the number had increased to 153 with an enrollment of 6,751. In 1874 Mansell pronounced the Sunday-school work which had been developed in Lucknow to be "perhaps the most powerful evangelizing agency in . . . [the] city or in the entire Mission." It is possible to go, he said, to

> almost any part of this great city and find boys in the streets who will come and sing, with great spirit, the Christian hymns and songs they have learned in our Sunday-schools, and thus attract a crowd of hearers to whom we preach the Gospel.[94]

During these years the W.F.M.S. surged ahead in experimenting with new types of schools. A small boarding school which Mrs. Parker had started in Moradabad in 1867, turned over to Mrs. Zahur ul Haqq while on health furlough, and resumed again in 1873 represented a new venture in girls' education. Its instruction was chiefly in the vernacular and its purpose to train girls from the villages for service among their own people. While such a school for girls was "contrary to all the traditions of the people" it met with increasing favor and many more applied for entrance than could be accommodated. In 1875 the school had forty-three boarders. And at Lucknow Isabella Thoburn launched upon her amazing career of educating India's women in accordance with the standards of men's schools. There she opened her first boarding school in 1870.*

The Kanpur boarding and day school was unique in admitting both sexes, although instruction was given in separate departments. In its first year it enrolled fifty boys and twenty-five girls of whom fifty were boarders.[95]

About this time tent meetings began to come into wider use in the Conference. The practice was to pitch an open tent at a convenient location near though apart from the bazaar, with an outstretched awning in front and carpets on the ground at the entrance. Usually a midday service of singing, reading, prayer, and preaching was held. The singing invariably attracted a crowd of people, many of whom remained to hear the reading and preaching. Separation from the bazaar made for quiet and was conducive to more attentive hearing and interest.[96]

MORADABAD DISTRICT†

Parker's furlough in 1869 placed Thoburn in the presiding eldership of the Moradabad District. He made the round of his District in "a spring cart," traveling chiefly at night.

> A horse would be sent out ten or twelve miles, another twenty or twenty-five miles, and a third thirty-five or forty miles. . . . I could make a journey of sixty miles in a night . . . . I took with me a Christian boy who served as cook, a small roll of bedding, and a basket of provisions. Thus equipped I could live during the cold season in very enjoyable comfort for weeks together.[97]

In 1869, as successor to Cawdell at Sambhal, James David, an Indian preacher, was appointed under the supervision of Thoburn and later of Mansell. He suffered persecution, under false charges, and in the effort to save himself apparently fell into the sins of falsehood and bribery. Preaching was neglected; the interest of church members declined, and the church dwindled to almost nothing. In 1871 the station was combined with Moradabad.[98]

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* See pp. 505-507.

† In 1873, when names and boundaries of the Districts were changed, much of the area of the Moradabad District was included in the new Rohilkhand District.

When in 1870 Jackson was appointed pastor at Bijnor he could find but six persons who were connected with the church. He gave himself diligently to bazaar preaching and itinerating and was confident that faithful work "must bring forth fruit sooner or later." A dispensary was opened in the city, and Mrs. Jackson—assisted by a native woman who had been trained by Dr. Humphrey—treated hundreds of suffering women in Bijnor and nearby villages. Statistical reports of the station showed ten church members in 1864; fourteen in 1868; and twenty-three in 1872. In the last year, there were seven girls' schools with 110 pupils, all of whom were Mohammedans; and four boys' schools with 357 pupils of whom seven were Christians, 260 were Hindus, and ninety were Mohammedans.[99]

During the four years 1868-72 real progress was made on the Moradabad Circuit. In 1872 Parker was able to report that there were seventy-six persons connected with the Church in the city; four Classes; 421 boys and 250 girls in the schools; and three Sunday schools for boys of the day schools, and one for the girls, attended by about two hundred fifty pupils. In 1874 J. E. Scott* was appointed to Moradabad. The church at Chandausi remained small, having only fourteen communicants.

The Amroha and Babukhera Circuit had the continuous service of Zahur ul Haqq for more than nine years. In 1863 William Butler had written:

> we feel that the time has fully come when we ought to provide for these people a little place of worship at *Babukera,* . . . and give to our services there a character and regularity, aided by the residence of a native local preacher . . . , which will enable us to carry on the good work so well begun among these poor ignorant, but teachable people.[100]

In his report for 1872 Zahur ul Haqq wrote:

> *Babukhera* is a village where we have had work for many years, but our permanent increase has been small. It now appears as though we had commenced wrong. A few years ago we built them a little chapel costing rupees four hundred. This chapel is now a hindrance to us as it belongs to the mission, and is not of the form that they can keep in repair. If it were not that it would seem to be going backward, it would be the very best thing for our work there to level that

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* Jefferson Ellsworth Scott (1851-1924) was born in Steubenville, Ohio. He attended Mount Union College and by the age of twenty he was preaching on a Circuit in eastern Ohio. He was licensed to preach in 1869, and on Aug. 12, 1873, sailed for India and was appointed to Moradabad. He was assigned to Sitapur in 1876 where he remained until 1883. On leave in America, 1883-87, he obtained his Ph.D. (Boston University) and S.T.D. (B. U. Theological School). He married Emma Moore in 1884. His later appointments were: Bareilly, 1887; Muttra, 1888; Presiding Elder of Agra District, 1891-1900; and Muttra-Ajmere District, 1901-1906. He left India in 1907 after thirty-four years of service. During this time he was also a chaplain in the British army. He was elected to the General Conference of 1896 and of 1904. On his return to America he transferred to the Gulf Conference and did supply work for some time, later living in New Orleans, La., until his death. His labors were manifold as an educator, evangelist, and Presiding Elder. He wrote in Hindustani a Life of John Wesley and a Commentary on the Pentateuch.—Official Biographical Files. Division of World Missions.

chapel with the ground, and then let the people provide such a house as they themselves can build and keep in repair as their own.[101]

While itinerating in the Moradabad District in October, 1868, Thoburn preached at Bashta and baptized two women and two children. At the close of the ceremony eleven men, members of a large group who had arrived while he was preaching, stepped forward and asked to be baptized. He welcomed them cordially but told them that it would be necessary first to give them preparatory instruction. Their disappointment was evident. Zahur ul Haqq started a hymn and during the singing told Thoburn that he was making a mistake. "If you put these men off . . . they will not believe you. . . . we shall see them no more. . . . If we do not accept them, and baptize them, we cast them off altogether." Thoburn hesitated for a moment and then, after lifting his heart to God in prayer, made his decision:

> The men were called forward, and I told them that by the advice of Zahur-ul-Haqq I had determined to baptize them first and instruct them afterward. They brightened up at once, and were baptized in the midst of a rejoicing little company of Christians.

Thoburn left Bashta with misgivings. In two days he had baptized twenty-seven adults, organized them into a church, appointed a pastor, and arranged for their instruction. But would they hold together, live as Christians, and develop into a real church? "What," he wrote, "would other missionaries think of this wholesale baptizing of ignorant men whom I had never seen before, and whose antecedents and even names I knew little or nothing of whatever?" He was sincerely troubled. But a year later he visited Bashta and held a meeting at which 102 Christians received the communion, and "sat down under the mango-trees to a common meal." Years later he stated that the Church in the Bashta country held a notable place among the Christians of that region. This was one of many incidents that marked the beginning of the great Christian mass movement of later years.[102]

ROHILKHAND DISTRICT

The ten stations included in 1873 in the reorganized District were: Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Panahpur, Budaun, Pilibhit, Moradabad, Chandausi, Sambhal, Amroha, and Bijnor. An outstanding feature of the missionary work of the District during 1873 was the great increase in girls' schools in Budaun. By the close of the year fifteen schools, each with eleven to twenty-two girls, were in operation. In the more advanced schools Scripture history and the New Testament were taught. The teaching in the schools and Bible reading in the homes in the several mohallas were correlated so that mothers and daughters were simultaneously receiving Christian teaching.[103]

The Amroha Circuit included an area some thirty miles long by twenty wide. In about a hundred and twenty of its villages there were groups of Christians and inquirers. From each village where no one could read one young man was taken to an Amroha school and kept there until he was thoroughly instructed in the truths of the Gospel and was able to read, write, and sing well. He then returned to his home with the missionary's expectation that he would be a personal center of Christian light and leading. The wives of the young men were also taught in the same way. "I know of nothing," wrote E. W. Parker, Presiding Elder, "so promising . . . as this plan . . . ." [104]

In 1875 Robert Hoskins noted the progress in Christian faith and life of the Christians in the Budaun region as the result of better-trained Indian preachers:

> Heretofore the chief difficulty has been that the helpers who have been stationed among the people to instruct them have been men of limited education and consequently have not been able to advance their congregations very much, but during a part of this year we have had the assistance of three trained men from the Bareilly Theological Seminary, who were sent from this District some three years since.

Budaun station this year had nine centers from which missionary work was carried on.[105]

A resurgence of child marriages in 1875 caused much disturbance among village Christians at Amroha and Budaun. In trying to break up the practice missionaries had used all possible means, including the cutting off from the Christian community of persons who insisted on observing the custom, and it was thought that the practice had been overcome but this year "many Christian men . . . yielded to the pressure of public opinion . . . and have had their children married according to their old customs." At Amroha the entire community of Christians was involved in the controversy, one party insisting that child marriage must be retained. When it became evident that they could not have their way a few withdrew from the Church and the disturbance subsided.

By 1876 a broad missionary program was under way in Rohilkhand District. Church institutions—in addition to the theological school, orphanages, and high schools earlier established—included an increased number of elementary schools and two medical dispensaries for women and children. Intensive evangelistic work was carried on in more places. Besides the ministers in the ten stations there were more than thirty Indian preachers living in different places and preaching in hundreds of villages. E. W. Parker, Presiding Elder, saw everywhere signs of progress, proof that Christian truth was "surely working its way to the hearts of the millions." [106]

BAREILLY DISTRICT*

In 1869 T. J. Scott was appointed Presiding Elder of the Bareilly District. He continued in office until 1873. For the first time since the Bareilly station was established (1859) the Indian church in 1869 reported a sizable membership. It numbered sixty-three adults. The increase by baptism during the year was twenty-three. A "native Christian community," said T. J. Scott, who was also pastor in charge in Bareilly, "is growing up . . . ." Two years later saw the building of a commodious church for the Indian Christians. By 1872 the number of communicants had increased to 150 and thirty-four probationers. The pastor reported that "the moral tone of the native Church . . . [was] improving," and that almost all contributed something for support. The four outstations of Bareilly were in 1872 grouped together to form the Bareilly Circuit, with Scott himself as pastor, and an Indian preacher in residence at each place. Members totaled only seventeen.[107]

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* In the reorganization of Districts in 1873 some of the Bareilly District area was included in the new Kumaon and Garhwal District, which had this year only two stations, Naini Tal and Pauri. The remaining appointments were transferred to the new Rohilkhand District.

At Shahjahanpur, Johnson, who was a physician as well as a minister, by 1870 found his time so taken up with dispensing medicines—as many as five hundred patients monthly coming to him for treatment—that the employment of a native doctor as an assistant became necessary. The government was asked to supply medicines and a monthly grant of Rs. 25 toward current expenses.[108]

In 1872 Robert Hoskins, missionary-in-charge of Budaun station, reported that "a vital indigenous work . . . [was] going on in the District, that . . . [was] fast producing a self-supporting Church." Some of the Indian preachers engaged in personal evangelism and held evangelistic meetings on their own account.[109]

Hardoi, thirty miles from Shahjahanpur, was opened as a mission in 1872, with Sunder Lall, an Indian preacher, in charge. He reported a mission residence purchased, a colporteur employed, and several inquirers enrolled.[110]

Mission work was begun in Almora, the capital of Kumaon, by the London Missionary Society in 1850, and in nearby Ranikhet in 1869, in each case by one missionary. Reinforcements had been expected in order that remaining parts of the province might be occupied. As these were not forthcoming the British missionaries looked to the Methodists to take over the area and establish missions where needed. To the Presiding Elder, T. S. Johnson, the field seemed as full of promise as the plains, perhaps even more so, since "the hill people in general are more simple and less bigoted" than the people of the plains. J. H. Gill,* missionary at Pauri (later the Garhwal Circuit), felt that while the thousands scattered over the mountains of Garhwal were "hard to be reached" the mission would not be a failure: "the seed sown cannot be lost; it is God's . . . ." [111]

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* Joseph H. Gill (1844-1912) came of a devout Scotch-Irish family. He was born in County Tyrone, March 27, 1844. He migrated to New York as a young man. Feeling that he was called to the ministry, he went to Evanston for his training; received his A.B. from Northwestern University in 1870; and his B.D. from Garrett Biblical Institute in 1871. He and his wife, Mary Ensign, arrived in India on Dec. 14, 1871, and were stationed at Moradabad. After two years they were sent to Pauri, Garhwal, where they spent a total of nineteen years, and where the name Gill was long held in grateful remembrance. He also served ten years in Bijnor, and for shorter periods in Bareilly and Budaun. Mrs. Gill died in 1908, and in 1910 Gill married Mary Wilson, daughter of Peachy T. Wilson and a missionary of the W.F.M.S. Five years after her husband's death in 1912 she returned under the W.F.M.S. and served in Pauri until 1935.—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

This year (1873) at Naini Tal nearly six thousand patients received treatment in the mission dispensaries, and some 30,000 in the government institutions, all under Dr. Humphrey's supervision. At the close of the year the government dispensaries were transferred to the civil surgeon of the district. Seven mission schools were attended by 315 pupils.[112]

In 1874 two new stations were reported. Eastern Kumaon, including the eastern part of the province adjoining Nepal, was in the charge of Richardson Gray, M.D., with three Indian preachers and a colporteur as helpers. "The wives of the helpers," together with the mother of one, assisted as teachers, Bible women, and medical aides. Four schools were maintained and a dispensary established at which some five hundred patients, as an average, were treated monthly. The second new station, Palee (later Dwarahat), embraced western Kumaon and eastern Garhwal, an area with a population of more than 150,000. As no missionary was available Harkua Wilson, an Indian Local Preacher, was appointed in charge, with one helper. A dispensary was set up which was soon treating from two to three hundred patients a month; two schools organized; and evangelistic work begun in the villages. In May, 1875, a missionary residence was purchased in Pithoragarh, in eastern Kumaon, as mission headquarters and Lohooghat was made a substation. Three new schools were opened during the year, making seven in all and the total enrollment 395. This year schools within the District as a whole increased to thirty-eight; teachers to fifty-three; pupils to more than 1,300. Seven missionaries with fourteen helpers made up the District missionary personnel.[113]

The problem of polygamy beset the Church in many of the hill stations. The Conference was steadfast in maintaining its position that a polygamist applying for membership should put away all but one wife. In many instances the question of what to do under the specific circumstances seemed unanswerable. Gill, on the Garhwal Circuit in 1876, felt strongly that new regulations were needed. In one instance a family of nine presented themselves for baptism but there were two wives and two groups of children. "It would require the skill of a Paul to know which woman has the best right to stay, and it would take a heart much less tender than the blessed Saviour's to turn either away." Both desired to be Christians. Gill's plea was for permission to baptize "these families as they are, and to pledge them to give up polygamy in their future contracts." No agreement on general policy was reached among the missionaries as to the Christian course.[114]

LUCKNOW DISTRICT*

In 1870 Thoburn was made Presiding Elder of the Lucknow District. In his fascinating autobiographical story, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* he presents a graphic and accurate picture of the situation which faced him:

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* The Lucknow District in 1873 became the Oudh District. All of the Lucknow District stations were included in the Oudh District, and Hardoi—formerly in the Bareilly District—was added.

> Four of the mission houses were standing empty, and only two foreign missionaries could be spared for the out-stations of the province. In addition to the American missionaries, two of the native members of Conference had been assigned to central points . . . but they had done very little except to take up their residence in rented houses, and do a little preaching in the bazaars. . . . the stations [of the District] were from fifty to seventy-five miles apart, the preachers few in number, and almost absolute strangers to one another, and every point on the district was very seriously undermanned.
>
> . . . I very quickly discovered that while a magnificent brickfield had been placed at my disposal, no straw had been provided for making bricks. The empty mission houses stood, like so many doubting-castles, at the forlorn stations. The scattered native preachers had no leaders, and very few of them had any vestige of leadership of their own.[115]

After a hasty inspection of the field he called together the missionaries, native preachers, teachers, and minor assistants—thirty-one in all—for the organization of a District Conference. This was the first time these workers had ever been together as a group and one of the best outcomes was the acquaintanceship and group morale that resulted. At their second meeting "many seemed inspired with new hope, and the dawn of a better day seemed to be at hand." The majority of the preachers "seemed to feel their responsibility as they had not done before." [116]

At Rae Bareli in 1871, with J. T. McMahon in charge, the number of members and probationers was doubled, four new schools for boys and girls were opened, and two Sunday schools were organized.

At the close of his four years' tenure as Presiding Elder Thoburn was unable to see that much had been accomplished in the outstations of the District during his stay. The strength of the working force of earlier years had not been maintained with the result that energetic, efficient missionary leadership was lacking. In 1874 Mansell succeeded Thoburn as Presiding Elder. He found reasons for encouragement. The English church in Lucknow had become "one of the most vigorous evangelizing agencies in India," while the Indian church was growing in membership and "daily increasing in spiritual life and power." He considered the native church to have "the most intelligent" Indian congregation that he had seen in India. At Gonda and Bahraich B. H. Badley reported that the church membership had increased from fifteen to twenty and the Sunday-school enrollment from three hundred to four hundred. At Hardoi about eight persons were baptized during the year but the little church had suffered "some reproach by the scandalous lives of some Christians." [117]

A note of discouragement occasionally appeared in the reports of some of the Indian workers. J. T. Janvier, one of the most faithful and effective of the Indian preachers, reporting from Bara Banki in 1876 lamented that for the second year there had not been a single conversion. "There are a few inquirers," he said, "who would become Christians at once would the Mission support them," but, he added, "We do not want any such Christians."[118]

The interrelation between the day schools and the Sunday schools which existed throughout the Conference was well illustrated by J. T. McMahon's description of the situation at Rae Bareli:

> The day-schools are the foundation of our Sunday-schools. The parents have no particular objection to their children attending school on Sunday provided they are taught well during the week. Where there is no day-school the parents will hardly allow their children to be present at a Sunday-school. Where the Gospel has long been preached and the people well informed they have little fear of a Sunday-school. In such places Sabbath-schools could be opened at once, but even then a day-school in which Bible teaching is faithfully continued during the week is preferable to a Sunday-school, meeting but one in seven days. The evil associations of home, the oaths and vile conversation of the street will almost certainly neutralize the teaching of an hour on the Sabbath.

McMahon's conclusion was that until children have Christian homes in which the teaching of the Sunday school is reinforced "by precept and example a day school should be maintained in connection with every Sunday school."[119]

Beginnings of Women's Work

One of the earliest and most difficult of the problems faced by missionaries in India was how India's women could be reached with the Gospel. By age-old custom women, except those of the lower castes, did not appear in public places, nor did they receive instruction from male teachers other than their nearest relatives. Because of this the method of bazaar preaching was wholly ineffectual. In North India the barriers which shut womanhood away from the outer world were stronger than elsewhere in the nation. There women, other than those of the lowest castes and children under ten or twelve years of age, were virtually prisoners behind the zenana walls, inaccessible alike to missionaries and native preachers and teachers. As if this enforced seclusion were not enough it was reinforced by the centuries-old tradition that women could not, and—if they could—ought not, learn. They were considered to be a lower order of creation, cursed by inferiority of intellect. So deep-rooted in Indian thought was this tradition that the women themselves made no effort to controvert it and had neither the desire nor the will to learn. Less than one per cent of the women of India, it was estimated, could read or write. They could not, therefore, be reached by Christian literature.

The situation was made worse by the long-standing custom of child betrothal. Girls were betrothed at as early an age as possible and in no case later than the twelfth year. Rigid regulations made the betrothal binding under all circumstances. If the betrothed boy died the girl thereby became a widow, forbidden to marry another. While betrothal and prohibition of remarriage were not equally prevalent in all provinces and all castes they were widespread and where they prevailed girls, even as women, were isolated in zenanas.

Women's seclusion, as may be readily realized, strengthened the hold upon them of the traditional rites, customs, and beliefs of heathenism. Not only did they more strongly resist Christian influences than did their husbands and sons, they were often instrumental in preventing them from becoming Christians. In hundreds of cases when young men had become inquirers and were on the point of accepting Christ they were prevented by counter influences brought to bear upon them by their wives, their mothers, and their grandmothers.

The first suggestion of zenana visiting as a practical method of reaching Indian women with the Gospel had been made by Thomas Smith, a Scotch missionary, in 1840. In an article in the *Calcutta Christian Observer* he "contended that the only way to reach the women of India was personally to seek them out in the zenanas and there to give them Christian instruction and every other possible kind of mental stimulus."[120] The article was received with marked skepticism by missionaries in general, but isolated examples of attempts to carry out the suggestions followed its publication. In 1854, however, it was actually put into practice by a Scotch missionary and zenana missions successfully begun.*

Missionary wives had also attempted zenana visiting in the early years of the Methodist India Mission. While missionary records contain far fewer facts on their activities than on those of men there is abundant evidence that almost without exception they were ceaselessly busy in aiding their husbands and in lines of service which they took upon themselves. They opened up new paths for themselves, particularly by establishing, managing, and teaching in girls' schools; in ministering to women through the dispensaries and hospitals, and later by gaining access to the zenanas for personal religious work with women and girls. Many of them were burdened with the care of their own children and the management of their households but because of the plentiful supply of servants on account of the very low wage popularly paid, they had more free time for out-of-the-home activities than American wives and mothers.

The missionaries in their annual reports to the Missionary Society made scant mention of their wives' activities. They almost never described in detail the work which the women carried on in their own right as assistant missionaries.† In reporting in 1869 on the Girls' Orphanage, D. W. Thomas, Superintendent, made no mention of his wife's contribution although she was practically the manager. Not until the *Heathen Woman's Friend** began publication and opened its columns wide to articles written by the "assistant missionaries" did the Church at large begin to realize the vital nature and the scope of women's work for women actually in progress on the mission fields.

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* The missionary, John Fordyce, who came to India in 1853, enlisted the help of Miss Toogood, a Eurasian. As she left the house in the company of a Bible woman to make their first visit Fordyce said to his wife, "This is the beginning of a new era for the daughters of India." "He was right; it was the beginning of Zenana Missions . . . ."—J. Richter, *op. cit.,* p. 338.

† J. H. Messmore, in his 1869 report of Hussainabad Station, Lucknow, said that "the children [of the Sunday school are] taught by Mrs. Messmore"; and again in the same report, "during a part of the time Mrs. Messmore met the teacher and many of the pupils [of the Zenana Mohammedan school] on Sabbath for reading the Testament." T. S. Johnson in reporting on the girls' schools in Shahjahanpur for the same year, says that "the missionary's wife visits them as often as she can."—*Fifty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1869), pp. 112, 103.

When it was once realized that zenana missions were possible on a wide scale, missionaries' wives of various denominations gave themselves generously to the new work. They soon recognized that in every case not merely one but many visits would be required and that they were too few and their time was too limited to make the most of the opportunity opening before them. How to increase their number became, for every denomination, the new problem. Years later Mrs. J. T. Gracey told of a solution attempted by Methodist women:

> It seemed at the beginning of our mission history in India as if never a door would open which would give us entrance to the women of the country. Once a beginning was made, the missionary women recognized that it was destined to develop beyond any resources they could command; and so a few of us met together, talked the matter over, and decided that we must make application to the missionary society at home for an appropriation specially for woman's work. The application was made, the facts were enumerated, but for some reason no appropriation was allowed.[121]

The number of unmarried women missionaries on the field at that time was very small and the preference of the Missionary Society was to send out married women. But the Board had not entirely closed the door to the employment of single women. One young woman in America had written directly to Butler, volunteering to come to India, and he forwarded her letter to New York. Missionary Secretary Durbin wrote in acknowledgment on February 10, 1859:

> We understood you & the Brethren to incline to the opinion that unmarried females might be well employed in India. The more I think of it, & learn the development of the mission, the more I am inclined to the opinion that they will be desirable and useful. Let me hear from you further, after you have had more conversation and thought touching this matter.

Butler replied on May 4, saying that the women of the mission were "very decided" that "Miss H." ought to be sent out, and he himself was of the same opinion: "You had better let her come by all means." In his response Durbin stated that there was "no lack of well educated women" ready to go to the foreign missions "when they are wanted," and in a second letter said he would get authority "for the sending of unmarried women" at the November 9 (1859) meeting of the General Missionary Committee. When the meeting was held appropriation was made for the outgoing of six young men and *one*

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* Some of the articles in the *Heathen Woman's Friend* were "Woman in India," a series by Mrs. T. J. Scott; "Scraps from a 20,000 Mile Journey" in several installments by Mrs. J. T. Gracey; and an article by Mrs. Robert Hoskins telling of her work with starving women and children in Budaun.

single woman. A short time later when it was learned that Joseph R. Downey had died in September and Mrs. Downey had agreed to remain in India and take charge of the Boys' Orphanage the Board decided that "she would be counted as the single woman" for whom appropriation had been made. The net result was that the mission found itself no better off than before so far as an unmarried woman for zenana evangelization was concerned.[122]

A precedent nevertheless had been set and in the following years, as we have seen, five single women were sent to India by the Board. In the meantime other organizations became interested in recruiting unmarried women for India Methodist missions, including the Woman's Union Missionary Society of New York City and the Female Missionary Society of New England. In 1867 the latter society wrote to Durbin offering to cooperate with the Methodist Society in recruiting unmarried women for India. Durbin replied that the plan might be made practicable, and in another connection said that "for two or three years [he had] been tending to the conclusion that . . . [the Church needed] in India in particular, and in China too, a corps of unmarried female missionaries, to serve in . . . Mission Schools, & in the Zenana schools." While he was ready to write and speak with restrained enthusiasm of what he characterized as a "remarkable and promising" form of missionary work he seemed unwilling to exert his great influence in behalf of sending single women abroad on a scale at all commensurate with the need and opportunity.[123]

In the meantime, while the Missionary Society and the General Missionary Committee were following a policy of indecision as to the extent to which its personnel of single women should be increased, the missionary wives, and the few unmarried women who had come to their aid, were endeavoring to carry the program forward as best they could.* Gaining access to the zenanas was, after all, a slow process. Scarcely a beginning had been made by the Methodists up to 1869. Enough had been done to demonstrate that by patient, persistent effort an entrance could be gained to a house here, to a neighborhood there, even to a town or city. That the closed doors would open most readily to the medical missionary had become evident. How and where were the women missionaries to be found in sufficient number to meet the crucial need? The *Heathen Woman's Friend* said editorially:

> The wives of our missionaries have done all that they could. Many of them, in addition to their own families, have the care of large Zenana schools, which they have organized and in which they are daily busied . . . . What wonder that, in so many instances, physical strength has failed under such constant and great exertions, and the oppressing consciousness of the magnitude of the work.[124]

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* See p. 139.

THE W.F.M.S. IN INDIA

At this point the women of the Church decided that the problem was theirs and it was for them to provide the solution. As we have seen, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society[*] was organized, within a year raised some $7,000., and sent to India two unmarried women, Isabella Thoburn[†] and Clara A. Swain, M.D. At the first annual meeting of the General Executive Committee appropriations were made to the amount of $2,656. for the support of schools and Bible women in India in addition to the salaries of the two missionaries and $3,000. for the support of the Girls' Orphanage at Bareilly.[125]

The coming of the W.F.M.S. to India provided a new stimulus for work by and for women. Mrs. Humphrey spoke for the "assistant missionaries," saying that whereas previously they had been "hindered by entire lack of means," having "only $200. salary, and no allowance for travelling," now with the help of the W.F.M.S. they would have a real chance to work. "We married ladies," she continued, "propose to relieve our husbands of the superintendence of all the female work." The organization of the W.F.M.S. also encouraged the India Conference to extend its work for women in various ways. Previously the women had been silent onlookers at the Conference sessions but at the 1871 session the ladies of the mission were invited to participate in the deliberations of the Conference[‡] connected with their work.[126]

At this same session the women who were present organized "a Woman's Missionary Society, to be associated with the . . . [W.F.M.S.] in the United States." The plan envisioned the organization of auxiliaries in all the mission stations.

> An annual meeting is to be held each year during the session of the Conference, at which time reports will be made and officers for the ensuing year elected. Meetings of the Executive Committee will also be held at this time, for the purpose of arranging estimates to be sent to the General Executive Committee at

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[*] See pp. 139-45.

[†] Isabella Thoburn (1840-1901) was born at St. Clairsville, Ohio, ninth of the ten children of Matthew and Jane Lyle Thoburn, Scotch-Irish immigrants, and died in Lucknow, India, of Asiatic cholera. She attended the public schools, and the Female Seminary of Wheeling, W. Va. She studied also for a year in the Cincinnati Academy of Design. Then she turned to teaching, first in a little summer school in Ohio, later as preceptress at a private school of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New Castle, Pa., and a similar position at Western Reserve Seminary. As the first missionary of the W.F.M.S. she arrived in India on Jan. 7, 1870, and went immediately to Lucknow, her home for thirty-one years. Here she threw herself with wholehearted zeal and courage into inspired plans for the Christian education of the girls and young women of India. She saw her little day school of six pupils, started in one room in a crowded bazaar, develop into a boarding school, a high school, a college for women—later the Isabella Thoburn College. Her ideal was realized of a Christian college for Indian and Eurasian, Hindu, Mohammedan, and Christian, in which no religious or racial pride or prejudice would mar its peace and fellowship. Three furloughs, 1880-81, 1886-90, 1899-1900—the first two imperative for health reasons, the third for raising funds for the college—were spent in America. During the second furlough she was the first housemother of the Chicago Deaconess Training School, and during two years (1889-90) helped lay the foundations of the Elizabeth Gamble Deaconess Home and Training School in Cincinnati, and of Christ Hospital under deaconess management. In India she also founded the Girls' High School (Kanpur), 1874, and helped in establishing the Wellesley School for Girls in Naini Tal (1891). For years she edited the *Rafiq-i-Niswen* (*The Woman's Friend*) and was the author of the life of Phoebe Rowe.—"Isabella Thoburn," biographical sketch in Board of Missions Library; J. M. Thoburn, *Life of Isabella Thoburn;* Florence Hooper, "Isabella Thoburn—Creator of Ideals," in *Program, 1940,* W.M.C., Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

[‡] For many years this continued to be the relation of women to the Annual Conference. They were free to participate in discussions but they could not vote.

home, and to take counsel with reference to the work among the women and girls within the bounds of the India Conference.[127]

The W.F.M.S. in their annual report recognized the India organization as an "India Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society." Perhaps more significantly it marked also the beginning of the Woman's Conference, affiliated with the India (later, North India) Annual Conference, which in its fully developed form was declared by Thoburn to take "full cognizance of all the varied interests of . . . women's work." [128]

ZENANA EVANGELISM

Both Isabella Thoburn and Fannie J. Sparkes, the third missionary of the W.F.M.S. to arrive in India, found zenana visiting beset by many difficulties. The "higher classes of Hindoo women" in Lucknow, Miss Thoburn wrote, ". . . have been as inaccessible to us as if they had been living in another world," while in Bareilly Miss Sparkes found "the prejudices of the people very difficult to overcome." Nevertheless, both met with an encouraging measure of success. A promising work in the Bengali zenanas of East Lucknow had been previously begun but "the conversion of . . . [a Hindu widow in Calcutta] so excited the fears of the Baboos in Lucknow, that they refused to permit missionary visits and instruction in their families." This caused discouragement for a time but by the close of the year other ways had opened so that the missionaries could go where they wished with the aid of "proper and sufficient help." In Bareilly access was gradually gained to one home after another until twenty families had been visited. Five of the twenty after receiving one or two visits told the missionaries not to come again, but the other fifteen continued to receive them:

> all whom we visit will now allow us to read the Scriptures to them, and a few will read them for themselves. One woman in the first family we visited has accepted a copy of the gospel of St. John, from which she reads a little every day. She reads aloud to the other members of the family, and when we visit them, they tell us of what they had read. . . . Four families only have as yet commenced learning to read, but others have learned knitting, wool work, etc.[129]

Lucknow was the center for zenana schools. Four had been opened in 1864, five years before the W.F.M.S. was organized, and the next year the Presiding Elder reported to the *Missionary Advocate* that while previously it had been "almost impossible to get girls or women to come to school . . . of late they . . . [had seemed] to have waked up to the importance . . . of education," and there were many more openings for schools than could be supported. The next year Messmore also wrote that many of those attending the Lucknow schools were making good progress. Numbers had completed the reading course and several had learned "to read fluently within a few weeks." He felt they attended from mixed motives but that there was reason to hope their "unrestrained study of the word of God" would commend itself to the Church.[130] The largest zenana school in Lucknow in 1870 enrolled fifty women and girls with an average attendance of forty to forty-five. Thirty were girls of six to fifteen years, the others women ranging in age to thirty-five. Many of the older registrants had attended the school from its beginning in 1864 and were able to read well. They also had acquired an elementary knowledge of arithmetic, geography, and the history of India and had learned to knit, sew, crochet, and embroider in wools. A class of the more advanced had been formed into a Bible class. Progress in learning in all of the zenana schools was extremely slow, partly because of the comparative indifference and indolence of the girls and women and partly also on account of the lack of adequate training of the young Indian women employed as teachers.[131]

The needs of other women also appealed to the missionaries. Those who attended the zenana schools were mostly of the higher and the middle classes. By far the larger number of the female population, however, were the village women who lived outside the zenanas, the wives and daughters of lower-caste men. In a limited way they were reached by the village evangelistic work of the missionaries and the Indian preachers but they also needed the ministry of Christian women if large numbers of them were to be brought into the Church. Evangelism for the special purpose of bringing the Gospel to women was early undertaken by Mrs. Zahur ul Haqq, who enlisted the aid of two other women.

> Early in the morning of the 24th. [November, 1869] I went into the village and spread some sheets on the ground under a peepul tree, where we sat down and began to sing. Thirty women and ten men at once collected, and I read to them and also preached to them. Leaving there we went to Tasarpur, and sat down under a peepul tree. Ten or twelve women came to hear us sing, and we had some talk with them. Leaving there we went to Lilakhera. About forty women came together, and I read the fifth chapter of Matthew to them, and also talked to them. They listened gladly, and I hoped that some of them would soon become Christians. We next went to Dehra . . . . About fifty women collected to hear our prayers and singing.[132]

In 1882 Isabella Thoburn made a plea for what she termed zenana preaching. Zenana teaching, she felt, had "added one subject to another, . . . until we have perhaps come to lay too much stress upon it and too little upon preaching."

> I use that word because no other so clearly expresses my meaning, and it is the word always used by our Bible women in North India. They say, when giving a report . . . , 'we have taught in so many houses and preached in so many,' meaning that they have read a portion of Scripture or sung a hymn, and then explained and illustrated, and closed with their own testimony and a personal appeal. . . . for the sake of the old women who will never read, of the servants who stand by, of the neighbours who will not open their own houses, but who come shyly in by a side door to see and hear, and of the pupils who may never finish the books they are reading, the opportunities should not be neglected.[133]

ISABELLA THOBURN AND WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Isabella Thoburn fully realized that the uppermost thought in the minds of those who sent her to India was that she would become a messenger of light and life to the host of Indian women virtually imprisoned behind zenana bars. She took up zenana visiting with zeal and continuing interest but almost from her first hour in India another purpose began to take form in her mind and heart. She had been a teacher in America and naturally she was immediately impressed by the dire lack of school facilities for Indian girls. It early became evident to her that "as soon as converts . . . [began] to multiply in considerable numbers, their claims, especially in the matter of education, must become so imperative that other forms of work . . . [would] have to take a secondary place." She fully recognized the value of the beginnings that had been made earlier. The Moradabad Girls' Boarding School, begun in 1867 especially for daughters of poor native Christians, designed to fit them for a useful life in their country villages, appealed strongly to her but she had a different object in view.[134] She hoped to set a standard of education for the women of India fully as high as that projected for men:

> If we do any great or good work among the women of India, we must show them the superiority of Christian womanhood; we must have trained Christian women to work with us. . . . [There is a field in India for] boarding schools such as we depend on for the education of girls . . . [in America].[135]

Her conviction now clear Miss Thoburn took immediate action. She searched for a room in which to open a school and made it known that she proposed to start at once. Not finding anything more suitable, she rented a small one-room building on one of the noisiest streets of Lucknow. The school was opened on April 18, 1870, with six girls. In two months it had enrolled seventeen. By November the number had increased to twenty-five, of whom four were from outstations and boarded in the families of native Christians. Miss Thoburn's plan was to enroll girls not only from Lucknow and vicinity but also from the villages "where Christian girls have no advantages," and to make the school as far as possible self-supporting. If the school was to be successful in a large way, a suitable location was necessary. By singular good fortune a very desirable property—Lal Bagh, or Ruby Garden, "the second best house in the station," with nine acres of ground —was offered for sale in the spring of 1871. The missionaries encouraged Miss Thoburn to buy the property and establish on it not only the school but also the headquarters of women's work in Lucknow.[136] Negotiations were soon concluded.*

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* "The owner demanded payment in coin, and two missionaries drove to a bank and brought away in their buggy fourteen bags, each containing one thousand silver rupees, which were delivered late on Saturday evening to the owner of the property." (J. M. Thoburn, *Life of Isabella Thoburn,* p. 108.) The Cincinnati Branch supplied the seven thousand dollars required by the purchase. A portion of the land was sold to provide a site for the English church, and the proceeds of the sale were applied to the cost of the schoolhouse. (Isabella Thoburn, "The Lucknow 'Home,'" *Heathen Woman's Friend,* XII [1881], 7 [January], 145-47.) This was the first property purchased by the W.F.M.S. on a foreign field.

The first commencement of the Lucknow Christian Girls' Boarding School was held at the close of 1872. The program of essays, dialogue recitations in English and in Hindustani, solos, duets, and quartettes, amazed the invited guests, especially the English friends of the mission, who were delighted with the performance of the pert, intelligent Christian girls. The quarters in the kothi used for school purposes having proved to be too small plans were made for a new school. Application was made for a government grant-in-aid. When the civil commissioner saw the plans, with accommodations for one hundred girls, he said, "You will never need such a building. There will never be that number of Christian girls in the Province. Cut it down and bring me plans for a smaller building . . . ." Negotiations were continued and finally a grant was made. By Christmas, 1874, the school had enrolled ninety-seven pupils, forty of whom were boarders. The boarding hall had been enlarged and before the close of the school year accommodations in an auditorium were provided for 150 pupils. Through the efforts of Phoebe Rowe, a young Eurasian woman who had entered the school at almost its beginning, nearly all of the boarders gave "their hearts to the Saviour" and bore "a clear testimony to a changed life, both in words and deeds." [137]

Year by year the Girls' Boarding School grew in popular esteem, becoming known not only in Lucknow but in places far removed. It was recognized as marking a new departure in Christian missionary work. In the whole of the northern part of the empire, with one exception, there was no other such institution. It gave a stimulus not only to Methodist missions but to the whole Christian missionary enterprise. As was to be expected, it did not meet with universal approval. There were some missionaries who looked askance at all efforts to give girls anything other than an elementary education. The stock argument was that anything more would spoil them as wives and mothers. Facing all such arguments Miss Thoburn was unmoved; rather than causing discouragement they stimulated her to enlarge her plans and to declare that the time would come when there would be a girls' boarding school in every District. Before she and her associates were ready to make an advance move a pressing demand arose within the student body for a higher institution of learning for women. This had been in her mind for some time but she was keenly aware of the difficulties involved. She was advised that any such move was premature. No missionary society, it was argued, would guarantee to supply the large sums of money required. Students in sufficient number to justify a college would not apply for entrance. To all these objections Isabella Thoburn opposed her vision and her faith.

In the meantime encouragement came from an unexpected source. The government in an annual *Educational Report* included this statement:

> The Lal Bagh school takes the highest place among the native girls' schools of Upper India. One candidate was sent up for matriculation in the Calcutta Uni-

versity, and passed. Two others were sent up for first arts, and passed. If the school continues to pass such candidates, it will have to be classed as a college.

A class was organized in the school on the junior college level. On her second furlough, necessitated for reasons of health, Miss Thoburn gave her most earnest efforts by addresses and printed appeals to inspire contributions for a women's college in India. She received in special gifts channeled through the W.F.M.S. treasury, $8,052.10. Finally in 1895 the Lucknow Christian Girls' Boarding School "was recognized as a college, and a college charter granted by the Government." *

To Isabella Thoburn education was much more than the formal teaching of subject matter. In her thinking education was related to the whole of life. It concerned attitudes and conduct and the development of personality. She felt that a part of her special call as a missionary was to do everything within her power to break down the bars of class and race separation which were so strong in India. The problem confronted her on the opening day of her school. The little group of six girls had two Indians, two Eurasians, and two Europeans. In all Miss Thoburn's work through the years her guiding principle was the conviction that only the love of Christ enthroned in the heart of the individual and the spirit of Christ ruling his conduct would prove sufficient to overcome prejudice, contempt, bitterness, and hatred. Above all else, by precept and example, to inculcate love was her supreme endeavor.[138]

MEDICAL AND ORPHANAGE WORK

In 1867 Mrs. D. W. Thomas, wife of the superintendent of the Girls' Orphanage in Bareilly, laid before local government officials the need for medical training of students of the Bareilly Girls' Orphanage. When her appeal failed she wrote to Mrs. J. T. Gracey asking her assistance in having a woman medical missionary sent from America. In response to this plea the W.F.M.S. sent to India in 1869—the year in which the Society was organized—Dr. Clara A. Swain.† As soon as she arrived at Bareilly efforts were begun to get a site for a women's hospital. The nawab of Rampore owned an estate in the city, which adjoined the mission premises, of which little use was made. Finally the British commissioner advised the missionaries to ask the nawab for the grounds. They had little hope of a favorable response since the official was a zealous Mohammedan, "utterly opposed to Christianity." A group of missionaries called on him at his palace in Rampore,‡ forty miles from

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* For statement of the development of Isabella Thoburn College see Vol. VI of the *History of Methodist Missions.*

† See p. 183. Also Vol. VI. Dr. Swain's success was immediate. Within her first year she prescribed for 1,225 patients and visited 250 women in their homes. Women from all classes came to her eagerly for medical aid. In March, 1885, after attending the wife of the rajah of the native state of Khetri, she was invited to become official physician "to the Rani and the ladies of the Palace." After prayerful consideration she agreed to remain for two years on condition that she should be entirely free to carry on Christian work among the women and children.—Mrs. Robert Hoskins, *Clara A. Swain, M.D., First Medical Missionary to the Women of the Orient,* pp. 16, 21.

‡ The nawab, who had boasted that Christian missionaries had never dared to enter the city of Rampore, upon hearing of their proposed visit sent four changes of horses, a coachman, two

Bareilly, and after the preliminaries which courtesy required Thomas hesitatingly explained that the mission desired, upon some terms, to procure his estate in Bareilly for a women's hospital. At this point, much to the astonishment of the missionaries, the nawab exclaimed, "Take it, take it; I give it to you with much pleasure for that purpose." The estate was worth not less than $15,000. including "forty-two acres of land, an immense brick house, two fine old walls, and a garden." [139]

On March 1, 1870, Dr. Swain began her first class in medicine—sixteen orphanage girls and three women. The Woman's Hospital and Medical School (later the Clara Swain Hospital), the first hospital for women built by the W.F.M.S. in India, and the first women's hospital in all Asia, was completed on January 1, 1874. An appeal for funds was made both to the W.F.M.S. and to friends in India. The entire expense, including construction costs and repairs on existing buildings, was $10,300. Of this amount all was supplied by the W.F.M.S., excepting $350. On April 20, 1872, the first graduating class, thirteen in number, received certificates for practice.[140]

The work of the orphanages, begun in the early days of the India mission, appealed so strongly to Methodist women that at its second annual meeting (1871) the General Executive voted "through correspondence with the missionaries at Paori, [to make] an effort . . . to build a Girls' Orphanage there, in which each Branch may be interested." Within a few months the new institution was under way. On April 15, 1872, Mrs. P. T. Wilson wrote, "Our little orphanage is a very interesting part of our Gurhwal work. . . . we have . . . obtained six [girls] . . . during the past seven months . . . ." The orphans ranged from a two months' old baby to girls of eight or more years. In 1874 Almira Blake, the first orphan received into the Bareilly Orphanage, was matron and teacher. In that year there were fourteen girls and in 1892, seventy-two.[141]

From 1867 to and including 1895 the W.F.M.S. sent to North India fifty-nine unmarried women, of whom ten were medical missionaries. After their arrival on the field twenty-one married, most of whom continued as "assistant missionaries" under the aegis of the Missionary Society. Most of the others were teachers, principally of the girls' schools maintained by the W.F.M.S. A few taught in coeducational schools and a few served in various capacities in other types of missionary work.

The Woman's Conference (during the early years, the India Branch of the W.F.M.S.) in 1895 had a membership of thirty missionaries, twenty-four wives of missionaries, and seven Indian women. Auxiliary Societies were organized in all the central stations and in some villages. The auxiliaries reported Rs. 793 contributed during the year. The Woman's Conference was closely linked with the North India Annual Conference, with five mis-

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grooms, and an outrider to bring them. The details of their reception and interview are a rare missionary classic worthy of reprinting in its entirety.

sionaries' wives and two W.F.M.S. missionaries on the Finance and Reference Committee.* In reporting to the 1892 General Conference Bishop Thoburn said:

> we believe we are doing our uttermost for the future advancement of the women of India when we throw wide open to our Christian sisters every sphere of labor in which they can do their Master's work.[142]

William Taylor in India

The 1870 session of the India Mission was met with the news that William Taylor† proposed "to visit India on an evangelistic tour." The announcement was of great import not only to the Methodists but to the churches of India as a whole. William Taylor since his California days had an amazing record of successful evangelistic campaigns around the globe: thousands had experienced conversion during a four-year period in Australia; in seven months' time in South Africa twelve hundred English-speaking colonists had been converted, and in the West Indies in one year five thousand new members had been brought into the Wesleyan churches. Less spectacular but equally encouraging campaigns had been conducted in Canada and Europe.

As early as 1863, while in Australia, Taylor had been invited by a Baptist missionary to make an evangelistic tour of India. A year later in New South

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* W.F.M.S. missionaries (besides Miss Thoburn and Dr. Swain) to North India from 1870 to 1896 and their Branch connections were: 1870, Fannie J. Sparkes, New York; 1871, Carrie McMillan, New York (m. 1872, Philo M. Buck); Jennie M. Tinsley, Northwestern (m. 1876, James M. Waugh); 1872, Louisa E. Blackmar, Western (m. 1902, George K. Gilder); Lizzie M. Pultz, New York; 1873, Sarah F. Leming, Cincinnati (m. 1875, Mr. Shepherd; m. later Mr. Donovan); Nancy Monelle, M.D., New York (m. 1876, Henry Mansell); 1874, Julia A. Lore, M.D., New York (m. 1876, George H. McGrew); 1876, Mary F. Cary, Philadelphia (m. 1880, F. G. Davis); Lucilla H. Greene, M.D., New England (m. 1878, N. G. Cheney); 1878, Sarah A. Easton, Cincinnati; Eugenia Gibson, New York (m. 1882, Mr. Mitchell); Henrietta B. Woolston, M.D., Philadelphia; 1880, Annie M. Budden, New York; Luella Kelley, Baltimore; Florence Nickerson, Cincinnati; 1881, Isetta E. Hoy, Cincinnati (m. 1883, J. C. Lawson); Harriet Kerr, Northwestern; Emma L. Knowles, New England; 1882, Esther J. DeVine, Cincinnati (m. 1891, Mr. Williams); 1883, Laura Hyde, M.D., New York (m. 1886, F. W. Foote); 1884, Mary Christiancy, M.D., New England; Clara A. Downey, New York; Fanny M. English, New York; Emily Harvey, New England; Hester V. Mansell, Cincinnati (m. 1891, D. C. Monroe); Mary Reed, Cincinnati, 1885, Theresa Kyle, Philadelphia; 1886, Delia Fuller, Topeka; Anne E. Lawson, Des Moines; Kate McDowell, M.D., Philadelphia; Oriel Miller, Cincinnati; 1887, Anna Gallimore, Baltimore; 1888, Susan McBurnie, Philadelphia; Florence Perrine, Northwestern (m. 1895, W. A. Mansell); Martha A. Sheldon, M.D., New England; Lucy Sullivan, Cincinnati; 1889, Rue A. Sellers, Cincinnati; 1890, Hannah Dudley, New South Wales, Australia; 1891, Mary Bryan, M.D., New York; Louise Heafer, New York; Harriet Kemper, Des Moines; 1892, Elizabeth Hoge, Cincinnati; Ada J. Lauck, Des Moines; 1893, Kate McGregor, M.D., Northwestern (m. 1895, Paul Boomer, M.D.); 1894, Annie Butcher, New York (m. 1896, G. C. Hewes); Christine Christensen, New York (m. 1896, W. W. Ashe); Celesta Easton, Pacific; Lily D. Greene, Northwestern; Lillian Marks, Pacific (m. 1893, M. Kelley); Florence L. Nichols, New England; Mary Wilson, Northwestern (m. 1910, J. W. Gill); 1895, Kate O. Curts, New York; Jennie M. Dart, M.D., Northwestern (m. 1898, S. S. Dease); Eva M. Hardie, Cincinnati.

† William Taylor (1821-1902) was born in Rockbridge County, Va. His father was of Scotch-Irish and his mother of English descent. They were members during their early married life of the Presbyterian Church but later united with the Methodists. On Aug. 28, 1841, at a Camp Meeting, after groping for six years in spiritual darkness, William was "restored to . . . [his] standing in the kingdom and family of God." In October, 1842, he was appointed by his Presiding Elder to the Franklin Circuit, Baltimore Conference. The next year (March, 1843) he was received on trial and appointed junior preacher on the Deerfield Circuit. In October, 1846, he was married to Annie Kimberlin in Botetourt County, Va., who—he later wrote—shared with him the storms and hardships of life "with the spirit and courage of a true heroine." In 1848 Taylor was appointed by Bishop Waugh as one of two missionaries to the California Mission (see pp. 233-34). Leaving California in 1856, for five years he did evangelistic work, first in the eastern states and later in the West and in Canada. In May, 1862, he sailed for England, beginning a worldwide ministry of thirteen years. In 1875 he returned to the United States. Of his later work in South America and elsewhere account is given in subsequent chapters of this volume. He wrote many books which, largely through his own efforts, had a remarkable circulation. While in attendance at the General Conference of 1884 with credentials as a lay delegate from the South India Conference, he was elected Missionary Bishop for Africa. He was retired by the 1896 General Conference. His last years were spent in feeble health.—William Taylor, *Story of My Life . . .*; "Bishop William Taylor, World Evangelist," in *Missionary Review of the World,* August, 1902, pp. 609-13.

Wales an Anglican missionary repeated the invitation. While in the West Indies he received an entreaty from Thoburn to come to the aid of the Methodists. Now he was arriving, persuaded that he was providentially called. The Conference voted a resolution to invite him to spend as much of his time within the bounds of the mission as his general plan would permit.

Taylor arrived in Bombay on November 20, 1870, and on the twenty-fifth was met at the Lucknow station by Thoburn, Waugh, and Parker. On Sunday morning, the twenty-seventh, he preached at Lucknow his first sermon in India. This was the beginning of an intensive campaign which was continued with unremitting zeal for four years and two months. During the period he inaugurated and maintained a more or less extensive work in seven cities. These centers, in the order in which his ministry was begun in them, were: Lucknow, 1870; Kanpur (Cawnpore), 1870; Bombay, 1871; Poona, 1872; Calcutta, 1873; Madras, 1874; Bangalore, 1874. In numerous other centers he gave impetus to the established program of missions.[143]

THE SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF TAYLOR'S EVANGELISTIC MINISTRY

The meetings begun on Sunday, November 27, in the East Lucknow Chapel continued until Friday, December 16, twenty days, with two services each day—at seven in the morning for the native people and at six in the evening for Europeans and Eurasians.* Taylor preached at both services, in the morning speaking through an interpreter.

On the first day a decision was reached which determined the main purpose of Taylor's ministry for his entire stay in India. The American missionaries had been accustomed to preach to the Indians in the vernacular and to conduct services only incidentally in English for the British, other Europeans, and Eurasians. In accordance with the original instructions of the Missionary Society, their labors had been concentrated on work with the Indian population. Whether in Lucknow, or elsewhere, there had been little effort to get English-speaking people converted and to use them in the work of the mission. With this procedure Taylor took issue immediately. He felt that there were unused human resources in the European population for the Christianization of the Indian masses and that his calling above all else was to awaken spiritually and enlist in the cause the vast number of non-interested English-speaking people.†

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* The Lucknow meetings were not largely attended and the results were disappointing. On Sunday morning Taylor preached to a congregation "of about 130 natives, from Acts 1.8." At six o'clock he preached again, this time to "a congregation of over a hundred English-speaking people, Europeans, and Eurasians." The second evening meeting drew only a small congregation, "about sixty hearers." On Tuesday about eighty came and on the succeeding nights about the same number, except on the two Sundays when the house was filled. Not until the third meeting (Tuesday evening) was a call made for "seekers," when seven "came forward, and five of them professed to obtain peace with God." On Wednesday evening there was no response but the next night "seven seekers [came] forward, and three professed."—William Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign in India,* ch. II *passim.*

† Taylor elaborated his thesis at various times in different ways. For example, in a letter to Daniel Curry, editor of the *Christian Advocate,* he said: "Many missionaries, under instructions designed to prevent a diversion of their time and toil from the native work, make but little effort to get the Europeans and Eurasians converted to God. They are trying to dig around this stratum of society to get access to the native strata beneath—a most difficult task. Now I am sure that the best

> I took strong ground from the start [Taylor wrote later] in favour of getting these Europeans and East Indians saved and incorporated into our Mission working force. In their present state the mass of them make a false showing of Christianity, and are terribly obstructive to our great work of leading the heathen and Mohammedans to Jesus.[144]

Taylor's contention was agreed to by the missionaries with the result that, as Thoburn stated, the Taylor meetings became "an era in the history of . . . [the Methodist work] in India." They committed the mission "fully and irrevocably to work among the English-speaking people; . . . [they] put an end to the aimless kind of English services we had been holding, and . . . [were] an inauguration of a style of Gospel labor which has since spread all over India, and has resulted in incalculable good." [145] On Wednesday morning, December 7, Taylor called the workers into council and asked them to consider whether the doors of the Methodist Church should be opened to "gather of the fruits of our labour, or let them drift?" He was sure it was the right thing to do for, he said, they were not really members of any Church, although nominally Roman Catholic or Anglican. The workers decided to invite candidates for membership to present themselves.[*] On Thursday evening only one person, a woman, responded to the invitation but by Tuesday, the thirteenth, twenty-five had joined the Church.

Attendance at the morning services for Indians was about the same as at the evening meetings. Not until Wednesday morning, November 30, was an invitation extended, when twelve "seekers came forward, and ten of them professed to find the pardon of their sins, and gave a clear testimony." From day to day others came, on one morning as many as twelve, and on another twenty. Altogether, by December 13, in the morning and evening meetings, over one hundred persons had "been forward as seekers, most of whom . . . [professed] to have found remission of sins." The meetings were closed to enable Taylor to respond to an urgent invitation from Kanpur.[146]

As a result of the Taylor meetings the Lucknow church membership,[†]

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way to reach the masses below is to cut straight through the surface stratum, and utilize every block of it . . . as 'a living stone built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets,' on which to rear the superstructure of a powerful vital native Church of Christ."—William Taylor, letter, *Christian Advocate,* XLVIII (1873), 20 (May 15), 153.

[*] On April 1, 1860, Ralph Pierce had written to William Butler: "In my opinion, the *relation of our mission to not only the soldiers but the other classes of the European population,* has become a question *demanding distinct and serious consideration.*" Butler, in turn, passed on the suggestion of establishing a church in Lucknow for Europeans to Durbin, since in his opinion the financial support of the Missionary Society would be required. In his letter he said that there were in the city "from two thousand to three thousand persons of mixed blood, being chiefly children of European fathers by native mothers, and who speak the English language, and are ready prepared for the Gospel." From these he believed it would be possible to "derive many and valuable helpers in our missions, as the Wesleyans have done in Ceylon." No action resulted from Butler's suggestion.—Letter, *Missionary Advocate,* XVI (1860), 7 (October), 49 f.

[†] English work in Lucknow was begun in September, 1858, by Pierce and continued by Cawdell and Baume. It was later taken over by the British Wesleyans. In 1867 Jackson, stationed at East Lucknow, again began services in English in the mission house. (R. Pierce, rep., *Missionary Advocate,* XV [1859], 8 [November], 57 f.; *Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1867, p. 37.) No church members were reported in the Conference statistics for that year. Waugh, stationed at East Lucknow in 1868, stated that at "the beginning of the year no enrollment of Members, Probationers, etc., was found." He then formed a Society by "gathering in all the native Christians and inquirers," and at the end of the year reported twenty members and eleven probationers. (*Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1868, pp. 8 f.; *ibid.,* 1869, p. 75.) Whether this enumeration of members included both native Christians and English speaking (British and Eurasian) Christians is uncertain. However, in

probably both Indian and English-speaking, increased from thirty-four (as reported at the January, 1870, Conference), to forty-six (reported the next year). On July 2, 1871, "twenty-one persons, eight Hindustani, and thirteen English," were received into full membership after six months' probation. The total increase in 1871 was twenty-three—from forty-six to sixty-nine—and for the year 1872 ninety-one members were reported. At the close of 1871 Thoburn reported as Presiding Elder:

> A good work has gone steadily forward during the year, and God has put it into the hearts of not a few persons to work for the heathen around them. Some have preached successfully to the natives, some have been useful in holding prayer meetings, a score have become Sunday-school teachers, and in others the poor have found friends indeed. A work of reformation has been quietly going forward, and more than one home has grown brighter during the year. . . . no less than sixteen persons, formerly living in open adultery, have been married during the year, while several other parties involved in the same domestic shame, have voluntarily separated.[147]

Among the first persons to unite with the English Lucknow church was Dennis Osborne,* formerly a member of the Church of Scotland at Allahabad, who amply demonstrated the validity of Taylor's thesis. Under the evangelist's preaching "he received a rich anointing of the Holy Spirit," united with the Methodist Church, and became the first Class Leader of the Lucknow English church. In the Wesleyan tradition he began to hold prayer meetings in his own house, gathered in his neighbors, and soon developed a surprising gift of exhortation. On an evening when the missionary who had been announced to preach at the public service became ill and no one volunteered to take his place Osborne was constrained, on a moment's notice, to enter the pulpit and take over the service. He preached with an unction which amazed his hearers and within a short time was recognized as one of the most successful preachers in India. Calls came to him from far and wide to hold evangelistic meetings. Almost everywhere he went he organized within a few days or weeks Methodist churches. He established missions in what later became some of the most important Methodist centers of India, including Allahabad, Agra, Meerut, Roorkee, Lahore, and Mussooree.[148]

On December 9 Taylor received a letter from a physician in Kanpur—whom

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his next report Waugh said that the "English congregation has grown in numbers," and the "usual attendance at the close of the year was between 60 and 70 persons."—*Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1869, p. 7.

* Dennis Osborne (1844-1902) was born in Banaras, attended a government school in Agra, and afterward entered government service in which he continued for sixteen years. For several years he was assistant secretary of Public Works, Northwest Province. In 1874, as one of the members of the Bombay and Bengal Mission, he was admitted on trial to the India Conference (*Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1874, p. 39). He was appointed to Allahabad where he served as pastor for six years. He was a charter member of the South India Conference (1876), and in 1879 was made Presiding Elder of the Allahabad District, continuing in the presiding eldership until the close of his ministry in 1902, serving successively on the same District (although the name was changed twice) in the South India, Bengal, and Northwest India Conferences. In 1897 he was transferred to the Bombay Conference and appointed Presiding Elder of the Bombay District. He was a delegate to the 1884 and the 1896 General Conferences. While in America in 1884 he made numerous addresses and won many many friends for India. In 1898 he was formally recognized as a missionary of the Church.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

he had previously met in London—inviting him to hold meetings there. Kanpur, a city of some 100,000 people, was west of the Ganges. A door had been opened by Thoburn, who had preached there several times.* Taylor spent Sunday, the eleventh, in the city and reported that the doctor very much desired him to come. The missionaries were divided, some urging that since Kanpur was outside the India Conference boundaries Methodists had no right to go there, but it was finally agreed that Taylor "might go and see what the Lord had for . . . [him] to do there." On Sunday, the eighteenth, he opened his campaign by preaching three times to small congregations of soldiers and civilians. During the week he visited "many soldiers' families" and "preached every night; but with no decisive results in the way of conversions." During the Christmas holidays the English preaching series was suspended but he established meeting places in two Eurasian homes where he held services every day. He also preached daily in the bazaars. After New Year's the evangelistic services were renewed, continuing until January 10. Candidates for membership were organized into two Classes, one of fourteen and one of eight members.

A petition was drawn up, signed by many of the leading men of the city, asking the Conference to include Kanpur as a station and appoint to it a missionary. The petition was accompanied by a subscription list of eighty rupees a month toward a missionary's support. The Kanpur request precipitated considerable discussion at the Conference session (January 12, 1871), in which Taylor participated. Some members of Conference favored sending a missionary but it seemed impossible to spare one. Consequently, a motion was adopted requesting the "president of the Conference . . . to place Cawnpore on the list of stations, provided a European missionary be not appointed."[149] Piyarey M. Mukerji was admitted on trial and assigned to Kanpur. In December, 1871, Wallace J. Gladwin arrived in India and at the January, 1872, Conference was appointed to Kanpur despite the limitation imposed by the preceding Conference action.

Leaving Kanpur in January, 1871, Taylor made an extensive evangelistic tour in the course of which he conducted numerous brief preaching missions.†

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* One week during Thoburn's first year in Lucknow (1870) when he chanced to have no Sunday preaching appointment he responded to an appeal to preach in Kanpur. "I found," he says, ". . . about fifty persons, worshiping in a hired store-room, and served two Sundays in the month by Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries from Allahabad. I was received most cordially, and was not only invited to return, but urged to plant a mission in the place, or, if not able to do this, at least to arrange for preachers to go over from Lucknow on the vacant Sundays. I was anxious to drive in our stakes at once, but . . . [the established boundary of our mission, the laws of comity, and the rule that no new station should be opened except by order of the Annual Conference all stood in the way]. . . . On my return to Lucknow I invited our Wesleyan missionary brother to take a part in these services, which he did for a time, but subsequently both he and the Baptist brethren withdrew in our favor. In this way we were led to begin work on the western bank of the Ganges . . . ."—J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* pp. 274, 275 f.

† Meetings were held during this period at Sitapur (Jan. 25-27), Panahpur (Jan. 29-31), Shahjahanpur (Feb. 1-6), Bareilly (Feb. 8-16), and Budaun. (From this point on he discontinued his day-by-day diary, merely listing places where he preached.) His itinerary included Chandausi, Babukhera, Joa, Sambhal, Bashta, Amroha, Moradabad, Meerut, Ambala, Bijnor, Almora, and Pauri. September he set apart "for a pilgrimage with the natives, to study them, and learn what they did and suffered to get rest for their souls," visiting the celebrated shrines Badrinath and Kidernath in the Himalaya Mountains.—W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign in India,* chs. VII-VIII *passim.*

In October he spent "a few days preaching for . . . [the] American Presbyterian" Missions at Dhera Dun and Lahore. On October 22 he arrived at Bombay. He next attended (October 26-November 8) the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Ahmednagar, where he preached daily, except Saturday, through an interpreter to small congregations of Indian hearers. From November 12 to December 1 he conducted a series of preaching services at the Marathi Mission of the American Board at Bombay.[150] His success in these various series of meetings was not phenomenal. They did not come up to the expectations of many, although some missionaries reported good results.* The Methodists, in general, commended them while representatives of more conservative and formal denominations were critical. Taylor was quick to speak in his own defense and was ready with an explanation:

> A vast amount of valuable preparatory work has been done in India, especially in education, . . . but the spiritual development and adjustment of agency are entirely behind that of any other mission-field in which I have laboured—while the combination of the opposing forces here in India probably exceed those of any other part of the globe. My brethren here, having read of my labours and successes in Africa, got an idea that I would at once attack the masses in the streets, and mow them down like grass in a hay-field; but instead of that I began, where I always begin, with the members of the church. In other fields we found them in such an advanced state of preparation, that with but little loss of time we were ready with a powerful force of holy men and women to march at once to the front and rescue captive souls from the enemy; but here my limited time was nearly all taken up in barracks, hospitals, and parade-grounds—where, to be sure, much good was done of its kind.[151]

Taylor began his English work in Bombay on December 3, 1871, in connection with the Free Church of Scotland mission, also holding services on Monday "in the Scotch Orphanage for native girls." He preached in Institution Hall, in the House of Correction, at the Pensioners' Home, the American Chapel, the library of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's dockyard, and various other places including several private homes. The pulpits of the city were closed to him "with the exception of one night in the Free Church on the Esplanade . . . [and] two native mission chapels." His meetings continued until August 13, 1872. Seldom was a meeting held without at least one conversion, and frequently several professed coming into a new relationship to God. By December 22, 1871, over sixty persons in Bombay had been converted. Was this not evidence of a genuine revival? Taylor believed that it was. George Bowen, his associate, and editor of the *Bombay Guardian,* wrote:

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* Frank M. Wheeler wrote concerning Taylor's visit to Moradabad: "Bro. Taylor's tour through my part of the field was a most important event. The helpers were both quickened in their experience and instructed for their work. Some 18 or 20 English speaking people were converted in Moradabad under his ministration. None of these, however, saw fit to unite with our church . . . ."—*Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1871, p. 9.

> The word of God is now taking effect in the midst of us in a way that we have never before witnessed; many are deeply convinced of sin, and are earnestly seeking the Saviour; many Christians are convinced that they have been living miserably below their privileges, and with a most defective sense of the claims of Christ upon them, and are seeking with their whole heart forgiveness for their past lukewarmness, an assurance of their acceptance with God, with entire consecration to the Redeemer, that they may be his witness before men; a number are rejoicing in a new life, in a personal, present, all-sufficient Saviour; are we not entitled to speak of this as a Revival? God is now, we believe, answering the prayers of many years, and we earnestly and affectionately beg our Christian brethren of different denominations not to allow themselves to be separated from this work of grace by pre-conceptions, prejudices, unworthy suspicions, and the like. The apostles were spoken of as men who had turned the world upside down. The world never needed turning upside down more than at present; and such an operation can hardly be accomplished with kid gloves, or without a good deal of crashing and dust.[152]

In the first days of the Bombay meetings Taylor's mind was not clear as to the ultimate objective of the campaign. There was not a Methodist Society within eight hundred miles. The missionaries of other Protestant Churches were not overly sympathetic with his evangelistic methods. "But whether," he wrote in his day-by-day diary,

> in Central and Southern India, God intends a regular distinct Methodist organization alongside of existing churches, or whether He may not leaven all these with the true leaven of the Gospel, and amalgamate the whole, or draw out from the whole, . . .—an indigenous Church of Christ, without formal connexion with any foreign church, or support from any—I cannot tell. I have no plan, and don't intend to have any, except to discern and follow, at any hazard, the Lord's plan, as He may be pleased to reveal it.[153]

In the meantime his English-speaking converts, some without Church connection and others with a merely tenuous one, were pressing him to tell them how and where they could find pastoral care and spiritual fellowship. He proceeded to form fellowship bands,* analogous to the Bands formed by Wesley in the early Methodist Societies. "I am convinced," he remarked on December 12, that the churches here ". . . have no strength to nurse and build up any more converts than we have already had; . . . we shall organize them into bands, and set them to helping each other." On December 30 he organized the first fellowship band in the house of a Mrs. Miles, a "Christian Jewess"; on New Year's the second; on January 13, the third; then the fourth, the fifth, and sixth, and others until on March 11 Band No. 10 was formed, offering individuals the opportunity of "mutual confession of their 'faults one to another,' and sympathy and prayer for each other." He considered it necessary to retain oversight of all the bands himself, appointing and training leaders to help bear the responsibility "of caring for so many newborn souls." His experience also taught him "the utter weakness of a heterogeneous fellowship band, outside of proper church organization." Should he take the next step, taking upon himself the responsibility of organizing a Church? He had expected, when he had completed his mission in Bombay, to return to California. "It is over four years since I saw my dear wife and boys, and my plan was to return home this year . . . ."[154] But now a light came in which his duty seemed to him unmistakably clear:

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* There were fellowship bands in Bombay, interdenominational in membership, before the Taylor meetings began. The *Bombay Guardian* of March 3, 1871, quotes a Bombay correspondent of the *Bengal Christian Herald* as saying that he had never been "more deeply impressed with the genuine love for their Lord which draws Christian people together than when . . . [he] first saw a few of the meetings held by these Christian brethren . . . . These meetings are held in different houses and in different parts of the town; not a single evening passes without there being one or two meetings held . . . . Here you will see the soldier and the civilian, the merchant and the mechanic, all join in speaking or hearing of the love of their common Saviour in whom they are one, Episcopalian and the Presbyterian, the Independent and the Baptist, the Wesleyan and the Plymouth Brother, all join as believers in the same Lord, and all return refreshed and rejoicing."—*Bombay Guardian,* XVII (1871), 3 (March 18), 22.

> To organize a witnessing, aggressive Church of Christ in India, in organic union with existing churches here, we have found to be entirely impracticable; to try to run on a purely independent line, outside of existing organizations, is to fail, or to found a new sect—and we have too many of them already. The Methodist Episcopal Church of America has as good a right, as God may indicate her line of advance in her world-wide mission, to organize in Bombay, or anywhere else, as any other branch of the Church of Christ.[155]

On February 8 Taylor received a letter from a Bombay convert, George Miles,* asking "for the establishment of a Methodist Episcopal Church" in Bombay, and requesting that Taylor act as the "pastor and evangelist until such time as . . . [he could] make arrangements with the Home Board for sending out the necessary . . . [preacher] to this city." In addition to Miles, the letter was signed by thirty of Taylor's converts and within four days the number of petitioners had increased to eighty-three.[156] On February 14 Taylor wrote a letter formally accepting their call:

> A number of you will bear me witness, that when at different times you spoke to me on the necessity of organizing a Methodist Church in Bombay, to conserve and extend the fruits of this work of God, I advised you not to think about that, but to go on in the soul-saving work in which the Holy Spirit was using you, and that God would in due time manifest clearly the course you ought to pursue. I could not anticipate what it might be, but was fully resigned to follow wherever He might lead.
>
> Under later unmistakable indications, I now see with you the guiding hand of God by which you have been led to your present conclusion, and I am bound by my loyalty to Christ to concur with you in this movement. . . . Let it be distinctly understood that we do not wish to hinder, but to help the spiritual progress of all pre-existing Churches in this great country.
>
> . . . persons who have a vital spiritual union with any Church, and a field of usefulness therein, we sincerely advise to remain in their own Church. We are not at liberty to refuse any persons who have a 'desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved from their sins,' but we do not wish any truly saved man to leave his Church to come to us. On the other hand, persons who are influenced

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* George Miles had professed conversion on December 19 and within a few days had become one of the most zealous of Taylor's converts. The second fellowship band was organized in his home. Evidently the organization of a church had been a subject of conference between Taylor and Miles preceding the writing of the letter.—W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign in India,* pp. 119, 126.

by worldly motives would make a very great mistake in trying to ally themselves with us. All who join the Methodists should make up their minds to 'endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ,' and prove the truth of the Saviour's saying, 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and shall persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.'

* * * *

I will make application at once for missionary pastors to be sent to assist you in your great work. In the meantime (D.V.) serve you to the best of my ability till they shall arrive; but must be allowed, as heretofore, to decline to receive any fee or reward for my services.

Your brother in Jesus,
WILLIAM TAYLOR.[157]

Bombay, 14th February 1872.

Taylor had no more than begun meetings in Bombay when George Bowen,* who had come to India from America twenty-three years before as a missionary of the American Board, joined with him in his evangelistic campaign. Thus was begun an intimate association that was of immense help to the evangelist. If Taylor had combed all India in a search for an associate he could not have found another man capable of aiding him so efficiently and in so many different ways. Bowen was widely known as editor of the *Bombay Guardian,* the most influential Christian periodical in India. Aside from his editorship he had a wide personal acquaintance not only among missionaries but also among Indians in all walks of life, and wherever he was known he was highly esteemed and, by many, Christians and non-Christians, deeply beloved. Thoburn characterized him as a "saintly and venerable . . . man whose praise was in all the churches of the East, . . . [who had] a commanding influence in the city of Bombay . . . ." He was completely in sympathy with Taylor's purpose, his religious points of view, and his methods. He vigorously defended Taylor from the beginning of his work in Bombay against the animadversions of his critics, declaring "that often when hearing . . . [him]

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* George Bowen (1816-88) was born in Middlebury, Vt. When twelve he moved with his parents to New York City and began at once to work in his father's counting house. This terminated his formal schooling, though he continued to study French, Italian, and Spanish under a tutor, indulged besides a passionate love for music, and remained an omnivorous reader. At seventeen he quieted his atheistic speculations by settling on Deism as a rational explanation for the universe, and maintained this position for eleven years. During this youthful period he had the advantage of traveling and living abroad for three years, and had a full life of activities. All was changed, however, upon his meeting when twenty-six years old a young woman who totally captured his heart. Her untimely death was the beginning of his transformation. Overwhelmed with sorrow, he turned to reading for consolation her Bible which she had bequeathed him, and proceeded from that to Paley's *Evidences of Christianity.* On Good Friday in April, 1844, he wrote in his diary, "The Christianity of the Bible is true." In the fall of 1844 he entered Union Theological Seminary. Before graduation he offered himself to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for service in India and was accepted. On January 19, 1848, he landed in Bombay. A year later his conscience led him to renounce his salary and live in poverty that he might "exhibit to the heathen self-denial and indifference to the world." Bananas and bread sufficed for food; he wore old but clean clothing, and lived in one room devoid of furniture save for a table from which he ate and on which he slept. For five years he continued as a member of the American Board mission, though he received no salary. In May, 1855, he entirely severed his connections, but later for six years (1865-71) his relationship was re-established. In 1874, influenced by the evangelistic spirit and method of William Taylor, he became a member of the South India Conference. He continued until his death a self-supporting worker, honored and beloved alike by missionaries and Indian Christians. "To Brahmin and Parsi, to Jew and Moslem," wrote Dennis Osborne, "the life of George Bowen has been an open book, every line of which has portrayed godliness and truth." "Christ lived in that life and shone from it at every point."—Robert E. Speer, *George Bowen of Bombay, Missionary, Scholar, Mystic, Saint, A Memoir.*

preach . . . [he had thought that he] had never heard the Gospel preached by any other man so fully, so faithfully, so effectively." He "preached," Bowen declared, "the very Gospel I delight in, fulness of peace and fulness of consecration, making war upon all sin with the banner of good." Taylor, for his part, was equally impressed by Bowen. "All the people of this region, high and low, European and native," he wrote, "know George Bowen and set him down without debate as a saint. He is a learned man, an author, a clear thinker, a transparent preacher of great humility and usefulness, a good musician—a John the Baptist, to prepare the way for the Lord's coming to establish the self-supporting Indian Mission . . . ." [158]

Bowen entered heartily into the activities of the evangelistic campaign. After Taylor's sermon, Bowen would offer his personal testimony that "the Lord Jesus was alive, and that . . . [he] knew Him as a personal Saviour"; when, in response to Taylor's invitation, penitents came forward Bowen talked with them; he often accompanied Taylor to his preaching places—whether a private home, the House of Correction, the hall at Falkland Road, or elsewhere; sometimes after the sermon Bowen exhorted. When Taylor organized the first fellowship band Bowen was appointed leader.

The India Annual Conference in its January, 1872, session took action *recommending* its Presiding Elders "to organize in connection with our Church, any persons who may desire our pastoral oversight, whether said persons live within the present limits of our mission field or not . . . ." [159] Taylor now had India Methodism solidly behind him in his evangelistic campaign. But this alone did not satisfy him. Would the Church through its highest body sanction his enterprise? He would find out. On May 1, 1872, he addressed a communication "To the General Conference." He enclosed a copy of his "Circuit Plan," and stated that since Moradabad, the seat of the most recent session of the India Mission Conference, was "about 1,400 miles distant" it was evident that his mission could not "in reason be appended to that Conference." He then added a few more particulars concerning his work and concluded by asking the General Conference at its forthcoming session to grant "a charter for the organization of a Bombay Conference—not a Mission Conference." "If we stand alone on our own legs, by the power of God, why call it a Mission Conference." [160]

Taylor's letter was treated as a memorial. It was presented to the General Conference by Henry Mansell and referred to the Committee on Boundaries. It was not reported out for consideration by the Conference.[161]

Unperturbed by the failure of General Conference to grant his petition, Taylor went on with his work as before, though receiving less publicity through the press. Bowen gave the reason for this:

> Mr. Taylor has been working in a more quiet way, conducting meetings in private houses, for some weeks in one part of Bombay, then for a while in another part. The public services on the Lord's Day are stated and regular, and generally

> known. Smaller meetings in houses often furnish better opportunities of dealing with awakened souls individually and of leading them to Christ, than meetings in public halls do. Another reason for not referring to the matter is that others are coming forward to engage in this work, and that for some time there have been three sets of services nightly, four days in the week, in different parts of Bombay, and one of these carried on now for three weeks, and favoured with tokens of the Lord's saving presence, has been entirely without Mr. Taylor's personal participation.[162]

Earlier, in March, Taylor had addressed a letter to Bishop Janes stating that he had "nine classes, in which over 130 converts meet weekly; and newly-saved souls are being 'added daily.' "

> We hereby ask you, and our Missionary Committee, to send us men as we may require them, but not money. If you wish to pay their passage to Bombay, and can, . . . without placing this Mission on the list of *dependent* Missions, all right. One appropriation of funds from any Missionary Society would set upon us the brand-mark of existing Indian Missions, and tend to bring us down to their dead level.
>
> * * * *
>
> . . . We now ask the Committee, through you, to send *two* young men—single men—if engaged, well; if not, better. We want men of good practical common sense: if liberally educated, well; but sound in body, wholly devoted to God, ready to do or die for Jesus in India, and who will trust God and His Indian Methodists for food and raiment. . . .
>
> . . . I will (D. V.) be here to receive them, and initiate them into their work.[163]

On November 22, 1872, William E. Robbins, a graduate of Indiana Asbury College and a member of the Indiana Conference, arrived in Bombay from America. He had read Taylor's call for men willing to enlist as missionaries unsupported by any missionary society and had concluded that it was God's will for him to volunteer. Without "conferring with flesh and blood" he started at once for India at his own expense, arriving before anyone had word of his intention. Concerning him Taylor wrote, "He learned to preach in the Maratti language before he was a year in India. If the Lord has any more just like him, I hope he will send them along." The Missionary Society had also acted. As it had no authority "to create a new Mission" and the case apparently "was one of great urgency," the Board voted an appropriation from the contingent fund for transportation and Bishop Harris appointed Albert Norton of the Delaware Conference and Daniel O. Fox of the North Ohio Conference. On December 1 they reached Bombay. There were now five ministers associated with Taylor in his evangelistic campaign, viz.: Bowen, Robbins, Norton, Fox, and James Shaw (formerly of the Army Scripture Readers Society in India).[164]

The enlarged staff made more bazaar preaching in English possible. Four days in the week Norton, Robbins, and Shaw preached on the Esplanade in the late afternoon when the many clerks from the numerous business houses in the neighborhood were leaving their offices. A number of men and women converts assisted by joining in the singing and offering their personal testimony to the efficacy of the Gospel in their lives. Sometimes the meetings were attended by "a good deal of rudeness and noisy opposition," though the audiences generally conducted themselves "with great propriety." The antagonism bore witness to the scorn with which many of the so-called "better class" regarded Taylor, his methods, and his associates. Bowen wrote to his sisters:

> I do not think you can have any idea of the way we Methodists are spoken of in India. Scarcely any of the upper class have joined us, nor do they even come near us. The few such who have joined need a great deal of grace not to get separated from us, they are brought so much into collision with people that detest us. . . . The papers lose no opportunity of running us down.[165]

Bowen did not hesitate in the *Guardian* to reproach the leading English language newspapers for their inconsistency. They had been accustomed, he said editorially, to complain of the comparatively feeble results of the ministry of ministers and missionaries; they had condemned them for want of earnestness and self-sacrifice, "their disposition to make themselves comfortable and take things easy." Now, he said, there is a man among us

> who sometimes preaches *eight hours* on the Sunday, and morning and evening, daily from Monday to Friday, spending much time also in house to house visitation, . . . asking and taking nothing from any, except their love, supporting himself, . . . seeking by the consecration of all his powers to save the unsaved, and to show Christians the greatness of their vocation, and as soon as he sees a witnessing, rejoicing, consecrated body of Christians in a place, going off to pursue the same work elsewhere, and doing this year after year, . . . one would have thought that our monitors, so severe upon preachers for their inactivity, unadaptedness, and inefficiency, would hail with unmingled joy one so boldly and successfully aggressive.[166]

Whether it was the effect of the *Guardian's* repeated protests and reproaches, or simply their own sober second thoughts, some of the newspapers—notably the *Indian Statesman*—took a different tack. This journal remarked:

> The excitement which attended the Rev. Mr. Taylor's first services in Bombay, has now disappeared, and we are better able to appreciate the real character of the man and his work. . . . Mr. Taylor is neither a sour fanatic or a wild enthusiast, but a hearty, genial man, full of healthy Christian life, and strong convictions, which, whether we are able fully to share them or not, are marked by broad and loving sympathies for all mankind. . . . we heartily wish Mr. Taylor God speed, and strongly recommend his books to our readers.[167]

Under Taylor's supervision the work in Bombay steadily continued to expand. On December 29 about fifty persons were received into full membership in the church at the Falkland Road Hall which was the predecessor of Grant Road Church.[168]

During the summer of 1872, after two preliminary visits, Taylor had "commenced operations" in what he called "the siege of Poona." The pastor of the Free Church of Scotland cooperated heartily with him, early meetings being held "in the Free Church Institution" and in the "Free Church Mission Church." Taylor considered it necessary to divide his time between Poona and Bombay but during his absences Bowen took his place. Progress was much more rapid than in the beginning in Bombay. During August and September more than a hundred professed "to have found the Lord." [169]

Taylor's understanding in advance with the pastor of the Scotch Free Church was that he would do what he "might be able, to help him build up his own church" but that converts "should be at liberty, without any after-claps or reflections, if they in their judgment and conscience should so elect, to organize themselves into a Methodist Church." Taylor's procedure was not to urge or ask converts to join the Methodist Church:

> Those voluntarily unite with us, who are convinced that it is their duty by the force of our Bible teaching and the leading of the 'Spirit of truth.' In fact, we are a 'sect so much spoken against,' in India, that no one would think of joining us, except from a clear conviction of duty, and the martyr spirit of self-sacrifice—in the development of which they pass through a sifting, testing process, which deters all who do not imbibe fully our doctrines and spirit.

On September 28, in a private home, the first fellowship meeting was held. Over thirty converts offered testimony to "the saving power of God." Taylor had not decided in advance to bring up the question of church organization but in the course of the meeting "was convinced that it was the will of God that . . . [he] should wait no longer," so explained the requirements for membership and reminded the group of the persecutions they might expect. Without any personal prompting thirty-seven names were recorded. A place of worship was procured and on October 13 the first sacramental service was celebrated with sixty-four communicants.* A small society was established at Lonavla, forty miles northwest, in July, 1873, with fifteen members, which very soon increased to twenty-three. About the same time a Society of nine members was organized at Deksal, some sixty miles east, and preaching was begun in Sholapur and Shahahabad, still father east.[170]

As at Kanpur and Bombay so also at Poona Taylor's meetings were instrumental in bringing into the Church one who would become a great and widely influential leader. He was then a young surveyor, one of a group of three bachelors who lived together and spent their Sundays in indolence. On a Sunday afternoon a friend came with the news that he had discovered a hall where an American, "a fellow with a long beard like a preaching Arab," a good talker and singer, was speaking every night. The youth, whose only ideas of Americans had been derived from the comic papers and Dickens, assumed that all Americans "were long, lean, slab-sided; that they all chewed tobacco, spat incredible distances and told impossible stories." He was filled with curiosity and, anticipating an evening of fun, at once agreed to go with his friend. He soon found himself in a crowded hall with bare floors and rude uncomfortable seats, with a plain table in front and a small American organ beside it. Sitting at the table was a grave, bearded man who he learned was not William Taylor but an assistant, D. O. Fox of Michigan, Taylor having gone to Bombay for the weekend. A hymn was sung, the leader prayed a long prayer—kneeling on the bare floor—and then preached. He was in deep earnest; "in the most compelling way" he was saying that men "might know their sins forgiven and learn to know Jesus as personal Friend and Saviour." In some way he conveyed "the impression that the Jesus of whom he spoke was actually there by his side." Never before had the young man heard a message of such urgency and fervor. The speaker lowered his voice and in a quiet, conversational tone said there were others present who knew of the certainty of what had been spoken. Would they arise and bear witness? A British colonel, a handsome, well-dressed man, was immediately on his feet, telling in simple direct words how William Taylor had come to him with a letter of introduction from Bombay and how "in a very short time this big American had him on his knees crying to God for mercy." I fear some of you who are here "have known me for a wicked, Godless man. But I have asked God to forgive me, and . . . what the preacher says is true. God does forgive repentant sinners, . . . *I know it. He is in* [*my heart*]." What followed we allow the youth to tell in his own words:

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* Taylor expressed regret that the church in which the Poona meetings were held "did not share so largely in the fruits of the work of God" as he had hoped. The reason, he said, was "because several of their leading families declined to co-operate, or even to attend the meetings." This, he felt, "was a great pity"; for "they might have built up a powerful spiritual church" as many in connection with his work in other parts of the world had done.—W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign in India,* pp. 233 f.

> My soul was swept with a very storm of desire to prove the truth of these words for myself. . . .
>
> Soon afterwards the preacher arose and said very quietly, 'It is enough. . . . I invite you now to join . . . in finding for yourselves Jesus as pardoning Saviour and abiding Friend. . . .'
>
> For the first time . . . I was distinctly invited to choose God as Saviour and friend. . . . It seemed the only thing to do was to accept it quickly.
>
> The preacher was again speaking. 'Kneel down,' he said, 'and tell God you want to leave your sins and find in Him your Saviour.'
>
> At once we were on our knees, but I could not pray. It seemed as though the surge of the sea was in my ears and unspeakable but voiceless longing was in my heart. How long we were thus I do not know. When I came to myself the minister was beside me. . . . Would I keep on 'seeking the Lord,' and would I come to the 'class meeting' next evening . . . ? All the next day I was in deep confusion of mind, and lived like a man in a dream. . . .
>
> That night I found my way to the class meeting. It had already opened when I entered. They were talking of their personal religious experiences. At last my turn came, and the leader asked for my experience. I was embarrassed, but managed to stammer out that I did not know anything about such matters, that I had been told to come by the minister who preached the night before, that I had had a very unhappy day; would they please help me to find my way to the Saviour I

> was seeking, but had not found? The class leader called the company to prayer at once. They all knelt around me. . . .
>
> While they prayed, I somehow learned to pray for myself. The sacred fire that burned in them leaped to my poor heart, and I found myself saying, 'Friends, I have found my Lord,' and I kept on using words that seemed given me. for they were strange to my ears when I spoke them. . . .
>
> . . . there came to me . . . kneeling amongst those earnest-hearted people, a vivid realization of God's pardoning and comforting presence and a strange warming and uplifting of heart . . . .[171]

The name of the youth was William F. Oldham.* He went out of that meeting to become a Methodist Local Preacher, member of Conference, Secretary of the Missionary Society, Bishop, and a world leader of Methodism. Following his conversion he continued his work as a surveyor. On September 13, 1876, he married Marie Mulligan who was one of those whose testimony had influenced him to make a decision. Shortly after his marriage he was licensed to preach by the Poona Quarterly Conference. In 1876 his "survey party was transferred [from Poona] to South India" where "in the jungles of the Deccan" he decided to go to America for training† as an educational missionary.[172]

As an aftermath of the Poona conversions work was opened in Karachi. When the 56th Regiment was transferred from Poona to Karachi, the capital of the province of Sind, beyond the Indus, late in 1873 or in the beginning of 1874, thirty-six soldiers who had been converted in the Poona meetings constituted the nuclei of an active religious group. Shortly afterward

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* William Fitzjames Oldham (1854-1937) was born in Bangalore, India, of Roman Catholic parentage. His father was an officer in a Sepoy regiment. His mother died when he was very young and he was placed in the sole charge of an Indian nurse. During his elementary school years he attended Anglican parochial schools and at fifteen entered Madras Christian College. On completing his college course he was given charge of a small school of the London Missionary Society in Madras where he "daily taught the Scriptures and was every Sunday in attendance upon the church services, but," he wrote later, "there was no life of the Spirit anywhere manifest." Later for a time he was assistant master in Bishop Cotton's grammar school, Bangalore. He next "joined the 'great trigonometrical survey of India' " as a member of that "picked corps of engineers." Soon after his conversion in the Taylor meetings in Poona, during which he united with the Methodist Church, he was licensed to preach. Impressed with the great need for the education of Methodist children he, with his wife. went to America to prepare himself for educational mission work. He first attended Allegheny College, then Boston University, where he received his A.B. degree. He was received on trial in the Michigan Conference in 1883 and appointed to Edmore (*Minutes, Michigan Conference,* 1883, pp. 18, 28). Back in India at the beginning of 1885 he opened in February a mission in Singapore. After five years in that tropical city his health necessitated a change of climate. He was transferred in 1891 to the Pittsburgh Conference, and in 1895 to the Ohio Conference to become professor of comparative religions and modern missions in Ohio Wesleyan University. For two years in connection with his college work he was also pastor of St. Paul's Church, Delaware. From Delaware he went to Broad St. Church, Columbus. Ohio. In 1900 he was made Assistant Secretary of the Missionary Society, and in 1904 elected Missionary Bishop for Southern Asia and for eight years gave episcopal supervision to the work in South India, Malaysia, and the Philippines. In 1912 he was elected a Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions and in 1916 was elected to the episcopacy and assigned to South America. He retired in 1928. Methodism has had few world figures comparable to William F. Oldham—a saintly character, a great preacher, and a missionary statesman of rare sagacity and wisdom.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *Minutes, Pittsburgh Conference,* 1891, p. 24; *Minutes, Ohio Conference,* 1895, p. 28; *G. C. Journal,* 1912, p. 471; *ibid.,* 1916, p. 392; *Northwestern Christian Advocate,* April 22, 1909; W. F. Oldham, "God Keeps," *Christian Advocate,* XCII (1917), 43 (Oct. 25), 1103-1104.

† W. F. Oldham: "At Poona and Bhusaval we found that our Methodist people had the greatest difficulty in securing the schooling of the children without subjecting them to all manner of petty persecutions because they were 'Methodists.' . . . I was one of a small committee to consider the opening of a school for Methodist children. All our efforts to import a missionary teacher from America were unavailing. In the end the matter pressed upon me so, that the old question reawakened within me, 'If you cannot find a teacher go and get ready and open the school yourself.' "—"God Keeps," *ibid.,* 45 (Nov. 8), 1167 f.

D. O. Fox visited them to arrange for regular services. A Local Preacher, known as "'Brother Seale,' whose work . . . [had] been blessed of God in Lanowli, Poona and other stations," agreed to go to Karachi as their minister. Within six weeks some sixty persons—some of them soldiers, but the majority civilians—professed to have found salvation in his meetings. The remoteness of the city—Karachi was five hundred miles from Bombay by sea—made continuity in missionary activities difficult, but a Methodist Society was organized and a second center established in Quetta, a military station connected by railway with Karachi.[173]

In January, 1873, Taylor left Poona to enter Calcutta, the first center in India to which he went on his own initiative with the avowed purpose of establishing a Methodist church. This populous city was the capital of the Indian empire with about 750,000 people of whom some 30,000 were European and Eurasian. It was already well supplied with churches, numbering in all not less than twenty-five. Of these nine were Church of England, six Roman Catholic, three Baptist, two Congregational, one Armenian, one Greek, one Church of Scotland, one Scotch Free Church, and one Wesleyan.*

Before going to the city in 1873 Taylor wrote to John Richards, the Wesleyan missionary, pastor of an English church of eighteen members and of a native church also of small membership. The mission had several Indian preachers and teachers, and several native schools. Taylor proposed giving Richards "a week of special services; . . . [after which he] should be free . . . if God should give . . . [him] a people in Calcutta, as He had in Bombay and Poona, to organize them into a Methodist Episcopal Church." Richards and his wife were somewhat reluctant to accede to this kind of proposal. They would have preferred to have Taylor limit his labors in Calcutta to the Wesleyan Society as in fact he should have done if he had been disposed to adhere strictly to the principles of comity which the North India Methodists had approved. The Congregational pastor of the Union Chapel also, while cordial, regretted that Taylor had become a denominational propagandist instead of "purely an Evangelist" as he had formerly been. Taylor himself had some misgivings concerning his course. He perceived that he was making the situation difficult for the ministers and missionaries of other Churches, especially for those who were "liberal and good," since he had come "with an avowed purpose (D. V.) to establish a church." He satisfied his own mind, however, by assuring himself that he was acting in accordance with the direct guidance of God: for many years he had labored solely as an evangelist in cooperation with various denominations but now, in Bombay, "God modified

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* The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society sent two missionaries to Calcutta in 1829 to establish a mission. In 1832 this first attempt was abandoned. In 1861 a second beginning was made and in 1866 a chapel was erected and occupied but in 1868-69 the two missionaries were transferred elsewhere. In 1869, for the third time, missionaries were sent to Calcutta of whom one was John Richards. By 1874 these men, too, had returned to England, before the mission work could "scarcely be said to have begun."—G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *op. cit.,* V, 203, 348 ff.

. . . [his] commission, and, for India, laid upon . . . [him] the additional responsibility of organizing churches."

> . . . for me to defer to a human conventional principle of non-intervention, when God is guiding me, would be treason against my Sovereign. I am naturally very unobtrusive, and . . . I would not on my own account cross the feelings of any man, . . . but in a matter of duty to God, involving the salvation of souls, I have no alternative: I must obey God, and not man.

Richards did not urge his preference in the matter.

> Of course I accept your offer of a week's services. . . . Well: if you can come, and through God's blessing be the means of creating some healthy religious excitement among us in Calcutta, I shall greatly rejoice. Come and welcome; and I will work with you to the utmost of my ability.

Taylor began his services in Calcutta on Sunday, January 12, in the Wesleyan Chapel which had a seating capacity of about three hundred. Over one hundred were present and at the evening service about two hundred. The evening meetings continued for two weeks during which some twenty persons "publicly sought and professed to find the pardon of their sins, the most of them members of Richards' congregation. Taylor advised Richards "to gather in his new converts, organize his workers," and continue the meetings in his own way. This he did, with the assistance of the Wesleyan missionary from Lucknow. They organized "four praying bands, to hold prayer-meetings in four different places weekly."

For four nights Taylor preached in the large hall of the American Zenana Mission to a congregation of eight to 150 hearers. He then moved the meetings to the Union Chapel Hall, beginning Sunday, February 2, and continuing for fourteen nights with an attendance of eighty to a hundred with but little result. He succeeded, however, in organizing a few seekers into a fellowship band which met on Saturday evenings at the home of a Mr. and Mrs. Harris, nominal members of the Church of England who now desired to join the Methodist Church. He was puzzled to know what to do next but at this time he was offered by a Baptist missionary the use of a small native chapel on a narrow, out-of-the-way street not well suited for the use of an English-speaking congregation. Since no other was available services were widely advertised and begun there on Sunday, February 23. Attendance in the forenoon was scarcely forty; at night about eighty. The special meetings were continued for more than a month, the congregation gradually increasing. "About the ninth of April for the first time in Calcutta" an opportunity was given for converts to enroll for membership in the Methodist Church and thirteen responded. Soon afterward the use of a room "in Bow Bazar," owned by the Y. M. C. A., was secured. Meetings were held there on Sundays at seven in the morning and on two nights each week, and within two months about forty converts were recruited. "The hardest work of my life," Taylor recorded, ". . . was here in the streets of Calcutta . . . ." [174]

In the spring of 1873, Taylor sent to the *Christian Advocate* a direct call for volunteers for India:

> Young men with good education, who can the more readily acquire native languages, would seem to be best suited; but God may call some who have not had superior advantages of education, and we will gladly, on the recommendation of our Secretaries and Bishop Harris, receive such. Any who feel called of God to this work may report to Bishop Harris. A majority of them will be required in Bengal, and will meet me in Calcutta. In this Presidency alone there are 66,000,000 of perishing sinners. Who, in the spirit of the Master, will also give his life to save these blood-bought souls[?][175]

He was much disappointed that there was no immediate response to his appeal either by "the Missionary secretaries" or by volunteers.

> For months it seemed very doubtful, by all outward indications, whether we could raise a working force at all. I became more and more convinced . . . that a more convenient season would never come; so I determined, as the Lord should lead, to push the battle and win, or die at the guns.[176]

From September 1, 1873, Taylor was absent for a month from Calcutta to hold meetings in Poona and Bombay. On his return he stopped off at Igatpuri (Egutpoora) on the main line of railway some seventy-five miles northeast of Bombay. There had been for years "a few good men [there] whose early associations . . . [bound] them strongly to Wesleyanism." They had succeeded in building a small chapel, well situated in the center of the city, in the hope that the Wesleyan Missionary Society might eventually send them a minister, but this hope had not been realized. While there Taylor held a number of services, assisted by several Indian converts who had accompanied him. Two years later he said that the Society which he organized there was established and growing. One of the Indian brothers continued on with Taylor to Bhusawal, 276 miles from Bombay, where two days of special services were held. Norton had attempted to make a beginning there somewhat earlier. Unlike the work at Igatpuri little fruitage resulted.[177]

Since it had become necessary to give up the use of the Baptist hall in Calcutta nothing remained but to build. Before departing on his trip Taylor had leased a parcel of ground in Zigzag Lane and had contracted for "the building of a plain chapel thirty feet by fifty." He had also purchased a lot in Dharamtala Street "in the best centre of the city," for Rs. 4,600 and had let the contract for the building of a "brick hall forty feet by eighty." Friends in Bombay made Rs. 10,000 available and building was promptly begun. When the Zigzag Lane Chapel was opened, the place was scarcely large enough to hold the congregations which assembled. Taylor held a few outdoor services in English, Hindustani, and Bengali attended by "good audiences" but he felt that the time possible for him to spend in the city was too limited to carry forward the evangelistic work for natives as far as he had done in Bombay.[178]

By 1873 Thoburn had become fully convinced of the value of Taylor's campaign. As "an evangelistic effort among nominal Christians," he wrote in an article on the campaign in the *Christian Advocate,* the "work has been eminently successful." Within less than two years 565 members and probationers had been received into the Church. The quality of the results, he maintained, was even more satisfactory than the quantity. "In no place in the world can a better type of Methodism, or a better type of Christianity, be found than among these recent converts in the Bombay Presidency." From among the converts four young men had entered the ministry. As for work among the natives, twenty-seven had been baptized, "a larger number than . . . [had] been reported by any of the missions working in the same field." Notable success had been achieved among the Parsees (Zoroastrians, adherents of an ancient Persian religion) who for many years had seemed wholly inaccessible. Only two or three had been converted—long ago—while under Taylor's efforts seven had been baptized and seven more were candidates. None of the evangelist's converts had been employed by the mission, nor had any "received any pecuniary advantage by embracing Christianity," yet they had remained stedfast.[179]

Taylor's evangelistic methods and his attitude toward missionary support unquestionably had an influence upon Thoburn. For some time a conviction had been developing in his mind that he should give himself wholly to evangelistic work, "relinquish all claim upon the Missionary Society, and trust to God alone for . . . support." In January, 1873, during the Conference Love Feast he had made his decision. This did not involve a separation from the Missionary Society. His relation to it as a missionary remained unchanged except for the fact that he entirely relinquished his salary.[180]

The matter uppermost in Bishop Harris' mind as he approached India on his round-the-world tour late in 1873 was that of determining the status of William Taylor; of the missionaries who had come to India to work in cooperation with him on a "self-support basis"; and of the Societies which Taylor and "Taylor's men"—as they were called—had organized. When the Bishop reached Ceylon he sent a telegram to Thoburn asking that he meet him in Calcutta. Obviously, because of Thoburn's close relationship to Taylor's work Harris felt the need of his counsel. The Bishop was said to have an apprehension, shared by some other Church leaders in America, that Taylor was intending "to set up a new sect." [181]

Both Thoburn and Taylor met Bishop Harris in Calcutta. As soon as opportunity offered Harris said to Taylor: ". . . we want to bring your Mission into a closer connexion with our Church; and we want you to become officially . . . its superintendent." Taylor, for his part, disavowed any intention to establish a new Church.

> Every document we had, and the trustees and deeds of our property in Calcutta, were all proofs of our entire loyalty to the Church of our choice, though refusing first and last to yield a single principle or plank in our platform as a Mission.

Taylor added that he had already written Bishop Simpson, who had made the same proposal, that

> as God had opened and organized this Mission through my agency, and had thus made me its superintendent, I should not object to your official confirmation of His appointment, provided there should be no interference with the peculiar principles on which our Mission was founded.[182]

The Bishop assured him that where the Missionary Society appropriated no money to a mission it could not expect to interfere with its internal management. It was accordingly agreed (1) that the "work should be designated the 'Bombay and Bengal Mission' "; (2) that until a separate Conference could be organized Taylor and his ministers "should join the India . . . Conference; but that the . . . [India] Conference should sustain no official relation to the Bombay and Bengal Mission, any more than the Baltimore Conference sustains to . . . [the Methodist] Mission in Japan because its superintendent . . . happens to remain a member of that Conference"; (3) that "all India, outside of the defined boundaries of the India . . . Conference, should be included in the bounds of the Bombay and Bengal Mission." *

Harris suggested to Thoburn that "he would be glad to transfer . . . [him] to Calcutta if the way would open." At about the same time Taylor intimated that "he was impressed that . . . [Thoburn] should take the work out of his hands." [183]

At the ensuing session of the India Annual Conference (January 7-13, 1874) at which Bishop Harris appointed William Taylor Superintendent of the Bombay and Bengal Mission, nine ministers also were appointed to four stations of the mission.† Thoburn was appointed to Calcutta. Appointments to the mission in 1875 numbered thirteen.‡

The comment of Missionary Secretary J. M. Reid on the action of the Conference was:

> The great achievement of Bishop Harris . . . was the happy adjustment of the work under Mr. Taylor, by which it was brought into organic relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church. But for this that great and important work in South India might have been scattered, as was formerly the work of George Whitefield in Great Britain and America.[184]

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* This is the agreement as stated by William Taylor in his *Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions in India.* Strangely enough the printed *Minutes* of the Conference contain no reference to any of these items. Nor, so far as can be ascertained, did Bishop Harris issue any printed report of his agreement with Taylor or of actions of the India Annual Conference. The 1874 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society* contains the list of appointments to the Bombay and Bengal Mission but has no statement of its organization or other information concerning it.

† Appointments to the Bombay and Bengal Mission in 1874 were: William Taylor, Superintendent; *Bombay,* George Bowen, W. E. Robbins, James Shaw; *The Deccan,* D. O. Fox; *Central India,* Albert Norton, George K. Gilder; *Bengal* (Calcutta), J. M. Thoburn, C. W. Christian, C. R. Jeffries.—W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign in India,* p. 296.

‡ Appointments in 1875 were: William Taylor, Superintendent: *Bombay, Baroda, and Central India,* George Bowen, W. E. Robbins, George K. Gilder, William F. G. Curties; *The Deccan, Poona Circuit,* D. O. Fox; *Sind,* Frank A. Goodwin; *Bengal Presidency, Calcutta Circuit,* J. M. Thoburn, P. M. Mukerji, C. W. Christian; *Madras Presidency, Madras Circuit,* Clark P. Hard; *Bangalore Circuit,* James Shaw; *Secunderabad Circuit,* John E. Robinson.—*Minutes, India Conference,* 1875, p. 63.

The spiritual tide rose rapidly in Calcutta when Thoburn became settled in the city. The chapel in Dharamtala Street was opened soon after adjournment of the Conference. With seats for six hundred people it was thought that the size was ample. But from the first, after packing the aisles, "hundreds had to go away for want of room." To accommodate the crowds the Corinthian Theatre was rented for Sunday evening services and Thoburn preached regularly to about 1,400 people. Thomas Oakes, a convert, began a special work among the seamen who thronged the port of Calcutta. P. M. Mukerji, formerly at Kanpur, also joined with Thoburn, thereby constituting a staff of four preachers engaged in evangelistic and pastoral work in the city. Thoburn's success encouraged him to launch a financial campaign for Rs. 65,000 to build a church large enough to seat two thousand people. By February, 1876, the site had been paid for and building begun. On his return from America in November he found construction almost finished and a debt of Rs. 50,000. In two meetings almost the whole amount was pledged, to be paid in installments over a period of five years. The church was dedicated on December 31, 1876. The first place of worship, superseded by the new church, was transferred to the Bengali converts. One of the nominal Christians, awakened in the 1874 meetings, became the first Bengali Class Leader, and later the first Bengali Local Preacher. He gathered about him a group which, within a few years, became an active church of a hundred members.

In this same year of 1874 Thoburn started a Saturday morning prayer meeting, held at seven o'clock, especially for intercession in behalf of the work of the church. This became a fixed institution, destined to continue uninterruptedly for many decades, a source of spiritual influence and power.[185]

At Secunderabad, a suburb of Hyderabad in the Mohammedan state of Hyderabad, Christian work was begun by Walter Winckler, a government civil engineer who had been converted in Taylor's Bombay meetings. Sent to the city under government appointment in 1873, he refused to hide his light under a bushel and soon had awakened the interest of a number of soldiers and civilians. Within fifteen months his preaching and teaching had brought to the Lord almost fifty persons who were organized into a Methodist Society by George Bowen. At the end of February Bowen held ten days of special services in which about twelve others "sought salvation." Later in the year James Shaw spent several months there and greatly extended the work. Later Taylor spent a few days in the city "and found a healthy, growing, working church of God, of more than 100 members and probationers." [186]

In Madras, as at Kanpur, Taylor's evangelistic campaign was begun on the initiative of a layman, Dr. E. H. Condon, a British civil surgeon. In his invitation Condon associated with himself three other laymen who assured him that they "would back . . . [him] to the utmost of their ability," but he hoped that he would not organize a church. The evangelist had originally planned to make Madras the starting point of his India campaign and the Wesleyan missions in South India his principal field of operation but for some reason those to whom he wrote in advance "did not respond, nor invite . . . [him] to help them," so he had begun in North India instead. Taylor arrived in Madras on February 4, 1874.[187]

Madras in 1874 had a population of almost 400,000, made up of 330,000 Hindus, 50,000 Mohammedans, 12,000 Eurasians, and 3,500 Europeans. There were many Anglican churches in the city and practically all of the nonconformist denominations were represented there by missions and mission schools. Taylor credits the Wesleyan mission* with having done "a great educational work" in Madras, but as having had no "great success" among either the natives or the English-speaking population, since it had only eighty-six English members.

On Thursday, February 6, Dr. Condon introduced the evangelist to all of the nonconformist ministers of the city, and others, and on February 8 Taylor preached his first sermon in the Union Prayer-meeting Hall. On Monday evening, the tenth, he began a series of services in the Scotch Free Church Evangelistic Hall, preaching to an audience which packed the room. On the second night he saw signs of "a great awakening." About thirty responded to his invitation. After three weeks, with services for four days in the week, he moved to the more centrally located Memorial Hall which seated six hundred people. For four weeks it was well filled at every service. He next got the use of the London Mission native chapel in a very populous district of Madras and established regular Sunday services in it.

Later, on Condon's initiative, a "pandal" (a shed with pillars of wood, stone, or brick, roofed with thatch or tile, and walls to the height of about four feet) was built on the Esplanade. Attendance and interest steadily increased. Every night Taylor made a list of inquirers and on the following day called on each one. Those who were not "members of any church, or merely nominal members," he organized into fellowship bands. The first band was formed on January 22. Within a month of his arrival in Madras eight bands had been organized. Five or six Bible classes also were started. Within three and a half months about three hundred and fifty persons had professed conversion. "We are not aware," wrote George Bowen in the *Bombay Guardian,* "that there has even before been in India so powerful a work of grace . . . ." When the membership reached about three hundred Taylor called a meeting of the laymen who had invited him to the city and who, with a few of their friends, had borne all the expenses of the meetings, and laid before them the facts regarding results.

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* The Madras Wesleyan Mission, founded by James Lynch, had a checkered history. Although it was served by some distinguished missionaries, the chairman of the District declared in 1865: "We have been fifty years in India, but have done no more than lay the foundations of a Native Church—if, indeed, so much as that can be said without exaggeration."—G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *op. cit.,* V, 179, 224.

> . . . they unanimously advised me by all means to organize a Methodist Episcopal church, to conserve the fruits of this blessed work of God . . . .

The revival movement spread beyond the confines of Madras. In May meetings were held in Perambur, a suburban center of railway workshops, where the converts soon "bought a lot and built a place of worship, and, with a little help from the city, paid for it." Also, on a few weekdays, meetings were held at Pallavaram, a military station eleven miles from the city, despite objections of the military chaplain. A Methodist Society was formed in the home of one of the converts. During the meetings at Perambur a former resident who lived at Salem, 207 miles southwest, on the railroad line, visited the town and while there "submitted himself to God, and received Jesus as his Saviour." When he returned to his home he began meetings in his own house and "within a few weeks . . . got ten of his neighbours converted." Very soon "a living, growing church of God" had been established.

One of the Madras converts was a Scotch lawyer, Philip B. Gordon, who for thirty years had been "a diligent student of the vernaculars of Southern India." He began at once to preach in English and to Indian audiences in Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Hindustani. He was given charge of "the Tamil preachers and preaching in the [Madras] Circuit," and at his own expense translated from the English and published a number of tracts, in a single month printing 60,000 pages. The Taylor program was also broadened in Madras by what he termed a new system of education, the Sunday-school principle applied to weekday schools, voluntary unpaid workers contributing their services as teachers. Two schools were started, one with 125 Hindu and Eurasian children, and the other with sixty-five Hindu and thirteen Eurasian pupils.[188]

In December, 1874, Clark P. Hard,* who had heard and answered Taylor's call, arrived in Madras to take charge of the Madras Circuit and entered upon his arduous task with enthusiasm. At the end of eight days he wrote to Taylor:

> The Lord . . . [has] permitted me to preach eleven sermons, lead five fellowship bands, make pastoral calls four hours per day, . . . address three Sunday Schools and one day-school, revive the Tract Society, sell some dozens of books, hold one watch-meeting . . . , hold three love-feasts, administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper three times, receive twenty-one into full membership, and sixteen on probation out of the twenty who have been converted within these eight days—most of them being men.[189]

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* Clark P. Hard (1846-1925) began preaching at the age of seventeen. He attended Genesee College and in 1867 graduated from Garrett Biblical Institute. In Madras, where he served for four years, he married Lydia Van Someren, daughter of a surgeon-general of the British army. Later, after a furlough, he served in Allahabad, Bombay, Khandwa, and Nagpur. From 1887 to 1892 he was a Presiding Elder. Because of his wife's serious illness he left India in December, 1892, and in 1894 transferred to the Illinois Conference where for ten years he was in the pastorate. "Essentially an enthusiast, . . . restrained very little by reserve or considerations of what people might think of his actions . . . he never did . . . [anything] in the regular way." Despite idiosyncrasies, he was a faithful hard-working missionary, and remained to the end of his days a lover of India.—*Indian Witness,* LVI (1926), 4 (Jan. 27), 50; *Minutes, Illinois Conference,* 1926, p. 95; Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

On January 4, Local Preachers' licenses were granted to three men, "Brothers Gordon, Haudin, and Peters."

Taylor included a plan of the Madras Circuit for the second quarter of 1875 in his *Four Years' Campaign in India.* The plan listed twelve weekday and Sunday preaching services each week in five different places in the city of Madras, and two places outside the city. One of the ministers gave his entire time to preaching and pastoral work at five points along the Madras Railway Southwest Line, Arkonam, Jalarpet, Salem, Erode, and Pothamoor. The staff, in addition to Taylor, consisted of thirty-four ministers, Local Preachers, Class Leaders, and other lay assistants. There were seventeen fellowship bands in the city and seven in outlying places. Fifteen prayer meetings were held weekly. Tamil preaching services were held either on a weekday or on Sunday in seven centers. Two day schools and five Sunday schools were maintained. Other meetings included a weeknight Bible class, two weekly women's meetings, a weekday Sunday-school teachers' normal class, a monthly financial meeting of leaders, a monthly theological training class for the ministers and lay leaders, a quarterly Love Feast, and Quarterly Conference.[190]

Bangalore, a military station and a large native city, was a strategic center by reason of being the capital of the neighboring province of Mysore. Philip Gordon, who owned property in the city, called Taylor's attention to it as a religious opportunity. He found on visiting the city in August, 1874, that in St. John's Hill and Richmond Town, two of its most populous sections, there were no Christian places of worship other than those of "high ritualists and Romanists." Without taking counsel with any local residents, he immediately authorized the purchase of church lots. In a campaign of less than seven weeks, beginning late in September, there were 140 converts, including over thirty soldiers and a large number of prominent civilians. While the meetings were in progress Taylor let the contract for the building of a chapel on St. John's Hill and appointed James Shaw pastor of a Society not yet formed. On March 2, 1875, Shaw wrote to the *Bombay Guardian* that the new chapel was dedicated on February 28.[191]

CLOSE OF TAYLOR'S INDIA CAMPAIGN

In the middle of February, 1875, while Taylor was intent on carrying forward his India campaign with no thought of leaving it in the near future, a letter came to him from London, written by request of Dwight L. Moody, inviting him to aid in a four-month evangelistic campaign planned "to move this mighty city as it never has been moved." The letter closed with an expression of fervent hope that it might be "our Father's good pleasure to appoint you as one of His ambassadors in this great work." The next day—Taylor wrote later, "I saw that it was God's will that I should combine . . .

[the London campaign] with my visit to my family . . . ." It had been more than seven years since Taylor had seen his wife and children. He was in Lahore, where he had begun a series of meetings, but he "did not lose a day in closing up his engagements . . . and arranging for his departure." He left, intending that his absence would be only for a limited time; that after the close of the London meetings and a brief visit with his family in California he would be back to continue his unfinished work in India. But this was not to be. He never saw India again.[192]

At the 1876 meeting of the India Conference (January 13-18, 1876), eleven months after Taylor left India, five unmarried missionaries were received by transfer for work in the Bombay, Bengal, and Madras Mission, and one man was received on trial.* The mission was listed as divided † into Districts.[193]

The *Minutes* of the India Conference contain no statistics of the Bombay and Bengal Mission and since the mission was not separately organized it published no minutes or reports. Detailed financial accounts were kept at the principal centers and forwarded to Taylor, some of which he published. In May, 1875, he wrote:

> Our working force consists of twelve ordained and twelve other preachers, devoted wholly to evangelistic and pastoral work, and a membership of 1300 workers.
>
> Having no Conference organization, our presiding elders have not been appointed in the regular way; but I have deputed them to superintend the work in my absence, and Bishop Harris has endorsed and approved my action.[194]

He arrived in London about March 25, and embarked for America about July 14. For some time little communication passed between Taylor and "his men." At first, domestic concerns doubtless fully occupied his time and attention; then he turned to the task of enlisting missionaries and securing funds for India. For eight or nine years he "continued to regard himself as superintendent of the mission which he had founded." Meanwhile his thought had been turned in the direction of South America. In a letter to the South India Conference in 1877 he said that God had called him "to that land as distinctly" as he had called him to India. On the sixteenth of October, 1877, he bought "a through ticket from New York to Callao, Peru, and embarked." [195]

William Taylor made an ineffaceable impression on the Christian forces of India. Although early in his campaign he identified himself with the

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* The five missionaries were: Milton H. Nichols, Southern Illinois Conference; John Blackstock, Northwest Indiana Conference; Franklin G. Davis, Rock River Conference; William E. Newlon, Michigan Conference; David H. Lee, Erie Conference. Thomas H. Oakes, born in India, was received on trial.

† Appointments were as follows: *Bombay District,* George Bowen, Presiding Elder; *Bombay,* W. E. Robbins, John Blackstock, G. K. Gilder; *Poona,* D. O. Fox; *Karachi,* F. A. Goodwin; *Central India,* M. H. Nichols. *Calcutta District,* J. M. Thoburn, Presiding Elder; *Calcutta,* J. M. Thoburn, P. M. Mukerji; *Seamen's Church,* T. H. Oakes; *Darjeeling,* C. W. Christian; *Agra,* D. H. Lee; *Meerut,* to be supplied. *Madras District,* C. P. Hard, Presiding Elder; *Madras,* C. P. Hard, F. G. Davis; *Bangalore,* J. Shaw, W. E. Newlon; *Secunderabad,* J. E. Robinson, W. F. G. Curties; *Bellary,* to be supplied.—*Minutes, India Conference,* 1876, p. 74.

Methodist Church his influence extended far beyond the bounds of organized Methodism. As is usually the case with innovators he made enemies as well as friends. Some missionaries of other denominations openly condemned his efforts and even a few Methodist missionaries stood aloof. In America many prominent ministers and laymen were noncommittal, as when the 1872 General Conference refrained from taking action on his request for sanction of the organization of a Bombay Conference on a self-supporting basis.

In the *Northern Christian Advocate* in May, 1873, John T. Gracey, then editor of its missionary department, sharply criticized Taylor and his methods. Daniel Curry, editor of the *Christian Advocate* (New York), who not infrequently had a friendly word for unpopular causes, in reply to Gracey, chided him for his "severe and not especially Christian attack," which, he said, was "not without unkind reflections" upon the evangelist. Henry Mansell, India missionary at home on furlough, also took issue with Gracey, defending at length Taylor's work.[196]

During these years Taylor was in his prime. "His erect form, unusual stature, patriarchal beard, kindly but piercing eye, gave him an appearance which would arrest attention anywhere." He was not, however, a pulpit orator, and his preaching did not attract crowds. Thoburn aptly described the secret of his power:

> His sermons were often, and indeed for the most part, rambling, and much more didactic than hortatory. He soon learned to depend upon quiet work, with small audiences, or often but a single family, to labor with, rather than to move heaven and earth by trying all manner of expedients to get a large crowd. The result was, that he gained an extraordinary influence over his converts. He knew them intimately, he had labored with them personally, had seen them almost constantly in their homes, bowed with them at their family altars, and acquainted himself with all their domestic troubles and anxieties.[197]

Taylor's discourses were extemporaneous, simple, direct, and intensely earnest. They were not highly emotional and they were attended by none of the phenomena that were frequent in American camp meeting revivals. "I never asked the Lord," he said, "to knock any poor sinner out of his senses under my preaching. I preferred that they should keep their senses all wide awake that I might reason with them intelligibly on 'righteousness and temperance and judgment,' and salvation in Jesus."

As an administrator he had serious weaknesses. His choice of missionaries for India—so far as the selection was in his hands—was sometimes unfortunate. Thoburn went so far as to say that "a large proportion of . . . [the] reinforcements, as they were called, consisted of men who could not do the work which was expected of them." Too often he acted upon sheer impulse. While in the United States, after leaving India, he one day heard that a man was needed to fill the pulpit of the Calcutta Methodist Church in Thoburn's absence on furlough. Taylor immediately "took a postcard and wrote on it an offer of the pulpit," and mailed it to a man whose name was recommended to him. The minister replied by postcard, accepting the appointment, and at once left for India. When Thoburn returned to Calcutta he found a badly confused situation which only with difficulty he was able to clear up. Yet, after all the ways in which Taylor's work might be discounted have been considered, the fact remains, as Thoburn declared, that one of India Christianity's greatest benefactors and "one of the truest men who ever tried to plan and labor for the Indian people" was William Taylor.

He accomplished in India in the short space of four and a half years much of what he had set out to achieve. He saw established self-supporting English-speaking churches not only in seven principal centers but also in a number of lesser places. He quickened, by God's help, the spiritual life of thousands of Europeans and Eurasians who went out from his meetings to strengthen the churches with which they were connected. He brought into the membership of the new English-speaking Methodist Societies other hundreds who made their influence felt for many years in the religious life and in the missionary activities of the communities in which they lived. There is no doubt, Bishop William F. Oldham said decades after Taylor had left India, that his work "forced upon us the imperial proportions of our India missions." [198]

South India Conference, 1876-95

The South India Conference was convened in its first session by Bishop Edward G. Andrews in Falkland Road Hall, Bombay, on November 9, 1876. In attendance were twelve full members and eight probationers of the Bombay, Bengal, and Madras Mission.* Three others were received by transfer and one was admitted on trial. As thus constituted the new Conference began with twenty-four charter members.

CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

After a devotional service and election of Conference officers, the Bishop read an extensive Pastoral Address, in part a statement of policy:

> Thus far, the majority of those enrolled as members of our various churches have been English-speaking persons, . . . but from the first our aim has been ultimately to reach the masses, of whatever race or religion, with whom our members might be brought in contact. . . . Hence, it is our earnest desire that every Church under our care should be . . . a *Missionary Church,* . . . in direct, aggressive, earnest work for the salvation of the people of India.

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* Those recognized as members of the South India Conference at its first session were: William Taylor, George Bowen, J. M. Thoburn, W. E. Robbins, C. P. Hard, D. O. Fox, P. M. Mukerji, Dennis Osborne, M. H. Nichols, J. Blackstock, G. K. Gilder, and C. W. Christian. *Probationers:* F. G. Davis, F. A. Goodwin, J. Shaw, D. H. Lee, J. E. Robinson, W. E. Newlon, W. F. G. Curties, and T. H. Oakes. The Bishop announced the transfer of W. J. Gladwin (an elder) from the North India Conference; I. F. Row (an elder) from the New England Conference; and L. R. Janney (a probationer) from the Central Ohio Conference. Benjamin Peters, an Indian, was admitted on trial.

> . . . It has been our aim . . . to go forth as Evangelists preaching the word, and organizing those converted into Churches, financially self-supporting, and spiritually aggressive and self-sacrificing. . . .
>
> . . . such a plan as we have adopted must necessarily involve . . . self-denial, both on the part of the ministers of the Church and of those ministered to. . . . May it be our highest ambition . . . to hold our individual rights as nothing, our opportunities to do something for Christ as everything . . . .

The Conference implemented this by making it obligatory for every preacher admitted into the Conference to study at least one of the Indian languages.

Evangelistic services were held daily during the session, participated in by the Bishop and others. The reports showed a membership of 1,179 full members, 417 probationers. There were forty Local Preachers, thirty-six Sunday schools, with 1,683 pupils, and thirteen churches, valued at Rs. 115,391. William Taylor was no longer designated as Superintendent but as Conference Evangelist. The three former Districts were retained, but designated Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. In its 1876 *Annual Report* the Missionary Society noted with gratification that the South India Conference had been organized and no appropriation had been made to it since it was self-sustaining —the first "Conference in heathen lands" to be placed in line with the older Conferences in America. Evidently, it continued, the "hand of the Lord has . . . been in all this great work."[199]

From the standpoint of administration the Conference was unwieldy, being spread over an immense area. Meerut, for example, in the Calcutta District was about eight hundred miles from Calcutta; Karachi in the Bombay District more than five hundred miles from Bombay, and Hyderabad in the Madras District some three hundred and fifty miles from Madras. This disadvantage was partly offset by the fact that most of these widely separated churches were self-supporting, and able to maintain a high level of spiritual life and activity. The Conference had, however, an element of weakness. While its distinctive purpose was to enlist the English-speaking converts in the evangelization of the native population no method had been devised for the extremely difficult task. The India Annual Conference, more compact geographically, had been able to meet this problem with the organization of District Conferences. In South India this was impracticable. As Thoburn, realistically viewing it, wrote pessimistically:

> each man was left in his isolated station to adopt such plans as he pleased, or to adopt no plan at all; and the result was that some blundered, while others worked unsatisfactorily. . . . Hence some had recourse to the old-time policy of collecting money and hiring native Christians to preach or teach; others tried to enlist the English speaking people in voluntary work; while others did nothing, and in a short time became mere pastors of small English churches. . . . Scarcely any one among them had developed any aptitude for learning languages; some were young and raw, with no experience whatever as preachers, while others were above the age at which missionaries are usually sent abroad. For ordinary

> work among English or American people the whole band would have been effective enough, but for the very peculiar work which we had undertaken, a work which required special qualifications, these brave and true men did not seem, in all cases, to be the right men in the right place.[200]

The new Conference was faced with another problem which the members did not wholly foresee in 1876. The attempt to organize live, effective, evangelistic churches was in many instances thwarted by the fact that the majority of English and Eurasian men were in government employ in military or civil service, subject to sudden and frequent moves. Church Societies were built on shifting sands.

With some optimism, the South India Conference met in its second session in the Dharamtala Church, Calcutta, on November 15, 1877, with an increased membership. A Church Extension Fund was initiated, and a Loan Fund established, to be "lent upon approved security, with interest and discretion at . . . one per cent per annum." A plan was also adopted for relief of superannuated preachers, orphans, and widows; and each charge was instructed to take up an annual missionary collection. The Board of Education created by the Conference at its first session announced that it had authorized the establishment of schools at Calcutta and Madras and that both were in successful operation.

At the 1878 Conference enthusiasm for the Taylor method still was strong. There had been a net increase of three hundred members and probationers, about one-tenth of whom were natives. In a "Minute on Native Work" the Conference closely related native evangelization and the policy of self-support. Evangelization of India's masses was declared to be the chief objective:

> We accept it as our settled policy that each preacher shall be supported by those to whom he ministers. . . . [The rule] should be adhered to among the Natives. Men should not be employed on stated salaries and sent out among the heathen, even though the money is all raised in India. . . . It is difficult for us to see how a Native Preacher is to be supported in his difficult work, but we firmly believe that God will solve this problem for us . . . .[201]

At the January, 1880, session, nine transfers from America were announced, of whom eight were probationers—six in their first year on trial.* William Taylor's intention to augment the Conference membership by sending out young theological students as missionary trainees on the field was discussed at length. Word had been received that a party was already en route, which led to the appointment of a committee to "report on the action necessary to be taken . . . in view of the reinforcements."[*] The committee drew up a report questioning the advisability of his sending out so many missionaries "with an incomplete education, . . . to be prepared for their future work by a preliminary course of training in India." It concluded by announcing that the Conference would accept up to twenty-five men under this experiment. Actually, Taylor's statement was more a hope than a promise for he had now become interested in establishing a mission in South America and was devoting his attention to it before embarkation. In the following years through his Transit Fund he succeeded in sending a number of ordained men to India, as well as women workers and fiancées of men already on the field.[†]

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* Those whose transfers were announced since Conference organization were: 1877, Charles B. Ward, Central Illinois; William B. Osborn, Georgia; James A. Northrup, Rock River, and the readmission of P. T. Wilson, returned from furlough equipped with a medical degree; 1878, Hiram Torbet (died accidentally a few months later), North Ohio; John W. Gamble, Genesee; January, 1880, Robert E. Carter and wife, Wilmington; Marion B. Kirk, East Ohio; Ira A. Richards, North Ohio; Wellington Bowser and wife, Erie; Oramil Shreves, Central Ohio; James Lyon, Delaware; Henry F. Kastendieck, North Ohio; Melville Y. Bovard, South East Indiana (earlier a missionary to Africa); and S. P. Jacobs and wife, Kansas. George I. Stone and wife, lay people of Ohio, were sent out in January, 1880, to take up the seamen's work in Calcutta.

In January, 1880, the Conference Board of Education announced an important decision as regards English schools:

> Most of the Schools in India for English speaking children, are strictly denominational, and many of them are so rigidly conducted within sectarian lines that it becomes a necessity for us to provide schools for the children of our members and adherents in most of the stations in which we are working. Most of these schools will be merely day schools of a moderate grade, but in addition to these Boarding schools of a high grade will be needed at Central points, such as Poona, Bangalore, Calcutta, and Cawnpore.

By 1880 sufficient time had passed for reappraisal of the evangelistic program to which the Conference had committed itself. Swept along by an ever-increasing number of English recruits, it did not at first realize that this development was not in accordance with the original purpose. Gladwin was among the first to comment on what was happening. He pointed to the fact that in the other missions in India where large numbers of converts were being gained the work was carried on in "interior and aboriginal regions," while the South India work had been limited to "the towns and cities in which . . . English-speaking Churches" had been organized—areas "where a demoralized type of Christianity" had made success in India evangelization almost impossible. "Our men," said Gladwin, "have been tied by the demands of the English work, and, without money, have not ventured out into . . . [the interior] regions yet, but cannot be held back much longer."[202]

The fifth session of Conference, December, 1880, over which Bishop S. M. Merrill presided, was a season of heart-searching. A loss in Conference membership was registered, the first since the Conference was organized.

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[*] Those included were George H. Greenig, W. H. Stephens, W. W. Bruere, and John D. Webb of Pennington Seminary; and G. W. Woodall (and wife) of Drew. They were reported as received on trial at the next Conference. A. A. Kidder of East Greenwich Seminary also was scheduled to go, but seemingly he did not remain with the group.—*Christian Advocate,* LV (1880), 2 (Jan. 8), 18.

[†] The following women were sent by William Taylor to India: Miss Ellen M. Welch, who married C. B. Ward in 1878; Mrs. Lillie Birdsall, sent to Calcutta in 1879; Miss Sallie Winslow, sent to Madras to teach in the girls' school in 1880; Miss Mollie Miller, sent to Ward's Telugu Mission also in 1880; Miss M. J. Edna Taylor, sent to teach in the school at Vepery, Madras, in 1881. Taylor lists Miss Nena Smith as also sent out in 1881, although she does not appear in the records. Among the fiancées were Dema Stone who married D. O. Ernsberger; Anna Jones, M.D., the second Mrs. Thoburn.—C. B. Ward, *Our Work,* pp. 27, 51, 53; William Taylor, *Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions in India,* p. 212; *Sixty-Second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1880), p. 259.

Also for the first time a loss of church members was reported. Thoburn wrote to the Missionary Society in a tone of disappointment: "It ought . . . to be frankly confessed that the success thus far has not been equal to the hopes and expectations of not a few who have taken an active part . . . from the first. Possibly their hopes were unreasonably high . . . ." But, counting on two hands the scattered converts of a year's work, he tried to sound still hopeful:

> We have not, however, been left without fruit. . . . At Rangoon two Burmese have been baptized recently. At Calcutta seven Hindus have been baptized during the past quarter, and other baptisms have taken place at Bombay and different points in Southern and Western India.[203]

A Committee on "Native Work" was appointed at the next session (1881), which in a lengthy statement—in all likelihood prepared by George Bowen as chairman—urged a return to the fundamental principle which had governed their organization and was in danger of being lost.

> We regard with uneasiness the sentiment, indulged in some quarters, that the English work is to be the sum and total of our aspiration and efforts; and we have been grieved to hear that this section of our work has in some instances, so completely absorbed time and attention as to leave no room for the other.[204]

The Conference for four more years adhered to the principle of self-support. It was hard to turn aside from a plan felt to be God-given, and every modicum of success was clung to as a mark of encouragement. In some of the churches, notably in Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad, Madras, and Bangalore, native work had been maintained with some success. Four members of Conference had from time to time given themselves exclusively to vernacular ministry in the Hindustani, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu languages. Some of the lay preachers, also, had devoted their efforts to native work. Moreover, more than once, proposals had been made "to thrust out specially selected men into the Native field, to be supported by a Conference Missionary Association." This had been decided against by George Bowen's committee in 1881 on the grounds that such a procedure might come to be regarded as the "general and normal Mission policy" and therefore would be in contradiction to the unique purpose of the Conference. While the Missionary Society offered help for the native work, and the North India missionaries encouraged them to "give up what to them seemed a hopeless attempt," South India wanted to continue in its own way a while longer. Taylor felt deeply offended by these suggestions, apparently taking them as a form of personal criticism. In his *Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions In India* he later wrote: "And now my . . . missions are to be captured and put under . . . [Missionary Society] control in spite of God and of me his servant." [205]

In 1882 Bishop R. S. Foster visited India and presided at the seventh session of the South India Conference, held at Calcutta, December 21-27. Twenty-one full members and thirteen probationers answered the roll call.* William Taylor severed his official relation to the India missions by asking and receiving a location. Bishop Foster remonstrated against neglect of the millions of natives within the bounds of the Conference. He felt that the Conference had no right to leave the India masses without the Gospel, as he seemed to feel it was doing, particularly as experience must have taught the preachers that if they continued the policy which had been followed they must continue to fail in that which was their greatest duty. He was disturbed also by the economic level of Christians from the lower castes. He could not bear to see people who had embraced Christianity having to live on the wages paid them in Hinduism. His opinion tended to make native Christians feel that the Church should provide them with a better living. Some of the missionaries who had struggled with the problem for years regretted that he had not consulted them before speaking so freely.[206]

Missionary Secretary J. M. Reid, who was present at the Conference session, reported to the Board that his interest in South India had been greatly increased by his visit.

> The almost sublime struggle of the Conference after a method by which the natives can be reached, depending on themselves alone for the support of their pastors, truly excited my admiration. I wish I could say I was equally hopeful of its success. It may, I fear, prove to be a struggle after the impossible. The principle on which they proceed will, however, be tested to its utmost, and fail only when failure is inevitable.
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> . . . As the Conference has already covered about all the Eurasian and European field accessible to them, it was evident to me that their work, begun in such a spirit of earnest, holy evangelism, must degenerate into a mere holding of the points already occupied, if that greater work [of reaching out to the unevangelized masses] be not soon undertaken with vigor.[207]

A series of resolutions on "Foreign Appropriations" was received from the Bombay Quarterly Conference protesting against acceptance of appropriations from the Missionary Society for "purely Native work." They contended that separating English from native work was "utterly foreign" to the first principles of South India Methodism since "the whole work was from the first designed . . . to be a Native work in the broadest . . . sense . . . [inasmuch as] every anna contributed and every brick laid has had special reference to the ultimate end of reaching the peoples of India," and, further, that the presence of godly Christians "is the only possible means of correcting the prevailing idea in the minds of the Natives that European and Christian are synonymous." A salaried missionary, it was contended, "can scarcely exercise any influence both on account of the superabounding ungodliness of their so-called fellow-Christians" and is given "no credit for being actuated by the spirit of love, but . . . [is regarded as a paid servant] of a foreign body, and therefore in a measure a self-interested worker." [208]

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* Apart from the missionaries sent out from America, others on the field were added to Conference membership. Those admitted on trial following the date of Conference formation were: 1877, W. Drake, William Isaacson (who died shortly after); December, 1878, Niven N. Kerr; December, 1880, Thomas E. F. Morton, W. A. Moore, W. D. Brown; 1881, C. W. Ross De Souza, P. Kumar Noth, J. P. Meik, H. Jacobsen, and W. A. Thomas; December, 1882, E. Jeffries, G. Khandaji, C. H. Plomer, and W. F. C. M. Smith. Smith died a few months later.

Ways and means of prosecuting the native work was again a foremost topic at the eighth session of the Conference at Allahabad, November 22-28, 1883. Noteworthy advance "in the amount and kind of Native work being done" was reported by the Committee on Missions. One in four of the Conference members was employed in vernacular missions; every charge, with a single exception, had done something, and the cooperation of the laymen at most points had been encouraging, yet there had been a decrease of seventeen in the total number of full members. Need was felt for six or more additional able preachers at once so that men who had acquired facility in the use of a vernacular might be free to devote themselves fully to the native work.

Finally, however, the Conference judged it best in the face of results to yield. Reluctantly, at its 1884 session it assured Bishop Hurst, presiding, that it would accept financial aid under certain conditions. Following this announcement, the General Missionary Committee at its meeting on November 7, 1885, resolved:

> That, in accordance with the well nigh unanimous request of members of the South India Conference the sum of $[10,000] be put at the disposal of the Conference, for purely native work; by which we mean work among natives of the country, and in their own language, and prosecuted by men not engaged in English speaking work. The above grant is on the condition suggested by themselves, that for every dollar given, another dollar shall be raised in South India Conference, and expended upon this work dollar for dollar. The money to be remitted quarterly, upon the return of the usual account to the Mission Rooms.

This action protected the principle of entire self-support of the English-speaking work and also required that the native work should contribute to its own support.[209]

At the 1886 session the Conference went a step further in accepting Missionary Society support. It had become evident to many that the English-speaking churches would not, or could not, supply sufficient funds to make possible all the aggressive work in native evangelization that should be carried on. Accordingly, the Conference agreed to accept funds for three classes of work: (1) For initial work in new and remote districts. (2) For the support of missionaries wholly engaged in evangelistic work, including support of Presiding Elders while supervising wholly native work. (3) The support of newly appointed missionaries during their first year. The General Committee in November, 1885, had made an appropriation of $10,000. to the Conference subject to these conditions. William Taylor, in his original plans, had made no provision for return to the United States of missionaries whose health had failed or who had become worn out in the service. This had occasioned serious hardship and suffering. The General Committee accordingly made an appropriation of $15,000. for outgoing missionaries and for the return of those who were ill or superannuated. The acute need for funds for other purposes, particularly for the building of churches and mission houses, was such that Hard, Presiding Elder of the Central India District, made a trip to Australia in the spring of 1886 to solicit contributions from the colonists.[210]

By 1887 the native work had been extended until it embraced eight language areas; Tamil, Marathi, Bengali, Telugu, Kanarese, Hindustani, Burmese, and Malay. Grants were made by the Missionary Society in amount of $6,000. for "remote missions," and $10,000. on the grant-in-aid principle. At its eleventh session, convened by Bishop W. X. Ninde at Vepery, Madras, on February 3, 1887, the Conference expressed "grateful acknowledgments" to the Missionary Society for its generous support and requested "larger appropriations for 'remote missions' . . . [that it might enter some] of the numberless inviting doors that now open . . . on every hand." It also asked the Society "to assume the support of missionaries appointed to [English-speaking] charges when the local society is unable to defray one half of their support." This request virtually marked the end of the self-support basis on which the South India Conference had been established. Six missionaries were announced as transferred to the Conference, a total of nineteen* in the seven years 1880-87. The Conference directory this year contained the names of forty-five full members and eleven probationers.† The increase in membership had not kept pace with the expansion of the work. While the decision to accept Missionary Society support provided a solution of one of the major problems of the Conference it still left unresolved the equally important problem of how to serve effectively a vast network of missions which virtually encompassed the whole of southern and western India. Bishop Ninde after a brief visit left India with the impression that Methodism was spread too thin over too vast an area. At the General Committee session in New York on November 9, 1887, he pointed out that with such a huge geographical area, embracing a number of languages, it was difficult—if not impossible—for the

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* Missionaries whose transfers were announced in the Conference *Minutes,* 1880-87, were: December, 1880, Thomas H. Oakes (returned from three years in the U.S.), James S. Stone, East Ohio; 1882, David O. Ernsberger, North Indiana, Clark P. Hard (transferred because of ill health to Genesee Conference, now returned); 1883, Barton T. Eddy and wife, East Ohio; 1884, Joseph H. Garden, Kentucky, Samuel P. Long and wife, Michigan, J. M. Thoburn, Jr., and wife, Erie, De Loss M. Tompkins and wife, Rock River, William F. Oldham and wife, Michigan, Abraham W. Rudisill and wife, Baltimore; 1886, William A. Carroll and wife, Baltimore, Alfred G. Crcamer, Newark, Charles M. Miller and wife, Erie, C. R. Thoburn, Erie, Finley D. Newhouse and wife, North-West Indiana; 1887, Frank L. McCoy and wife, Michigan, Ralph W. Munson and wife, Central Ohio, Homer C. Stuntz and wife, Upper Iowa, G. A. Bond and wife, North-West Indiana, Ray Allen and wife, Genesee. Charles A. Martin and wife, lay people, served in Calcutta in 1882 until health breakdowns forced their return, and in the same year another layman, J. A. Wilson, was sent out to the same city. In 1887 William P. Byers and Louis H. Koepscl were sent out as lay workers and A. W. Prautch was admitted on trial. Within eleven years death claimed the lives of seven missionaries.

† Those received on trial from the field after 1882 were: 1883, Frank J. Blewitt, G. O. Carroll, E. E. Catley, A. T. Leonard, Charles Luck; 1884, W. E. L. Clarke; 1886, E. S. Busby, Jacob Samuel; 1887, Matthew Tindale, S. N. Das.

Conference to have enough well-trained, experienced men to preach and teach in all of the regional vernaculars. He advised that the missionary work be concentrated in two regions of India, north and south, and in two language areas—the Hindustani in the North and the Kanarese in the South—and the missionary forces be withdrawn from all other areas. Fortunately, James M. Buckley was able to controvert the Bishop's suggestion so effectively that no more was heard of it.*

At this time (1887) the English churches numbered thirty, with 1,120 full members. Most of the Societies were small; the largest—in Calcutta—had a membership of 205 persons. Seventeen Societies had a membership of less than fifty, and several less than fifteen. Native charges were twenty-three in number, in four of which Societies had not been organized. The total number of full members was 234.† Ten of the charges had less than ten full members each. Appointments were made at the close of the Conference session to six Districts: Ajmer, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Mussooree, and Burma.[211]

In 1885 a publishing house was established in Calcutta as a joint enterprise of the South India and the North India Conferences. It was begun without capital and hence was largely dependent on job work. At the end of a year Thoburn felt that it had already "become a great power for good." The concern specialized in the publication of tracts in Bengali and in English but also printed some books. In 1888, not including job work, more than six million pages were printed. Serious financial difficulties were encountered in successive years but in 1895 the manager could report that the output of religious printing was largely increased and the financial conditions of the press much improved.

The Central Conference, held at Bombay, February 17-19, 1887, made provision with the concurrence of the Bishop for three Conferences in India: the North India, the South India, and the Bengal. This very considerably reduced the South India geographical area. However, as the 1887 *Annual Report of the Missionary Society* pointed out, South India Conference still embraced "the cities of Bombay, Madras, and Karachi, with nearly all the territory in the peninsula proper, together with part of Central India and the province of Sindh." Karachi was as far from Bombay "as Charleston is from New York, while Madras, in the opposite direction, is as far away as Chicago is from Boston." Districts at the 1888 session were only two, as compared with six the previous year.[212]

On November 25, 1887, Thoburn had written to the Conference from America:

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* Years later Thoburn related that he was present in the General Committee but without the privilege of speaking. Bishop Hurst, who was presiding, sent a card to Thoburn with the message, "Get Dr. Buckley to help you." He appealed to Buckley, with the result stated. Thoburn commented: the India missionaries had "long since passed the stage of local job work. Their ideas and ideals had become imperial. They could no more have thought of confining their work to two sections of the empire than Francis Asbury could have consented to limit his travels to New England and South Carolina."—"How Christ Came to India," *North-western Christian Advocate,* Feb. 14, 1912, p. 205.

† Of the total receipts for the native work the churches themselves contributed Rs. 1,092; the English churches, Rs. 8,631; other sources in India, Rs. 12,322; the Missionary Society, Rs. 25,092; and other sources in America and Europe, Rs. 2,876.

> While tarrying in this country, I have been far from idle. Both in the Spring and Autumn, I visited as many of the Annual Conferences as possible. I have also visited twelve colleges, three theological seminaries, and a number of schools of lower grade. During the past summer I was present at eight camp-meetings, and I have also preached in nearly all the large cities, and many smaller towns. The results of my search for missionaries have not been wholly discouraging. Six men have recently sailed for India, and three more will follow in a few weeks, making nine in all. . . . Since coming to this country, God has helped me to secure the sending out of thirty-four adult workers, and I hope to secure enough to bring the number up to fifty before returning to India.[213]

At the Conference session the transfer of five new missionaries to South India was announced. Two from India were admitted on trial. The Conference expressed a fear that because of increased openings in the native work and the unwillingness of men who had come to India for missionary pioneering to be diverted to pastoral service in English churches, opportunities for developing these churches would be neglected. It requested the General Committee and the Bishops to consider the advisability of sending out capable men for short-term service in the English self-supporting work on condition that traveling expenses to and from India should not be paid for less than a six-year term. The German Evangelical Basel Mission this year transferred to the Conference their promising Indian mission, including two schools, in the southern part of the Nizam's Dominions contiguous to the Kanarese-Telugu field, because the field had for several years been under Methodist cultivation.

The thirteenth Annual Conference, held in Bombay, January 31-February 5, 1889, welcomed with glad acclaim Bishop James M. Thoburn who had been elected to the episcopacy by the 1888 General Conference. At the January, 1891, Conference the Madras District was divided, seven of the twelve charges being included in a new Hyderabad District. An Epworth League Board was created, authorized to take measures for the development of the young people's movement in the Conference. At the December, 1891, session a fourth District, Sind, was formed with four appointments, three (the English church, the Seamen's Mission, and the Marathi Mission) in Karachi, and Quetta the fourth. At this session J. E. Robinson asked for a rearrangement of Conference and District boundaries, declaring that in all of Methodism's mission fields there was not another District "so unwieldly—so lacking in the homogeneity and compactness" necessary for aggressive work. Its vast expanse, its widely separated stations, its variety of races and languages, he insisted, made successful administration all but impossible. His declaration met with sufficient agreement to cause a separate organization of Bombay Conference in 1892. This left South India with only two Districts, Hyderabad and Madras, and twenty pastoral charges. When the 1892 Conference was convened only nine of the twenty-two members were present.* The transfer of sixteen missionaries to Bombay forced South India to consider admitting a larger number of Indian preachers to Conference membership.† After a special committee appointed to consider the question had reported favorably six Indians were received on trial. Three were given appointments in association with missionaries; and three were placed in sole charge of stations.[214] At the 1893 Conference the Indian membership was further increased by the reception on trial of three native preachers. During 1894 Dennis Osborne conducted an extensive series of evangelistic services in the English churches. So impressed was the Conference by the success of the meetings it requested that he "should be set apart" for exclusively evangelistic work.

Year by year the Indian work assumed proportionately greater importance as compared to the English. A decline in the latter had been noted in 1883 and had continued ever since. One reason was the seeming impossibility of continuously supplying the charges with capable men. J. E. Robinson said in his 1888 report to Conference:

> The problems connected with our smaller English churches are becoming more difficult and perplexing with every passing year. The shifting character of the communities, the consequent possible and actual failure of support for the pastor, and the increasing rivalry of other denominations, add to the already existing burdens of anxiety which those responsible for the work have to carry. It may be that in many instances the solution lies in the reversal of the relation which the English work has hitherto sustained to the native work—making the former subordinate in thought and plan to the latter.[215]

Whether or not deliberately planned, it was all too clear that this shift was taking place. Two factors which had been largely responsible for subdivision of the Conference in earlier years were still operative—the long distances between stations, involving too much expense to the native preachers in attending Conference sessions, and difficulties growing out of a multiplicity of vernaculars. Despite the small number of English churches in 1895 capable of any considerable financial support of the missionary work there was strong demand in the Madras District for further division of Districts.

A Conference Book Agency was established in Bombay at the 1876 session to increase the supply of available literature and to facilitate its distribution.

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* Additional missionaries transferred to the Conference, 1888-95, had been: 1888, E. F. Frease and wife, East Ohio; William H. Hollister and wife, Wisconsin; George W. Isham and wife, Nebraska; Clayton E. Delamater, Upper Iowa; A. E. Winter, North Ohio; February, 1889, William L. King and wife, Minnesota; James B. Thomas and wife, Indiana (immediately transferred to Bengal Conference); John B. Buttrick, received by recognition of credentials from Nova Scotia Conference, Methodist Church of Canada; 1890, Ira A. Richards and wife, North Ohio (returned from furlough); J. H. and Carrie D. Schively, North India; January, 1891, Fawcett E. N. Shaw and wife, Maine; 1892, John N. West and wife, North Ohio; Albert E. Cook, Bombay. In 1892 Rudisill returned from his furlough, and C. B. Ward was readmitted. In the next three years only three new men came to South India: two laymen, H. S. Jefferson and James Rudisill, in 1893 for employment at the Madras Press (remaining only one year), and Ellis Roberts, Rock River Conference, January, 1895.

† Men admitted on trial from India during these years through 1895: 1888, Ben Mitchell, Gangadhar B. Kali; 1890, Charles G. Elsam, Richard Sorby; January, 1891, William H. Grenon; 1892, Joseph G. Turton, Satyaveda M. Job, John Narappa, Suhrudia Noah, Benjamin Luke, Mallappa Lewis, Kurumbayil R. Gopalah Aiyar; 1893, William D. Waller, Manappa Desai, Mutyallappa Narasiah, Thomas R. Toussaint, William B. Cumine, Govinduraju Gershom; January, 1895, W. H. L. Batstone (who had come to India in 1892 to aid Ward's work); S. Chinnappa, D. Marian, Raju Naidu.

At the end of the year it reported sales to the amount of Rs. 1,729, with a profit of 199 rupees.

The South India Conference when organized had three Districts: Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. For eleven years its immense area remained unchanged but the action of the 1887 Central Conference in setting off the Bengal Conference greatly reduced its size. During the period 1876-87 frequent changes were made in organization of Districts.*

The Bombay District included the western and northwestern parts of the peninsula and reached out toward the Central Provinces. Madras District covered the eastern part of the peninsula and extended northward into the Mohammedan state of Hyderabad, the Nizam's Dominions. Calcutta District included central and eastern India as far as the border of Burma.

BOMBAY DISTRICT

The Bombay District as organized in 1876 with George Bowen as Presiding Elder had seven charges,† chiefly the outgrowth of the work of Taylor and his colleagues. Under Taylor's Circuit system, each city had but one Society, with one Quarterly Conference and several preaching places. This plan provided maximum opportunity for the use of lay preachers and Exhorters. But under Conference organization, changes were bound to come. One was a demand for separately organized charges, each with its own minister, which tended to displace the lay preachers by diminishing the need for their ministry. This development intensified the need for more ordained men. It also caused disappointment and some friction in the Church.

In 1877 William B. Osborn was appointed Presiding Elder. At the fourth Conference (January, 1880) Osborn was succeeded by D. O. Fox. In 1883 the Presiding Elder lamented a decline of spiritual interest in the English churches. Much of the "first love and zeal for souls," he said, had been lost. Attendance at the fellowship and prayer meetings had fallen off, although financially the churches were doing well. In 1884 Fox was succeeded by Bowen, who was followed in 1887 by J. E. Robinson. In 1891 he reported encouraging progress in the Indian work, but confessed that in comparison with what was being accomplished in other parts of India results were insignificant. One of the chief difficulties was, he felt, lack of personnel. With adequate reinforcement gains commensurate with those registered in other areas would be possible.[216]

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* In 1878 the Bombay and Madras Districts were combined into one. At the January, 1880, Conference Districts were increased to four by the separation of the Bombay and Madras Districts and the creation of an Allahabad District. In 1881 the Bombay and Madras Districts were again combined. In 1882 and 1883 the status remained the same but in 1884 Districts were increased to six: Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Allahabad, Central, and Burma. In 1885 there was no change. At the 1887 Conference (February 3-8) the number was the same but the boundaries were changed somewhat, as also some names, making the list as follows: Ajmer, Bombay, Burma, Calcutta, Madras, and Mussooree.

† The seven charges of the Bombay District in 1876 were Bombay, Poona, Thana, Igatpuri, Nagpur, Mhow, and Karachi. Until the District was organized as a separate Conference no new centers were occupied except Baroda.

In 1876 Bombay was listed in the Conference *Minutes* as a single appointment, with Bowen and I. F. Row assigned as ministers, and one to be supplied. The next year Row was appointed to the English church, and Bowen to the Marathi Circuit—a Marathi Methodist Society having been organized in 1874. By 1880 there were three pastoral charges under one Quarterly Conference: Grant Road, the Fort, and Mazagon. At each place work had been carried on among both English and Indians. The congregation which previously had been worshiping in Falkland Road Hall built the Grant Road Church—the first Methodist church erected in Bombay—raising the necessary funds locally. The new building was used by both the English and the vernacular congregations. The Mazagon members and constituency, a numerous group of substantial people, mostly English, this same year likewise erected a church, located at Wari Bunder. An English school was opened by William H. Stephens, which after six years became a vernacular school. Missionary work among the European seamen was begun in 1884 by J. Sumner Stone, and was continued in rented buildings near the docks until 1887 when the Seamen's Rest was built.

In 1881 the native work was constituted a fourth pastoral charge, all four still under one Quarterly Conference. For the fifth year George Bowen was in charge of the native Circuit, principally among the immense Tamil population. With his assistants, he held five native services in the three Methodist churches, and on four evenings preached on the streets. In 1883 the work was enlarged. In addition to the services and Sunday schools at Grant Road, the Fort, and Mazagon, Bowen rented a hall on Picket Road * where, beginning in March, he with his assistants held services every evening. Laymen able to use the vernacular also came to assist.[217]

Missionary work was also under way for Indian women. The Conference earlier sent out an appeal for workers to the W.F.M.S. and in 1884 Sarah M. DeLine arrived on the field. Wives of missionaries had organized some zenana visiting earlier, with the aid of Miss Sundarbai Powar, a converted native who later became the assistant of Pandita Ramabai.[218]

Partly under the stimulus of Miss DeLine, who was conducting the native Sunday school at the Grant Road Society, the English congregation was aroused to take greater interest in the Maratha people of the city, and a "considerable body of workers" was assembled. The setting apart of the Grant Road native church—the Khetwadi Mission—in 1886, under William W. Bruere and his wife, was achieved this year. Along with the Brueres, Sundarbai Powar lent her assistance. In 1889 four Bible women were also employed under the women's program. Zenana visiting was led by Miss Powar, and Bible teaching held in a private boys' school and a government girls' school. Eight Sunday schools enrolled men and women as well as children. The Bible women also went regularly to the mills at the noon hour rest in order to reach hundreds of women eager to hear the Gospel.[219]

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* The Picket Road hall was sublet in 1884 at a financial sacrifice and the meetings discontinued.—*Bombay Guardian,* XXX (1884), 39 (Sept. 27), 611.

In 1888 a church was built at the Fort (Dean Lane) on land leased from the Port Trust and named the Bowen Memorial Church in honor of George Bowen, who had died earlier in the year. Toward the building the Missionary Society contributed $5,000, the first grant made by the Society for an English church building in India. In Mazagon, also, the English Society was prosperous. The congregation not only met its own expenses but in addition made a substantial contribution to the general work in the city. Church, parsonage, and school buildings were erected on land given by the government.[220]

A second Marathi mission, located at Umerkhadi, a densely populated section of Bombay, was begun about 1887 against fierce opposition, personal violence, and persistent attempts to disrupt the schools. Street preaching was maintained and many Bible portions circulated. Two Bible women were employed in connection with the mission, much of whose time was given to visiting large buildings housing numerous families. They gathered women together in groups of twenty-five to sixty, and sang, read, and talked to them.[221]

In 1889 a mission was founded among the 200,000 Gujarati-speaking people in the city. Two men, one of whom was the leader of the Hindu sect, the "Kabirpanth," became interested in Christianity through reading "tracts and a New Testament and being thereby convicted of sin in . . . [himself] and of righteousness in Christ alone." He, his associate, and some fifteen others were baptized and through their witness had soon led about fifty to confess faith in Christ and receive baptism. Clayton E. Delamater was placed in charge of the mission, and at the 1890 Conference was regularly appointed to it.[222] J. E. Robinson, the Presiding Elder, gave an optimistic account of the three Bombay English churches to the 1893 Bombay Conference:

> The whole work is self-supporting. Five preaching services are held every Sunday, and three excellent prayer-meetings every Wednesday. . . . Three well-organized Sunday-schools, two Epworth Leagues and one Junior League, meeting every week, are doing well the particular work to which they are devoted. Although the membership of the several churches is not large, it is in the main steadfast, loyally Methodistic, intelligent and generous. . . . During the year special revival services were held for one to two weeks in each of the churches with good results. . . . A school for neglected Eurasian children . . . has been mantained since July last, in which about 24 bright boys and girls from five to fifteen years of age are receiving the rudiments of an English education, besides being taught to love and serve God.[223]

In 1895 the Bowen Memorial Church reported a total membership, full members and probationers, of sixty-seven; the Grant Road Church, eighty-four; and Mazagon Church, ten.

The Bombay Marathi Circuit included three groups—Maratha, Tamil, and Hindustani. The people to whom it ministered were scattered all over the city and were a floating population. They came to Bombay from distant towns and villages, sought employment on the railroads, in the mills, and as domestic servants, and remained only long enough to save a little money before returning to their homes. The mission endeavored to keep track of converts but this was next to impossible. The city, Robinson felt, was not the most productive field for mission work, but he was convinced in 1893 that in Bombay every department was "more strongly entrenched" than ever before.[224]

The Poona Society, organized by Taylor in 1872, in 1876 reported 102 full members, then for several years steadily declined. In December, 1880, Poona and Lonavla were joined to form the Poona Circuit, an arrangement which continued until November, 1883, when Poona was again made a separate appointment. A church, much needed by the Society for years, was dedicated in June, 1886. An Epworth League, with its several departments well organized, was doing much in 1892 for the young people of the congregation. The Sunday school also was active and well equipped. In November, 1895, the church reported sixty-seven full members and twenty-six probationers.

By 1881 a native school was in operation under W. E. Robbins and the next year a Poona Marathi Circuit appeared in the *Minutes* with Robbins in charge. In 1889 the Circuit had twelve day schools, ten in the city, two in outpoints. Five of the city schools were for girls, two of which enrolled high-caste children. In all, 520 pupils were registered. In February, 1889, a church and a schoolhouse with a teacher's room were opened in a Sweepers' settlement of some four hundred people. The site as well as half of the cost of the schoolhouse was contributed by the government. The Marathi Circuit by 1893 had day and Sunday schools in operation at two points—Talegaon, twenty miles, and Chinchwud, thirteen miles, from Poona. In the valley extending from Poona to Lonavla there were several hundred villages, with only one mission, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, other than the Methodist engaged in missionary work in the area.[225]

In 1886 Mrs. John Blackstock, the missionary's wife, opened four girls' schools in Poona—two in the native city, one in the cantonments, and one in the Sweepers' quarters—and supervised them until she left for America in 1887. At the close of 1886, $120. was received from the Cincinnati Branch for work among women and girls, a substantial contribution toward the total maintenance of $30. per month. A Sunday school was organized in connection with each school. This year the former Ellen H. Warner, who had accomplished much for girls' education in Rangoon, came to Poona as the wife of D. O. Fox and immediately lent her aid in developing the Poona schools. By 1890 there were five girls' schools, two for high-caste girls and three others for lower castes, with an average total attendance of 225. A serious drawback to growth was the early age at which girls were compelled to leave school—usually much against their will—to marry. Including outside villages between five hundred and six hundred pupils had been enrolled in twelve schools. The conditions which prevailed in these girls' schools were described by Mrs. Ellen H. Fox:

> All our Girls' Schools are held in rented rooms, three being on the second floor with stairway leading to them not more than two feet wide. The floors are dry mud without matting of any kind and are kept hard and smooth by a preparation of cow dung spread on with the hands.
>
> The children sit on the floor. The teacher has a chair and sometimes a stool for a visitor. The school furniture consists of a table, a box in which to lock books and slates at night, a blackboard, one or two maps, and a large piece of card board, showing the primary colors. Two of the schools have clocks, and if there is anyone who desires to present a clock to any of the others it will be kindly received, as it is almost impossible to secure punctuality without them.

In 1895 the women could command the services of four pastors' wives as well as the assistants who had been raised up. Besides the number of girls' schools Mrs. Fox looked after, she also bore the responsibility for a Woman's Training School. Two separate homes, one for English girls, one for Anglo-Indians, were being maintained besides a general program for women.[226]

By 1879 a beginning had been made toward an English boarding school at Poona. W. E. Robbins was made its head. The attendance in 1880 reached seventy-eight; thirty-four were boarders. Growth through the years was uneven and at times the financial situation was difficult but the student body continued to grow until in 1891 it numbered 130. In the meantime the school had been renamed the Taylor High School. In 1895 the W.F.M.S. agreed to take over the girls' department.[227]

The Anglo-Indian Girls' Orphanage and Home, founded on an independent basis by an American woman, came into the possession of the Bombay Conference soon after it had been established (1882). When it was transferred it was caring for thirty-three children and young women. In 1895 it had thirty-eight, "rescued from . . . influences of a most demoralizing character." For many years the Home was under the supervision of Mrs. Emily Hutchings, "recognised [in 1894] as a regular lay worker of the Conference," who came out from England at her own expense for the work. This same year the Home was first listed as one of the institutions of the Woman's Conference and of the W.F.M.S. In 1895 an Anglo-Indian Boys' Orphanage and Home was begun by the Poona pastor, independent of mission support.[228]

Lonavla (Lanowli in the old records), also an outgrowth of Taylor's work, was an important railway center forty miles north of Poona. Its first appearance in the *Minutes* was in the Bombay District appointments in January, 1880, with W. J. Gladwin as pastor. After three years' connection with Poona, the church was supplied intermittently from Bombay and from Poona. In 1893 Robinson thought that a solution to the problem of Lonavla might be in the assignment of a resident pastor but the requisite support was not to be had.

The town, however, was the site of a Camp Meeting whose influence reached far and wide. In 1878 W. B. Osborn, Presiding Elder, instituted a seven days' meeting at the Easter holidays in a grove near the railway station. From the first year it was largely attended. Crowds from near and far poured in by train, numbers coming from Bombay, some eighty miles away. Curiosity was not a factor. Military and civil officials attended as well as others of all classes. In 1885 the services were preceded by a daily march through the bazaars, with drum and cymbals, to attract a crowd, which once assembled was invited to follow along to the tent meeting. At the meeting, addresses were delivered in three different native tongues, Marathi, Hindustani, and Gujarati. Out of the annual Lonavla Camp Meetings came spiritual strength the Church had not anticipated. The Presiding Elder reported that the 1894 assembly was "a great inspiration to the missionaries" and others who attended. For the year 1895 W. E. L. Clarke was appointed, and his wife was assigned by the Woman's Conference to women's work, a usual arrangement for married couples.[229]

Nagpur, a city of about 100,000 population, capital of the Central Provinces, was 520 miles east of Bombay. Albert Norton was appointed to Nagpur as pastor in 1874 but within a few months he left to start an independent mission in the Berars. In July, 1876, Gilder held successful revival meetings in the city and its military headquarters, Kamptee, ten miles distant, and in November W. J. Gladwin was appointed pastor. By 1882 the little group at Nagpur had increased to thirty-two full members. While not large in number nor strong financially, the church sustained an active program, with preaching in Tamil, Marathi, and Hindustani, in addition to English. From funds provided from personal resources by C. P. Hard, and his wife's stipend for lectures given in Australia, and local contributions, a suitable site was procured and a church built, dedicated in December, 1887. Two years later a parsonage was erected. A native school and a well-managed Sunday school formed part of the mission. The church was distant from the homes of the railway employees and for their accommodation a chapel near the railway was leased in 1892 in which Sunday and weekday services were held. Two day schools for the different sexes were conducted and an Indian Local Preacher maintained regular Sunday services and preached outdoors on weekdays. In 1894 the Nagpur English Society reported twenty-seven full members and twelve probationers.[230]

In Kamptee, a city of some fifty thousand population, site of a military cantonment, Christian work was under way as early as 1880 among Indian people, conducted by a "Brother Samuel," a Local Preacher, while T. E. F. Morton was preaching weekly to the English. In 1886 A. S. E. Vardon was appointed to the station, followed the next year by William H. Stephens. This year (1887) a mission was begun among the Marathi-speaking people. A year later two schools were in operation, one with seventy-five boys and the other thirty-seven girls. At first the girls came at "any hour with unwashed hands and faces and unkempt hair, sometimes with a little clothing on and sometimes with none at all." In time they were in their places in the schoolroom at seven o'clock in the morning, clean and neatly clothed. In 1888 two men were reported baptized. The region was thought by J. E. Robinson, the Presiding Elder, to be perhaps the most promising field for missionary work in the Bombay District. The people, he said, were "accessible and susceptible, eager for instruction and favorably disposed toward our missionaries." He pronounced the boys' school the best and largest on the District. In 1889 the Free Church of Scotland Mission turned over to the Methodist Mission "on very easy conditions, their fine school property . . . with . . . a well manned high school" for which the government supplied a generous grant. Stephens and his wife closed their fourth and final year at Kamptee at the end of 1890 with three boys' schools and two girls' schools "excellently organized, efficiently taught, economically managed." [231]

By 1890 an English Society had been organized which was active and was contributing more than half the cost of maintaining the Indian mission. In 1893 the Kamptee English church had an attendance of fifty at the morning services on Sunday and one hundred in the evening. The Sunday school had fifty pupils and the Epworth League eighteen active members. Prayer meeting was held on Wednesday evening and a Bible class for soldiers on Friday evening. Three or four times a week a Local Preacher and two Exhorters conducted street meetings. Five vernacular schools were maintained—two for boys and one for girls—while two were attended by both boys and girls. In 1895 a boarding school for boys was opened. Year after year the missionaries confidently expected a break that would result in a large number of conversions but at the end of every year regretfully acknowledged that it had not come. In 1895 the Indian Society reported twenty full members and thirty-four probationers.[232]

Although "women's work" each year was assigned to but one woman, the pastor's wife, a successful and diverse program was early initiated with the assistance of a number of Bible women. Almost every year another day school was started, and the zenanas opened rapidly once the first suspicion of baptism as a "dreadful rite" was overcome, and the advantages of learning were made known.*

Ahmedabad, in northern Bombay 309 miles from the city of Bombay, first appeared in the January, 1880, *Minutes,* although missionary work had been under way there for several years. In 1881 the appointment was designated Ahmedabad Circuit, which in 1882 included Baroda, Bulsar, Broach, Sabarmati, and Palanpur. All of the congregations were small, made up principally of railway employees. In 1883 Ahmedabad Circuit disappeared from the *Minutes* not to appear again until 1895 when work was entirely confined to the Gujarati people.[233]

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* According to Mrs. Stephens, "some of them thought that we intended to call several times and then present a bill." However, "when their neighbors saw that we taught sewing and fancy work and also taught [how] . . . to read and write, they began to request us to come to them also."—*Minutes, South India Woman's Conference,* 1889, p. 20.

Baroda, in the native state of the same name, with a population of approximately 100,000, was located 245 miles by rail north of Bombay. In January, 1880, it was linked with Ahmedabad. At the close of the year the English church listed seven members. At the November, 1881, Conference the Presiding Elder reported a church almost ready for dedication, free of debt; native work opened, the preacher employed by the Society; and six adults and five children recently baptized. The next year there were several conversions among the weavers of the Dher caste, all of whom contributed a tenth of their income to maintain the missionary work. In 1884 the English church was merely marking time but the Indian work gladdened the missionary's heart.

At the 1888 Conference C. E. Delamater was appointed to Baroda to establish a mission among the Gujarats. He conducted an English Sunday evening service during the year, made good progress in language study, organized a native coeducational school which soon numbered fourteen boys and five girls, and began street preaching. He was succeeded in 1889 by Edwin F. Frease who accomplished little among the Gujarats. In the meantime Gujarati converts in Bombay, whose family home was in Baroda, awakened interest among their kinfolk in the Christian message. This gave real impetus to the mission. A little native church was organized, and also a Christian Boys' Boarding School, which soon claimed a major share of the missionary's time and attention and rapidly developed into an effective training institution—the main resource for the preparation of Gujarati Methodist workers. In 1891 Frease was relieved of responsibility for the English church. Baptisms on the Baroda Gujarati Circuit in 1895 numbered 470—adults 327, children 143.[234]

An exceptional program for women was made possible because of the rare appointment of two W.F.M.S. missionaries, one a doctor, to this small new mission.*

At Igatpuri, where Taylor had organized a Society in 1873, the church in 1877 reported twenty-two full members, and in 1883 fifty-three. In 1876 a church edifice was erected through the efforts of Frank Pearcey of the G. I. P. Railway. In 1881 a mission to the Thakkurs was connected with the English work, under Gilder's charge, the local church also supporting the Indian preacher. An English day school was reported in 1882 as doing excellent work. In 1884 the pastor reported a year of trial. A suit had been brought by the Wesleyan members of the congregation for possession of the church building. The court decided they had no claim but the litigation split the congregation and only twenty-eight members were reported at the end of the year. A second Methodist church was built by the Wesleyan mission. In 1887, notwithstanding the fact that the membership had been reduced to seven persons, the pastor presented a hopeful report, assuring the Conference that the church had done "exceedingly well." [235]

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* See p. 601.

Some progress in the Indian work was made year after year, including maintenance of both a day school and Sunday school. The wives of the pastors in turn did what they could for the native women, and the local W.F.M.S. supported a Bible woman. The English work was continued with inadequate support, few accessions to membership, and additions offset by removals. In 1892 the Presiding Elder acknowledged that it was "a sad waste of energy to have two Methodist preachers occupying such a small field while the need of workers . . . [was] so deeply felt in other places." Optimist as he was Robinson could not prevent the obtrusion of a doleful note in his 1895 report:

> The day school at Igatpuri . . . has been closed. Its last days were days of painful struggle, its sun went down in clouds, its end was mournful, devout men gave it decent burial.[236]

One of the points visited by Taylor in his 1873 tour was Bhusawal where Norton had tried unsuccessfully at an earlier date to organize a Society. It appeared in the December, 1880, *Minutes* linked with Igatpuri but the next year was made a separate charge, credited with ten full members and twelve probationers. The church had not attempted native work. The Society had no suitable place of worship but in 1882 raised more than 4,000 rupees toward building. It was hindered in its plans by opposition of the municipal authorities. At the 1883 Conference W. W. Bruere was appointed pastor of a Circuit including all the railway stations from Manmad to Akola, with Bhusawal as the center. Before the end of the year Bruere was transferred and the Circuit placed under the care of the Igatpuri pastor. This arrangement—unsatisfactory at the best—was continued through 1885. In 1888 Bhusawal was linked with Baroda, but this also was a temporary arrangement. The fact was that the Conference lacked the facilities to carry on the work there. This was finally acknowledged in 1895 and the station was transferred to the Alliance Mission.[237]

Thana, directly north of Bombay, first listed in the 1876 *Minutes,* did not again appear until January, 1891, when Arthur W. Prautch was appointed to the Circuit. The first year, his wife, the assistant missionary, reported: "We have in the Thana District 807,367 souls, for which there is no other evangelistic agency except the Free Church Medical Mission. The people live in 1984 villages and towns, of from 200 to 15,000 inhabitants." Together the Prautches had gone from village to village "selling Gospels and Tracts, preaching the word, and teaching instant salvation." During 1892 he baptized fifty-nine adults and twenty-seven children which stimulated the hope that within the near future "a strong self-respecting and respected Christian community" would be built in the region. Six centers were established on the Circuit. At the end of three years 274 persons had been baptized. Converts were from the depressed class who lived in abject want except for the brief time each year when they were required by the landholders to work in the rice fields. The rest of the time they ran ever deeper into debt, compelled to borrow money at compound interest for food. Prautch had his misgivings concerning the permanency of the work with them. "I do not see," he said, "how a people can get free spiritually when their bodies are mortgaged to taskmasters. This question will need to be fairly met, not in the spirit of holding out charity, but in giving the people a chance to help themselves." He was reappointed for 1895 but at the end of that year Thana did not appear in the list of appointments.[238]

The early interest of D. O. Fox in Karachi,* seaport for the Punjab, continued and in November, 1876, he was appointed to the charge. This year it was credited with having a membership, including probationers, of fifty-one persons. Fox was succeeded at the Conference of January, 1880, by L. R. Janney, who also was pastor for two years. In 1881 a church trial occurred which left many lingering difficulties. Dennis Osborne, then Presiding Elder, stated in 1884 that Karachi had been "for some years a barren field" where much patient toil had been invested without result but that this year there had been a stir among the dry bones and not a few persons were quickened and converted. During 1886-87, Gilder by patience and conciliation helped to heal old sores and make a general advance. Three years later (1890) J. E. Robinson, as Presiding Elder, reported a slight increase in membership, a more united Society, and finances satisfactory. The English church contributed half the cost of a school for the Maratha people which was begun that year. In 1890 George I. Stone was appointed pastor and in December, 1891, was given the double appointment of pastor and of Presiding Elder of the newly constituted Sind District.† The Karachi English Society had a membership of thirty-three, including eight probationers, and Quetta a membership of seventeen, of whom ten were probationers. F. W. Wood and his wife in 1894 reported a successful year at the Seamen's Rest, including an enlarged congregation drawn from the residents of Keamari. At Quetta, a city of 20,000 people, a church seating 120 had been built. As a hill station it suffered more than most of the English churches from frequent transfers of its members. In 1894 Stone stated that only one person remained who had taken part in the organization of the church three years before. The Karachi Society at the beginning of 1895 was at a low ebb, the Sunday evening congregation not exceeding twenty persons, the Class meeting five; but at the close of the year the church "was scarcely able to seat the congregation," and the Class meeting had increased to thirty or more. The Marathi school had been maintained, while the religious services of the Seamen's Mission had been well attended and some sailors converted.[239] Mrs. Stone in her capacity as women's missionary gave unstintedly of herself.

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* See pp. 523-24.

† In 1892 the Sind District was included in the Bombay Conference. When constituted and until 1896, the District had only two charges, Karachi (English church, Seamen's Mission, and Marathi Mission) and Quetta.

Mhow, in central India, was a small city but one of the chief military stations of India. It appears among the 1876 appointments, with M. H. Nichols as pastor. At the end of the year fifteen full members and eight probationers were reported. At the January, 1880, Conference, W. F. G. Curties was appointed pastor at Mhow, then included in the Allahabad District. Mhow and Khandwa were listed as a single charge though Khandwa was really separate. It had its own pastor, a Local Preacher, and resources available for support. Both points had small, well-furnished churches.

In 1884, with Mhow transferred to the Central India District, increased attention was given to the native work. The Mhow Circuit in 1886 was "thirteen hours long." The commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Robert Phayre, was a member of the Mhow congregation, frequently occupying the pulpit in the absence of the pastor and contributing generously to church support. He made, at one time, a contribution of Rs. 5,290 to the Khandwa Society.

In 1888 Mhow was retransferred to the Ajmer District, Bengal Conference. Under T. E. F. Morton marked advance was made:

> A Day-school for boys, one for girls, preaching in bazar and villages, a great open-air Scripture school organization, several baptisms, brave collecting toward maintenance of all, have marked the year.

The connection of Mhow* with the Methodist Church ended in 1890 by transfer to the Wesleyan Mission.[240]

CALCUTTA DISTRICT

The Calcutta District when organized at the first meeting of the South India Conference (1876) included nine charges.† J. M. Thoburn was appointed Presiding Elder and reappointed annually until 1887. At the February, 1887, session, he was succeeded by J. M. Thoburn, Jr., who was reappointed in January, 1888 (Bengal Conference). During the year "nearly one-third of the Mission force in the district [including the Presiding Elder] left for America."

Several of the 1876 appointments were dropped within a few years for, as Thoburn explained, attempts to gain a foothold had been unsuccessful.

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* Ministry to the Wesleyan troops was an acknowledged province of the Wesleyan mission. Of the ninety adherents of the Mhow English church eighty were Wesleyans. By common agreement the property was sold in 1890 to that mission, and the Indian Circuit also transferred. Enoch Jeffries, who had been appointed to Mhow at the 1889 Conference, withdrew from the Methodist Church and remained with the Mhow mission.—*Minutes, Bengal Conference,* 1890, p. 22; *ibid.,* 1891, p. 30.

† The nine charges of the Calcutta District in 1876 were: Calcutta (the English church, Dharamtala), seamen's church (Calcutta), Darjeeling, Raj Mahal, Meerut, Allahabad, Jabalpur, Agra, and Roorkee. Raj Mahal was listed only in 1876, and Meerut did not again appear in the Calcutta District. Since the Allahabad, Jabalpur, Agra, and Roorkee missions were transferred in 1880 to the new Allahabad District, the account of them is given under that District. To Howrah, listed for the first time in 1877, P. M. Mukerji was appointed. It appeared as a separate station only for that year.

> This is chiefly owing to the sparseness of the English-speaking population throughout Bengal, there being very few places where enough persons can be found to form a basis for such an organization as we try to effect.[241]

The District, like the Conference, was administratively unwieldy. The Presiding Elder pointed out that the nearest appointment was three hundred miles distant from Calcutta, the District center, and others required a journey of some twelve hundred miles. It was obvious from the first that it could not be developed as a missionary unit.

From a region south of the city of Calcutta requests had come from time to time for native preachers. Since other Churches were at work in the area the Methodists delayed responding but finally organized Societies in several villages. The outcome was disappointing for the reasons reported to the Conference by Thoburn:

> The local Missionary Society agreed to pay half the salary of the village preachers, but even this small subsidy proved a snare. The people gave nothing, and the preachers sat down quietly and enjoyed their half pay, and beyond holding a meeting on Sunday with a very few people present, they have done nothing.[242]

Following the setting off of the Allahabad District in 1880 the Calcutta District was practically confined to the cities of Calcutta and Rangoon. Attempts had been made, Thoburn stated in his report to the 1881 Conference, "to gain a foothold" at other places but without success. A partial explanation lay in the fact that Thoburn's time was so completely taken up by preaching and pastoral work in Calcutta, in editing the *Indian Witness,* and caring for various other enterprises that it was impossible for him to do anything outside of the city.

Thoburn was appointed pastor of the Calcutta English church (Dharamtala Street) at the first Conference. In 1876 it reported 150 full members and thirty-seven probationers but this bare statistical statement conveys no idea of the strength, vitality, and extent of the enterprise. The building had a seating capacity of 1,500 people. On Sunday evenings it was usually well filled and on some occasions overcrowded. As indicative of the spirit and power of the religious services Thoburn wrote:

> Hundreds of souls have been converted within its walls. Many of these converts are strangers who chance to be in Calcutta for a time, while many others belong to the city. The membership, however, is not as large as might be expected. Society in India is a shifting quantity . . . . Some return to England, while others move to other parts of India, and it thus happens that a church which would maintain its strength must renew its membership every five years at least. We are constantly losing members, and hence we must be constantly winning converts . . . . We cannot afford to depend on intermittent revival seasons, but must live in an atmosphere of revival from January to December.[243]

Nowhere else in India, Bowen claimed, was such an audience statedly gathered. An extensive and varied program was maintained from year to year. Thoburn's pastorate extended over a period of nine years (1876-84) with an interim of three years when the church was served by J. Sumner Stone (1879); S. P. Jacobs (1880); and T. H. Oakes (1881). James M. Thoburn, Jr., a nephew of the senior Thoburn, arrived on the field in 1884. At the November, 1884, Conference he was appointed to the church. The change in pastors did not affect attendance. Congregations in 1885-86 were as large as ever, missionary interest was well sustained, and financial support was increased.

In March, 1888, Frank W. Warne began a fruitful ministry in the Dharamtala Church. Within the first ten months he won about one hundred converts. In 1889 he was given the double appointment of Presiding Elder and pastor, a relationship which continued until 1900. The morning congregation averaged five hundred persons, and at night the number was doubled. Eleven Class meetings met weekly and two hundred people attended the midweek prayer meeting. The church was well organized, with a large Sunday school and a number of other departments. In 1894 the pastor reported special work carried on by the young people, a Junior Epworth League for boys, workers' meetings held regularly, and publication of *The Messenger,* a monthly paper circulated among the members. For the year ending December, 1894, the church reported 350 full members and 140 probationers.[244]

By 1880 the Seamen's Mission Church of 1876 had expanded to two appointments, Hastings and Lal Bazaar. The mission had been opened in 1874 by a band of devoted women who visited the liquor shops near the docks "to talk, sing and pray with the sailors," many hundreds of whom made port at Calcutta every year. More intensive work was done the next year by T. H. Oakes. For a while he was entirely dependent for his livelihood on voluntary offerings. He bunked on one of the ships in port and when it was about to sail rolled up his duffel bag and transferred to another. The Presiding Elder reported that at Lal Bazaar in 1881 conversions had taken place almost daily. At Hastings a debt of over Rs. 3,000 had been paid and "the mission placed upon a healthy financial basis." A few years later a visitor remarked, "19 Lall Bazaar is a great place for good coffee and salvation." During 1887 five hundred persons sought pardoning mercy and eight hundred signed the "no liquor" pledge. The Hastings mission had a smaller attendance but had a good record for conversions.

The two seamen's missions continued an effective ministry, although as years passed conditions changed greatly. As sailing ships gave way to steamers the number of seamen rapidly decreased until by 1892 there were not more than one-tenth as many as in the early years. Special effort was made in behalf of Scandinavian sailors. In 1894 Monday night Gospel meetings were conducted in their language.[245]

The coeducational school founded in 1877 in Calcutta for the education of young people brought under Methodist influence was divided in 1878 by removing the girls to the Calcutta Girls' School, organized earlier under other auspices and this year turned over to the Conference on condition that it be maintained as a nonsectarian school. By this division the former school became known as the Calcutta Boys' School. The year 1881 closed with fifteen boarders and forty day pupils. Both schools continued to prosper, the Boys' School in 1883 enrolling 168 pupils and the Girls' School, 195. In 1890 Emma L. Knowles was appointed principal of the Girls' School, and with an efficient corps of assistants made of it an exceptionally successful educational institution. In 1891 in the government examinations it passed more pupils than any other school in Bengal. An orphanage was established in connection with the Girls' School which in 1894 was reported to have received forty-five girls. The Boys' School, without missionary support, was hard to keep going. To prevent its closing it was necessary in 1888 to collect three hundred rupees a month by solicitation in the city, and in 1891 four hundred. However, local interest grew and enrollment increased until by the close of that year it had an enrollment of almost two hundred and was considered to be the leading boys' school in Bengal. The school had never had suitable accommodations but in January, 1894, it moved into a new building of its own, asserted to be the finest for school purposes in Bengal, with rooms for a hundred and fifty boarders and three hundred day pupils. Boys came to the school not only from Bengal but also "from the North-West provinces, Burma, Assam, and the Straits Settlements." By the middle of February, 1894, enrollment had grown to 475 pupils, classified as thirty-five Christians, ninety Mohammedans, and 350 Hindus. Seven languages were taught: English, Urdu, Bengali, Persian, Sanskrit, French, and Latin. Bible lessons were taught twice a week in each standard.[246]

The Dharamtala Bengali Society grew "out of the roots" of the Calcutta English church. The church building or "preaching hall"—as Taylor called it—was given to this Society in 1876. The first Class Leader was a convert of Thoburn's 1874 meetings. In 1881 the Society had about a hundred members and probationers, divided into five classes. They were more faithful in their attendance upon the fellowship meetings than were their English-speaking brethren. The defection of the Bengali pastor appointed at the November, 1881, Conference almost caused the disruption of the Society but the situation was saved by the appointment of James P. Meik to the charge. In 1885 Pakur, 170 miles north of Calcutta, was added to the Bengali mission. Schools for Bengali boys and girls were established and in 1887 were said to be well attended. The mission program was for a time retarded by what the Presiding Elder characterized as "ecclesiastical mania." Some of the leading Bengali Christians withdrew from the Methodist Church and other Churches and organized an independent church. Whether dissatisfaction with mission administration was a factor was not stated. Expansion of the mission, despite the hindering influence, continued. In 1889 there were eight outstations in villages and the membership had more than doubled. In 1893, when the Indian pastor was expelled from the ministry the Methodist Brotherhood* came to the rescue, carried on the work, and opened several new schools. The mission this year reported 136 full members and 262 probationers.[247]

At the November, 1884, Conference Bishop Hurst added to the Calcutta appointments a Hindustani Mission, to which he appointed F. J. Blewitt. He was obliged to begin "without any visible resources" and encountered many difficulties, but at the end of the year reported having baptized ten adults and gathered together more than thirty "neglected Christians" in church fellowship. While Calcutta was a Bengali city there were also thousands of Hindustani natives, and hope was high that among them a strong church might be built up. But the mission was of slow growth, although all of the usual methods of missionary effort—bazaar and street preaching, meetings for servants, and Class meetings—were faithfully used. The few members were earnest—more than half attending Class regularly—and generous in their support, not only paying their own pastor but also a second Indian preacher. In 1890 Mrs. Warne was placed in charge of the women's work and with her assistants maintained three schools and an extensive program of home visitation which was said to be of great help to the Bengali church. In December, 1894, the Society reported thirty-five full members and fifty-seven probationers.[248]

Darjeeling—"the Place of the Thunderbolt"—first appeared in the *Minutes* of the 1876 Conference "to be supplied." It was the summer capital of the Bengal Province, located some two hundred miles due north of Calcutta, in the foothills of the Himalayas at an altitude of 7,500 to 8,000 feet, a place of great natural beauty which afforded a perfect view of the vast mountain range, perhaps the most amazing vista of snow-clad peaks in the world. In 1877 David H. Lee was assigned to the station, and in 1878 reappointed.† He apparently organized a Methodist Society for at the close of the first year he reported nine members.

In 1881 William A. Thomas was assigned to Jamalpur Circuit. He was "a gentleman of independent means" and a consecrated Christian who had taken it upon himself to go "from one Railway station to another, . . . [to conduct] services in the waiting rooms." This year he was received on trial in the Conference. At the close of the year his Presiding Elder reported that he had been working diligently "laying the foundation of what . . . [was] hoped . . . [would] soon prove a strong Circuit." He had preached at various stations "on both the Loop and Chord [Railway] Lines."

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* See pp. 587 f.

† Darjeeling does not again appear in Conference *Minutes* until 1895 when in the Woman's Conference it is listed as the location of a Girls' School—a boarding school opened in March, 1895, as a branch of the Calcutta Girls' School.

In 1882 Thomas' appointment was listed as the Chord Line Circuit, and Asansol was made the central point of the Circuit. The year before a Wesleyan missionary stationed at Raniganj, about to return to England, had told Thoburn of an interested group of railway employees at Asansol for whom he had held religious meetings. In March, 1883, Thoburn and Thomas—assisted by several laymen—held a series of meetings in a tent resulting in a score of conversions and the organization of a little church. In 1884 a church edifice was built. At Mohesmonda on the Chord Line he maintained "a native helper and a school for boys." In 1887 W. P. Byers was appointed to the charge.[249]

At Asansol in 1889 a mission house was built under Byers' leadership, although the English constituency was small. Regular services were held in 1892, with the aid of native helpers, in Hindustani and Bengali. A girls' school building was erected—the first for native girls in the region, the school conducted by Mrs. Byers. Under Byers' energetic leadership the mission continued to prosper, with work carried on in three vernaculars. The Society reported in 1894 fifty-seven full members and seventy-nine probationers.[250]

At Pakur during 1886 some twenty Mohammedan converts were baptized. "This," said Thoburn, "is the first and only instance in the whole course of our missionary work in India in which the Mohammedan lines have been broken at any one point." In 1887 there were sixteen conversions from Mohammedanism, and a Methodist Society of forty-five persons was organized. In 1887 a Pakur Circuit was attached to the Calcutta Bengali Mission and J. P. Meik and S. N. Das took up the work. In 1888 Mrs. Meik reported to the Woman's Conference that a Bengali girls' school had enrolled a hundred pupils of all castes, only ten or fifteen of whom were children of Christian parents. She felt strongly the need for a training school in which the more promising Christian girls might be prepared as teachers or zenana workers. For lack of such a school, girls had been sent by the mission to various other schools for advanced training—two to a Presbyterian school, two to the Church of England Boarding School, and several to other institutions.

In 1888 Meik established himself at Pakur, leaving the Bengali Circuit to Das. The Pakur compound, purchased this year by the Conference, consisted of about twenty acres, a goodly number of mango trees, and three buildings clear of debt. The Bengali boys' and girls' orphanages were removed from Calcutta to the new compound. Four day schools and eight Sunday schools were established. A Christian community of more than one hundred was developed, all of whom were Mohammedan converts. Warne pronounced Pakur the best center and the most promising missionary opportunity in the Calcutta District. By 1894 the Christian community had increased to 234.[251]

MADRAS DISTRICT

The Madras District as first organized included a reasonably compact area in the eastern part of the India peninsula. Its three charges other than Madras were Bangalore, in Mysore; Bellary, approximately 305 miles northwest of Madras; and Hyderabad in the Mohammedan state of the same name (the Nizam's Dominions). By 1887 charges had increased in number to ten, of which four were Indian missions. A. W. Rudisill,[*] appointed Presiding Elder in 1884, after four years on the District declared that while the English churches were increasing in stability and strength, no more promising field for native work was to be found in India than the Madras District. Phenomenal growth of the Indian Sunday schools occurred in 1888, an increase from 763 to 5,486. In August, 1889, Rudisill—following the death of his wife and because of his own failing health—left for America and was succeeded by Albert H. Baker who continued until 1897. He gave capable and aggressive leadership to the work of the District for more than seven years but constantly felt handicapped by the lack of missionary reinforcements and funds for additional Indian helpers.[252]

The Madras Society, including the several appointments within the city and its environs, reported in 1876 the largest membership of any church in the Conference: three hundred full members and one hundred probationers. Three preachers were assigned to the charge, Hard (in addition to his responsibilities as Presiding Elder), F. G. Davis, and Benjamin Peters.[†] Eighteen fellowship bands and seventeen prayer groups met weekly. Seven Sunday services and three weeknight meetings were held, as well as eight Sunday schools with 410 pupils. The charge had three appointments: Blacktown (later known as Georgetown); Vepery; and Perambur and the South West Railway Line.[‡]

Blacktown was the business section of the city into which crowds of Europeans, Eurasians, and Indians poured daily. In 1882 the Presiding Elder described the Methodist Society as "united, earnest, and faithful in the work of the Master." An Indian day school and Sunday school had been organized. The church had been moved from the site selected by William Taylor to what was believed to be a preferable location but after six years (1887) this was considered to be unsatisfactory and another site, near the original one, was chosen. In 1886 the Society evidenced its missionary spirit by offering its church building to the Missionary Society for Indian work provided that the English congregation might use it for worship when it was not needed for native services. Nearly all the English members by 1889 had been pensioned and had moved away and in 1891, for lack of missionary personnel, no appointment was made to the station. In 1893, with twenty-four full members, Blacktown appeared in the *Minutes* combined with Vepery. The Indian Tamil work, however, was promising. In 1889 under J. H. Garden's ministry the Tamil day school had thirty-seven pupils, the Sunday school an enrollment of 191. Two Telugu Sunday schools were reported.[253]

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[*] Abraham W. Rudisill (1846-1922) was the son of a United Brethren minister whose ancestors from Alsace-Lorraine had settled in York County, Pa., in 1734. He graduated from Dickinson College in 1870 with honors in Hebrew and that year was admitted to the Baltimore Conference and appointed to Bentley Springs. In 1884, when Presiding Elder of the West Baltimore District, William Taylor persuaded him to transfer to the South India Conference. He quickly gained recognition as an outstanding missionary. He took with him to India a small printing press and in a room in the Vepery church parsonage he began to print tracts in the Tamil language. This was the beginning of the Madras Mission Press. He served as pastor of Vepery and then of the Tamil mission; and also as Presiding Elder of the Madras District from 1887 to 1890. In 1890 he was officially appointed agent of the press. Ill health necessitated his withdrawal in 1908.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *Minutes, Baltimore Conference,* 1923, pp. 374-75; *Seventy-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1894), pp. 284 f.

[†] Benjamin Peters, an Indian, admitted on trial in the Conference in 1876, first appointed to Madras and in 1880 to the Bangalore Tamil Mission, became one of the most successful missionary evangelists in the Conference. He had formerly been a lay preacher in the Church of England but under Taylor's preaching sought and found a distinct and abiding witness of the Spirit and united with the Methodist Church. In 1888, A. W. Rudisill said of him that few "if any, of the missionaries in . . . South India . . . can point to so many converts from pure heathenism."—*Seventieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1888), p. 254.

[‡] The South West Railway Line points included Salem (207 miles south), Jalarpet, Arkonam, St. Thomas Mount, and Pallavaram.—J. J. Kingham, in Brenton T. Badley, Ed., *Visions and Victories in Hindustan . . . ,* pp. 263 f.

Vepery also had difficulties. Charges were brought in 1881 against the pastor, I. F. Row, and he was brought to trial. The committee found him "not guilty," but the distracted condition brought about by the trial was doubtless one cause of loss of members. In 1882 T. H. Oakes was appointed pastor as successor to Row who had located to become the minister of a union church at Coonoor. Under Oakes' ministry peace was restored in the Vepery church and the native work was revived. English services were held in 1883 at five points and vernacular services at two preaching places. Six Sunday schools were maintained, four English and two Indian. The program continued to expand in scope, in 1884 two Indian Sunday schools being added, but Fox as Presiding Elder felt that the spiritual interests of the churches were "not developing; and . . . [had] not been for some time past." A. W. Rudisill, Presiding Elder, had a more hopeful outlook. On July 25, 1887, eight adult Tamil converts were received into full membership, including two family groups. He felt the Spirit of God was moving in the hearts of the people.[254]

The Vepery Circuit by 1889 had developed to the point where it had seven English preaching services: three at Vepery, two at Otary, one at Pudupet, and one at Pursawalkum. Five Tamil Sunday schools enrolled 627 boys and girls. An active program was maintained for sailors who visited the port. In 1889 Garden also undertook Telugu projects in Pudupet and Royapuram which eventually developed into large churches. In 1890 Garden was appointed to "Madras, Press and Telugu Mission." In 1892 a "Tamil and Telugu" Circuit had fifty-four members. The Presiding Elder reported in 1895 that the English church had a fair attendance at its Sunday services, well-attended prayer meetings, a prosperous Sunday school, and an active Epworth League, and that all he said of it was true also of the Tamil Society.[255] In the Blacktown and Vepery churches the missionaries' wives were doing for women the counterpart of their husbands' work.

In 1876 Bangalore reported a membership of ninety-eight persons, of whom thirty-two were probationers. The next year two appointments were made: W. E. Newlon to St. John's Hill and J. E. Robinson to Richmond Town where a church had also been erected. In 1879 St. John's Hill had become Memorial Church, and a Tamil Circuit had been formed. At the December, 1880, Conference, the Bangalore Tamil church reported three full members and nine probationers. In December, 1882, a Circuit for the Kanarese-speaking people in the Bangalore area was added with Simon P. Jacobs* in charge. He began work in the city, preaching to the people in their own tongue "almost daily on the streets." He also personally visited educated natives, published many thousands of pages of tracts in English and Kanarese, wrote a book on the Holy Spirit, and issued a monthly paper, the *Herald,* of which over 14,000 copies were distributed.

Memorial Church had come upon evil days. D. O. Fox, as Presiding Elder, reported that it had been "a barren field for three years past." G. H. Greenig was appointed pastor, but at the next conference (1883) he withdrew under charges. The Presiding Elder stated that St. John's Hill (Memorial Church) had had "a year of severe trial" and that Richmond Town had "suffered with it." While he was hopeful concerning the future, conditions continued to be difficult, particularly on account of a constantly fluctuating membership. Out of thirty-eight members in 1881 only four remained in residence in 1887. Yet the pastor refused to be discouraged. At the year's end membership had again increased, finances had improved, congregations had become larger and the Sunday school more prosperous than for several years past. When in 1889 A. H. Baker took up native work he prosecuted it with characteristic enthusiasm and soon a noteworthy Kanarese program was under way in the Bangalore area, participated in by Mrs. Baker and Mrs. Buttrick. Two Kanarese Circuits were listed in 1893.[256] Among the villages included was Yellahunka, for which hope was long held out until in 1892 the Presiding Elder surmised that mistakes must have been made there. J. E. Robinson felt that schools for boys and girls were urgently needed in Bangalore. During his pastorate a school was begun (1878) in the home of the Oldhams with Mrs. Oldham as teacher. It soon became too large for the home and was moved to the Richmond Town church. In 1880 it had an enrollment of eighty-one, with six teachers. This year it was recognized as a "Conference school" and I. A. Richards was appointed principal, serving for three years. In 1883 a boys' and a girls' school were organized. They were named the Baldwin High Schools in recognition of the contribution of $3,000. made by John Baldwin of Berea, Ohio, for buildings. In 1888 William L. King, who had been chosen as principal, arrived in Bangalore and took over the administration of the schools.[257]

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* Jacobs had come to India in 1880, a man in his forties, and had at once given himself to the study of the language. While at Dharamtala Church, Calcutta, in 1881 and the Kolar Mission in 1882, he had so mastered the Kanarese vernacular that he was able to preach in it with ease.

Reduction in the missionary appropriation during the early nineties was severely felt in South India. In Bangalore, for example, it became necessary to close all the day schools. The Sunday schools also suffered from loss of financial support. Baker, at St. John's Hill, in 1892 wrote to the Missionary Society: "Two years ago we had 18 Sunday schools and as many catechumenical schools, with an enrollment in the former of 2,500 and of about 1,500 in the latter. To-day we have in our Sunday schools about 950, and in the catechumenical about 700 pupils." This "seed ground," he continued, has been lost "not by heathen opposition . . . but by . . . lack of means with which to support laborers." [258]

Late in 1875 J. E. Robinson in company with Clark P. Hard visited Bellary, an important railway junction in the Madras presidency, 305 miles from Madras, on a preaching mission. In the course of three weeks between fifty and sixty persons professed conversion. A Society was formed and Jeffries was shifted from Bangalore to become pastor of the English congregation. At the 1876 Conference Bellary was left to be supplied. In December shortly after adjournment of the Conference, Charles B. Ward, a probationer of the Central Illinois Conference, sent out by Taylor, arrived in India and was given the appointment. In 1877 his charge included both Bellary and the North West Line which ran northwest to Sholapur, Hyderabad state, and southeast to Arkonam, Madras. Along the thousand miles of railway there were about five hundred English and Eurasian railway employees. Within a year Ward had held one hundred and fifty meetings and made a thousand pastoral calls, talking and praying with the families and single men. His preaching services, attended by four or five to twenty-five persons, he described as "rather plain Bible talks." The Bellary Circuit after 1880 when Ward turned from English work was regularly supplied with pastors, but as Fox, the Presiding Elder, reported in 1882, "yielded but little fruit." The congregations on the railway line were all small, the membership still smaller and constantly changing. No Indian work was attempted at any of the stations until 1886. Then a day school was established at Bellary and a schoolhouse was built in a nearby village. However, the next year it was decided not to extend the work since the surrounding region was fully occupied by the London Mission. In 1889 the Conference authorized the sale of the Telugu school property. In 1890 the Wesleyans appointed a man to Bellary and some question was raised whether the American Methodist mission was any longer needed. Late in the year Joshua Parker, a Local Preacher who had supplied the charge for a time, resigned a government appointment that he might give himself wholly to pastoral work. At the final Quarterly Conference of the year the vote against selling the property was unanimous. In 1895 Parker, who was still in charge, reported only seven full members, but the church had sufficient strength to be wholly self-supporting. No native evangelism was attempted at any time.[259]

Hyderabad, capital of the largest and most influential native state, was the fourth largest city of India. The city proper, on the south bank of the river Musi, was surrounded by a stone wall six miles in circumference, and for years was barred against Christianity. In a more general sense the name Hyderabad was used to designate the larger area which included Chadarghat, site of the civil offices, and the homes of most of the civil population. Secunderabad, including a garrison which was one of the principal military stations in India, might be said to have been a suburb of Hyderabad. It was six miles northeast of the city and had a population of approximately 60,000.

At Secunderabad in 1873, as has been noted earlier, one of Taylor's converts, Walter Winckler, had laid the foundation of a society and James Shaw in 1874 had built upon it. Late in this same year it had become the head of a Circuit of four appointments, including Trimulgherry, the artillery cantonment, Chadarghat, and Bolarum. Secunderabad was J. E. Robinson's first appointment. He arrived on December 24, 1874, and was much impressed by the results of the work of his predecessors:

> scores of truly converted souls, representing a fine type of live, earnest . . . Methodists, more closely akin to what I had read about old-fashioned spiritual Methodism than I have ever met anywhere, either in America or India.[260]

At the 1876 Conference Secunderabad and Hyderabad (meaning Chadarghat) were listed together as the fourth charge of the Madras District and to it Robinson and W. F. G. Curties were appointed. But the next year they were both sent elsewhere and Gladwin was set down at Secunderabad. After two years he was succeeded by F. G. Davis who served for three years. The congregations now were small and the members few but in the third year of Davis' pastorate a church was built and paid for. Bolarum, a small community of army officers and government officials, offered little opportunity. In 1887, Secunderabad, although it reported only thirty-six full members, was pronounced one of the most promising English-speaking charges in the region. In 1891, in addition to the regular weekly services, evangelistic meetings were held in neglected neighborhoods. From 1880 on, for a number of years, Telugu work was cared for by C. B. Ward.* After his departure from the city, the mission once again took over the task when in 1889 Curties was approached by some Telugu people and asked to open a Sunday school. Being able to raise funds through a canvass of the station made by the English Sunday school, he inaugurated a new mission. It was slow-moving, however; only one helper could be hired. A. E. Cook in 1893 was appointed to the city but he was new to the language and had to devote his time to studying it. The best he could do was conduct a Sunday school and carry on bazaar preaching and visiting the next year. No surplus of funds was available for help. The Presiding Elder reported in 1895 that every department of church work had been continuously maintained—hardly an inspired report.

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* See pp. 568-70.

Chadarghat as early as 1876 had reported a church worth 8,000 rupees. Beginning in 1877, it was a separate station. From 1881 the work was prosecuted year after year with increasing vigor. That year R. E. Carter was appointed to the mission and in 1883 many were converted and the church was much strengthened. In the following years there were many removals but in 1887 despite decreased membership a hopeful outlook was reported. In 1890 the prayer meetings and the Class were well attended, and the membership reached the highest point in the church's life. At the 1895 Conference fifty-five full members and thirty-two probationers were on the English rolls.

It was found that although great numbers of the lower classes in and around Hyderabad could speak and understand Hindustani, in which the missionaries were trained, these people preferred to use the Telugu tongue. An Indian assistant, Brother Paul, initiated the program by establishing two day schools, one in the city, one in Tandur. Two years later three regular preaching places and several Sunday and day schools were reported, which received their support in part from the English congregation and Sunday school. So successful was the work under J. H. Garden that it reached Circuit status sweeping widely over the countryside as far as Tandur and Vikarabad, and soon had to be divided into two.[261]

By 1885 the Chadarghat program had expanded to such an extent that it was thought advisable to appoint a missionary who would devote himself entirely to establishing a mission within the walls of Hyderabad. Because of his ability and experience S. P. Jacobs was chosen. The most dependable account of developments is to be found in the mission's report to the Missionary Society:

> This [Hindustani] Mission was opened in March, 1886. . . . It soon became evident that the work of opening a mission here lay along the line of school-work among the Maratha Brahmins. Accordingly, an Anglo-Marathi School was opened in the British Residency bazar. . . .
>
> Soon after opening the above school, from the large Maratha community in the distant part of the city of Hyderabad came an invitation to open a similar school there.
>
> At this time Sir Salar Jung was prime minister to his highness, the Nizam. He made a donation from his own purse, and also subscribed a liberal sum on behalf of the Nizam's Government. . . . 'in aid of the Methodist Mission Anglo-Vernacular schools in the city of Hyderabad, started by the Rev. S. P. Jacobs, Superintendent.' . . . Thus was solved at once the difficult problem how to get into the city of Hyderabad, hitherto barred against Christianity.

The school in the British Residency bazaar had in 1887 seventy-five pupils with five teachers: two teaching Marathi and English; one Marathi; one Gujarati; and one Urdu. The school in Hyderabad city opened in January, 1887, with twenty-two boys. Later in the year enrollment increased to ninety-three. Christian teachers were not permitted but Jacobs as founder of the school was allowed to give Bible lessons. At the 1888 Conference James Lyon who succeeded Jacobs hoped that the city school might eventually be made an effective means of evangelism since both Brahmins and Mohammedans were sufficiently appreciative of the institution to send their boys and to contribute liberally to its support. Results, however, were disappointing. Extreme difficulty was experienced in getting properly equipped teachers, and little worth while was accomplished.[262]

The wives, as at every appointment, devoted themselves to working with Indian women in a general way, and in 1890 W.F.M.S. work was opened.

Out of Ward's* work at Bellary came the inspiration to launch a Faith Mission directly among Telugu people, thus to reach an entirely untouched field, a considerable part of Hyderabad state. Ward had come to Bellary during the great famine of 1876-78 and while ministering to the English-speaking congregations began to pick up Telugu and Kanarese orphans whose parents had starved. With the help of A. C. Davis, a Eurasian government engineer, he established a temporary orphanage at Gulbarga, Hyderabad, three hundred miles north of his appointment, from which after a year he moved by stages to Pramoor, seventy-five miles north of Secunderabad, close to the Godavari River. At the January, 1880, Conference he asked the Presiding Elders "to release him from English work . . . and allow him to . . . found a Telugu Mission" among Telugu Hindus where "no missionary had ever appeared." The appointment was made as he requested. Ward and his orphans trekked two hundred miles to their destination in the wilderness.[263] When the orphanage was well established a department was added for Eurasian children, called the "Christian Home." †

The Telugu Mission focused on conversion of the Indian population on a self-support basis. In 1882 it suffered severe privation from lack of funds but the year closed with all expenses paid. In order to meet his expenses and also to train his orphans Ward took a government contract to construct a road. William Arnold Moore, a probationer in the Conference who had served the Bellary and Railway Circuit for two years, was appointed in December, 1882, to the Telugu Circuit and was given supervision of the orphanage. This left Ward free to expand his mission program. With thirteen workers,* including seven orphan children, he began Telugu work, chiefly street preaching in Secunderabad. In August, 1883, with the cooperation of Robert E. Carter, he rented the Theatre Royale in Chadarghat for meetings on two days of the week, which awakened a deep interest among both the Indians and the English.

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* Charles B. Ward (1853-1908), born in Kendall County, Ill., was converted at sixteen, and after a brief period of schoolteaching entered the academy of Northwestern University at Evanston. Finding that he had had some experience in city mission work William Taylor persuaded him to give up his ambition for further education and go to India. On April 1, 1878, he married Ellen M. Welch, who had come from Chicago to join him in missionary service. He published a paper, the *India Methodist Watchman*. From 1884 he was located, resuming the effective relationship in 1892. He kept up a voluminous correspondence for many years by which he met in large part the cost of his numerous undertakings.—J. H. Garden in B. T. Badley, Ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 609 ff.; Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

† In 1881 there were in the orphanage twenty-seven native orphan boys; thirty-three native orphan girls; in the Christian Home, six Eurasian boys and two Eurasian girls; total orphans, sixty-eight. Receipts from voluntary contributions for the year were: Christian Orphanage, Rs. 4,395; balance in hand, Oct. 31, 1881, Rs. 200.—*Minutes, South India Conference*, 1881, p. 19.

The mission staff was reinforced in 1882 by the addition of D. O. Ernsberger from America and F. J. Blewitt, a recruit from India. Although beset by numerous difficulties Ward succeeded in maintaining what he called his "Bazar force" in Secunderabad. By February, 1884, the "force" had grown to "twenty-three male and female workers." In October, 1884, D. O. Fox, the Presiding Elder, organized at Secunderabad a Telugu Methodist Society. The Blewitts this month decided to engage in work elsewhere. At the November, 1884, Conference both Ward and Moore were located † at their own request.

In April, 1886, Ward embarked on an ambitious project of railway construction a hundred and fifty miles east of Secunderabad on which he hoped to realize 40,000 rupees which he would be free to use for support of his Telugu mission program. It proved to be a project in which he suffered heavy financial loss.

In April, 1888, Ward transferred his working force of about "fifty souls, of all ages" to Yellandu, in the northeastern corner of Hyderabad state, south of the Godavari River. Here he purchased the lease of a village, with two thousand acres of forest and grazing land, at an annual rental of Rs. 800. In October, 1890, he "evacuated" Secunderabad and occupied Yellandu with all his "force."

> We numbered about fifty members and probationers in the Church, representing eighteen families, about thirty little children, and twenty single persons, and a few others . . . .
>
> * * * *
>
> We therefore before the Lord settled upon our plan as follows. We will send forth and support *three native preachers equipped with our prayers and outfit of tracts and Gospels from January 1st., 1891.*

Sunday-school work was organized at once: an English Sunday school with about twenty in attendance and a Telugu school. Preaching services were regularly held both in English and Telugu in Ward's home, also in Telugu in the village.

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* From time to time lay missionaries were added to Ward's group of workers. On June 14, 1880, Cecelia O'Leary of Hyderabad, a Eurasian, joined the mission. (M. March 15, 1883, W. A. Moore. She died on Dec. 8, 1883.) On June 6, 1882, Ruth C. Freer, a Eurasian, began work in the orphanage. (M. June 1, 1883, F. J. Blewitt.) In April, 1883, Hephy Freer, a sister of Ruth Freer, cast in her lot with Ward's mission. (D. Dec. 12, 1883.) Hester A. Hillis who earlier had been in the employ of the A.B.F.M. in Ceylon, sent out by William Taylor, arrived at the mission on Dec. 25, 1884. (D. on Aug. 15, 1887.) Jennie R. James, also sent out by Taylor, accompanied Miss Hillis. M. F. Smootz, an American layman, arrived on Jan. 27, 1885. Miss H. M. Bell, who reached India on Aug. 8, 1885, after taking a course in Hyderabad Medical College, became physician and missionary teacher at Yellandu. R. H. Madden, a carpenter and Local Preacher, was sent out by Richard Grant of Taylor's Transit Fund. He arrived in 1890.

† Ward's action in locating was taken as a protest against what seemed to him disproportionate emphasis on the English work, and also against the departure from Taylor's program of self-support. He proposed to continue as a Local Preacher, "in full and loyal connection with the Church; but not under its Annual Conference." Moore located in order to join the Cullis' Faith Mission at Basim, Berar.—C. B. Ward, *History of Twelve Years' Work in the Nizam's Dominions, 1879-1891,* p. 58.

On November 18, 1890, G. K. Gilder reorganized the Quarterly Conference with thirteen present. The Yellandu mission first appeared in the *Minutes* of the Conference in 1891, supplied by C. B. Ward. At the December, 1892, Conference Ward was readmitted and regularly appointed to Yellandu. In 1893 the Yellandu mission* reported a Christian village, an orphanage, an industrial workshop, and a church with a membership of a hundred native Christians, "out of whose tithes . . . [were] supported three evangelists." [264]

In November, 1883, D. O. Ernsberger† was assigned to the Kanarese field—a huge area generally meaning the Hyderabad, Bidar, and Raichur Provinces. He had come to India, following an appeal from Taylor, for this purpose, and had up to this time been studying the language, using as teachers some of the orphans at Pramoor. Lingsugur, in southwestern Hyderabad—"fifty miles from the Railway and from civilization"—was his first appointment. A month later, S. P. Jacobs was transferred from his Kanarese Circuit in Bangalore to join him. After one year in this isolated town both men were ready to remove to work elsewhere. Lingsugur was too remote for a young wife—Ernsberger earlier had married Dema Stone (sent out by Taylor)—and the following year they established themselves at Raichur, located at a major railway junction, and having a population of over 35,000. Although one of the hottest places in India it was a natural center for access to some two millions of people. Jacobs accepted an appointment to Gulbarga, the seat of government of these three great Kanarese provinces, where he initiated a mission and made excursions into the surrounding field. In 1886 he was called to Hyderabad, as noted elsewhere, and the entire area was left to Ernsberger. From this time on, Ernsberger gave himself with such concentration and devotion to the Kanarese-speaking people that the missionaries eventually came to feel he had gained for himself a proprietary interest in the mission. He made Gulbarga his headquarters, remaining there through this period except for a necessary furlough following the death of his wife in 1888.

Gulbarga alone embraced an immense area, a "circuit of 12,000 square miles." The Presiding Elder estimated that if Ernsberger were to preach in three villages a day, traveling every day in the year, it would take more than three years and seven months for him to complete the round of more than four thousand villages and towns. Raichur and Tandur, both nearby, were included on his schedule part of the time. Day schools and Sunday schools were established in the city of Gulbarga, street preaching maintained, and in 1892 a book depot and reading room opened. Also, this year the second Mrs. Ernsberger was in charge of women's work and opened a girls' school. The next year the W.F.M.S. reported a day school in Shorapur. In 1894 baptisms numbered sixteen; in 1895, fifty.[265]

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* In 1931 the Yellandu mission work was turned over to the Diocese of Dornakal in the Church of India.

† D. O. Ernsberger (1851-1926) was born in Perry County, Ohio. After one or two years in Ohio Wesleyan University, he became a schoolteacher. In 1882 he heard the call of William Taylor, was received on trial in the North Indiana Conference, and transferred at once to the South India Conference. (*Minutes, South India Conference,* 1882, p. 6.) His first wife died during the early Gulbarga days. In 1891 he married Mary A. Hughes, who died in 1899. Four years later he married Margaret Carver, who survived him. In the Gulbarga-Raichur region from 1885 to 1905 and later for twelve years in Belgaum he did work so outstanding that it won for him the high esteem of all who knew him. He retired an invalid in 1922 and four years afterwards died in California.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

Another mission to the Kanarese was begun about 1888 on the outskirts of the field. This was at Kopbal, to the west of Bellary, in the Jaghir territory. It was made an independent Circuit, embracing three hundred villages, but reported no success by way of conversions in the following year. The missionary's wife visited zenanas regularly and supervised a day school. In 1893 the Circuit included four stations. In addition to open-air services four Class meetings, four prayer meetings, and six day and seven Sunday schools were maintained. Only two baptisms were reported.

In September, 1890, J. E. Robinson and A. H. Baker took over for the Methodist Church the Kolar Mission, also a Kanarese project, about forty miles from Bangalore in the Mysore region, which had been founded in February, 1877, by a Scotchwoman, Miss L. H. Anstey. During the great famine, when people were dying by thousands from starvation, Miss Anstey withdrew from the London Mission, with which she had been associated, and established an independent mission of her own, with two large orphanages as a chief feature. Into this she gathered in the course of time some eleven hundred children of whom about three hundred survived. She enlisted the cooperation of Methodist missionaries in caring for the religious interests of the children, M. B. Kirk in 1881 and in 1882 S. P. Jacobs. When taken over by the South India Conference the mission included a Christian community of about five hundred people and property worth Rs. 30,000. In a day school in connection with the orphanage carpentry training was provided along with other instruction. In 1892 fifteen boys were in training as carpenters and large orders for furniture were received and filled. A Methodist Society was formed, which in 1893 reported ninety-four full members and twenty-nine probationers. Four young men of the mission were received on trial in the Conference. Twenty of the members were instrumental in forming churches at Rollingspur, Mulbagal, and Betmangala. Three Christian villages—Elim, Bethany, and Nazareth—were established, populated by men and women who formerly had been famine orphans rescued by the mission. Kolar Mission also carried on extensive visiting* in some seventeen non-Christian villages. Beginnings were made in Mulbagal, Srenavasapur, and Hosur for establishing Societies. Under W. H. Hollister, appointed in 1892, the industrial program

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* Active in this work in 1893-95 were Mrs. Ira A. Richards, wife of the missionary in charge, and Florence W. Maskell, a Eurasian woman of great ability, who in 1893 became a deaconess and in 1898 a missionary of the W.F.M.S. In 1895 Miss Chatterton was an assistant in education. Following Hollister's appointment in 1892 Mrs. Hollister was appointed to the orphanage and woman's work.

—which provided some self-support—was expanded to include these Christian villages and Rollingspur. Farming operations were conducted in all centers, and in both Kolar and Bowringpet, industrial schools trained boys for a livelihood in tailoring, blacksmithery, masonry along with other skills.[266]

HYDERABAD DISTRICT, 1891-95

At the January, 1891, South India Conference the Madras District was divided and the Hyderabad District formed.* Gilder was made Presiding Elder of the new District. With the exception of Bellary all of its appointments (1891) were within Hyderabad state. At the 1892 session, as a result of Ward's opening up of Bastar, the District was "materially enlarged by the addition of the State of Bastar, and a small slip of the Central Provinces lying north of the Godavery [River] and immediately between the Nizam's Dominions and Bastar territory." With this addition the District included approximately 80,000 square miles, "with a population of 6,000,000 souls, untouched by any other Christian Mission." The wide expanse,† the pioneer character of the work, "the tangle of languages," the meager financial support, and the paucity of both foreign and indigenous workers, all taken together, made it one of the most difficult missionary fields in India.

Gangawaram (Vikarabad), where work had been begun in 1890, was made a Circuit in 1892. J. H. Garden wrote, "Nine months ago the Hyderabad Telugu work was divided, and I was sent to Gangawaram as the center of a new circuit . . . ." Gangawaram was on the Nizam's State Railway, forty-five miles distant from Hyderabad. A mission site was procured and enclosed, a well sunk, and a temporary hut erected for shelter. Within a year a number of inquirers were baptized. Baptisms were few but Garden asserted that on one of the Circuit points "the work was spreading and touching the higher castes," and he had baptized "six potters, one shepherd, and a police patel." In 1893 Mrs. Garden was appointed to women's work. A mission house begun the same year was completed the next year. The unfortunate experience of some other Circuits in earlier years with weak and unfaithful workers "picked up from other missions" was repeated here in 1895. The year closed with only nine full members and forty-five probationers.[267]

Jagdalpur, the capital of Bastar state, was visited by C. B. Ward in March, 1892, in the course of an exploratory trip. He had come into contact with the Koiwar (Muria and Maria) tribes in the Nizam's Dominions and wished to see them in their own country and explore the possibilities of missionary work among them. He spent four days in Jagdalpur, a town of some seven thousand people, and was so favorably impressed that he asked permission of the

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* The Hyderabad District when formed in January, 1891, included five charges formerly listed in the Madras District: Hyderabad, Bellary, Gulbarga, Kopbal, and Secunderabad.

† George K. Gilder, Presiding Elder: "The district is one of big distances—Kopbal, for instance, at the extreme southwestern end is 345 miles by rail from Hyderabad; Jagdalpur, at the northeastern extremity is 478 miles; of this 162 miles only can be traveled by railway, the remaining distance must be done either on horseback or in a bullock cart."—In *Seventy-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1894), p. 146.

British commissioner "to open five mission stations in Bastar and [lease land] . . . in each station." The commissioner immediately replied with assurance that sites for buildings and also "waste" villages would be made available. He also gave him a letter to an official in Sironcha who later helped him to acquire land there. At the December, 1892, Conference Jagdalpur was listed as an appointment supplied by W. H. L. Batstone, M.D., a Local Preacher. Not being acquainted with any of the local dialects Batstone's evangelistic efforts were confined principally to the few English-speaking people. He set up a "little mud and grass dispensary" where in five months he had eight inpatients, and 1,992 outpatients—some of whom came as far as sixty miles for medicine. In 1893 the erection of a hospital on a commanding site was begun.

Work was also begun in 1893 in Sironcha, on the north bank of the Godavari River, in British territory. There were two language groups, the Telugu westward from Sironcha as far as Nandar, the Pranhita valley, and all of south Bastar; and the Hindi in north Bastar. M. Narasiah, admitted this year to the Conference on trial, held meetings in thirty-two villages. Gilder believed that the area offered unusually attractive possibilities for fruitful Christian work if missionaries could be found to occupy the field, but not even one was available. In 1895 Gilder wrote: "The work here is distinctively pioneer, and far too feebly manned." [268]

Shorapur was first included in the appointments at the January, 1895, Conference with Ellis Roberts, newly arrived from the Rock River Conference, and Manappa Desai as his Indian associate. Shorapur was a small town of less than ten thousand population, located north of Raichur in the Kanarese language area. The inhabitants were of aboriginal descent, "formerly . . . a terror to the country as freebooters," who had settled down and become farmers. Several were baptized during the year.[269]

Bidar, previously an outpoint among the Telugu people on the Vikarabad Circuit, was made a separate appointment at the same session, with David Marian as pastor. In December he was discontinued as a probationer in the Conference and Albert E. Cook, a missionary, was appointed in his place. At the end of 1895 Bidar reported two full members and twenty-one probationers.

ALLAHABAD DISTRICT, 1880-87

The Allahabad District was organized at the January, 1880, Conference with seven charges,* its nucleus made up of four charges from the Calcutta District and one from Bombay. At this time it embraced a roughly triangular area in the northern part of central India. At the February, 1887, Conference Allahabad District was replaced by Mussooree, and three charges were added. When the Bengal Conference was organized in January, 1888, the Mussooree District was included. In 1893 at the organization of the Northwest India Conference the Mussooree District, with some changes, was made a part of it and a new Allahabad District was constituted.

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* The seven Stations and Circuits of the Allahabad District in January, 1880, were: Allahabad, Hindustani Circuit, Jabalpur, Harda Circuit, Mhow, Agra, and Roorkee. At the December, 1880. Conference Lahore, Khandwa, and Bandikui were added, and in 1881 Meerut, Mussooree, and Karachi. In 1882 the Ajmer Circuit appeared.

The Allahabad District may almost be said to have been created and sustained by Dennis Osborne. Appointed Presiding Elder in January, 1880, he remained as the administrative head under its various designations until 1897 when W. Rockwell Clancy was named in his place.

Allahabad, capital of the Northwest Provinces, was considered—as the seat of government with a rapidly growing European and Eurasian population—to be the most important city in North India. In 1871 Dennis Osborne and another layman, discovering there "two or three persons who had been converted in Lucknow, . . . joined with them in holding prayer meetings in private houses." Within a few weeks "nearly thirty persons were organized into an informal band of praying Christians, with weekly meetings." As there were already a Presbyterian and a Baptist church in the city it was thought best not to organize another, in the hope that the work might go forward with the help of the local churches. Within a few months, however, the band had scattered and all but a very few had lost their former zeal. The next year Osborne again visited Allahabad. Under his preaching about twenty persons professed conversion and these were organized into a Methodist Society. The prospect of growth was such that Osborne felt led to give up secular employment and devote his entire time to the work of the ministry. At the close of the year the Society reported thirty-three full members, forty-one probationers, and five Sunday schools.[270]

Allahabad—since 1876 in the South India Conference—continued under the pastoral care of Osborne until 1880. At the December, 1880, session W. F. G. Curties was appointed pastor of the English church and Osborne —in addition to the District—was given charge of the Hindustani Circuit, which first appeared this year. English work at Fatehpur had been begun in 1874 and was for a time included in the Allahabad Circuit. During the period 1882-87 the Allahabad English church * was served by three different missionaries. The church scarcely held its own. In a revival in 1888 sixty-five persons were converted and seventy-five new members were added. Although the church could report only forty-two full members at the 1895 Conference it was maintaining an extensive, diversified program of Christian service.

In 1878 local arrangements were made for opening a girls' school in Allahabad at the beginning of the next year. In 1880 Mattie B. Spence, sent to India by the Northwestern Branch, was assigned to the school. At her arrival it had an enrollment of eighty-one pupils. Beginning the next year

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* The Allahabad English Circuit was transferred in 1888 to the Bengal Conference and in the same year the Hindustani Circuit was transferred to North India. In 1891 the English church was also transferred to North India and again combined with the Hindustani Circuit. When the new Allahabad District was formed in 1893 in the Northwest India Conference Allahabad was included in it.

it was known as the Cannington Girls' School. After a year's schoolwork Miss Spence was married. Great difficulty was had in finding capable teachers and after a long struggle the school was closed in 1885.

Osborne was aided in his Hindustani Circuit work in 1880 by two Local Preachers who regularly engaged in Hindustani preaching in bazaars, at fairs, and on the streets. The Circuit was not listed as a separate appointment for three years (1881-83) but it appeared again in 1884 with C. H. Plomer as pastor. In January, 1886, there were three principal centers of Hindustani work, each reporting encouraging interest and attendance. Gains in membership, however, were negligible. William Rockwell Clancy, appointed to the station in 1892, reported the next year missionary work under way in four villages and several mohallas, including six day schools and eight Sunday schools. The activity in 1893 was mostly among villages within fifteen miles of Allahabad. Preaching services were held in four centers. A boarding school for native Christian boys was opened in Allahabad with a dormitory in the church compound and within the first year as many boarders as could be accommodated were admitted. Four day schools for girls were maintained with two assistants from the Society of Friends, Miss Barber and Miss Thomas. By 1896 the program had increased until five Circuits, each with sub-Circuits, had been established in an area 125 miles long and about half that width. Mrs. Clancy, in charge of women's work, was the equal of her husband for accomplishing results. At the end of 1895 she could report eight paid Bible women at work, besides a preacher's wife and her own assistant. She also conducted a widows' and orphans' home, and was striving toward founding a girls' boarding school and a deaconess home as soon as all the funds were raised.[271]

Jabalpur* in 1873 was a central point on Albert Norton's railway Circuit. For some time he preached there regularly on Wednesday and Thursday of each week. It first appeared in the records of the India Conference in 1874 when at the Conference in January G. K. Gilder was appointed. By April a small congregation had been assembled, classes formed, and a Sunday school organized, although this was Gilder's first assignment, and he had difficulty in getting living quarters and a preaching place. During the early years the Society experienced trying times. After twelve years the church received a gift of a desirable building site. In May, 1886, the cornerstone was laid and in October, 1887, a building was completed. The Society reported for 1887 thirty-four full members, fourteen less than in 1876. Some years later the Indian work, including extensive women's work, developed rapidly. In 1893 a girls' boarding school was established, and in response to the appeal of the missionary's wife the W.F.M.S. sent Miss Anna Elicker. She found fifty girls crowded together in a schoolroom where there was space for only thirty. Some were unclothed and terribly undernourished and the burden of teaching and caring for them was so heavy that very soon Miss Elicker was compelled to go to a sanitarium for recuperation. The school gradually grew, chiefly by addition from Christian families, until in 1897 in its new home two miles out of Jabalpur, it numbered sixty-five girls. Later it was named the Johnson Girls' School.[272]

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* At the November, 1884, Conference Jabalpur, together with Harda and Khandwa, Mhow, and Ajmer, was transferred to the new Central India District, and Karachi to the Bombay District. When in 1888 the Bengal Conference was organized an Ajmer District was formed and Ajmer, Jabalpur, Khandwa, Burhanpur, and Mhow were included in it.

The first stirring among the dry bones of Khandwa, a railway junction, occurred, it may be assumed, under Albert Norton's preaching in 1873-74. In 1875 Taylor, in a brief reference, said: "Khandwa . . . under Brother Metta, gives promise of success." Khandwa is found in the Conference *Minutes* for the first time in December, 1880, linked with Mhow. In 1881 it had its own church, its own pastor, J. D. Webb—a Local Preacher—and sufficient resources for support. The entire cost of the church was borne by W. H. Howe, a zealous layman, who was in the employ of the railway. Another Khandwa layman, Albert T. Leonard, in 1883 was admitted on trial to Conference. Harda, sixty miles from Khandwa, which since 1880 had been a separate Circuit but with little to report in results accomplished, in 1883 was linked with Khandwa, but the plan seemed impracticable and a supply pastor was sought for Khandwa. This arrangement failing, in 1884 the two charges were again united. In Harda vernacular preaching was attempted in the bazaars and villages. When at the 1884 Conference C. P. Hard became Presiding Elder of the newly formed Central India District he took upon himself the task of also serving as pastor of Khandwa and Harda. The Khandwa membership was increased during the year from two to seventeen. In February, 1886, Webb was placed in charge of what was designated the Khandwa Mission, with three men and four women as assistants, the result of a revival at Mhow. A small girls' orphanage had been established the preceding June and the W.F.M.S. was aiding in maintaining it. The mission program included daily preaching in the city, preaching tours in the District, distribution of tracts and Scripture portions, hospital visitations, zenana work, and day school and Sunday-school teaching. At the January, 1889, Bengal Conference T. E. F. Morton was appointed to the Khandwa and Harda Circuit which covered a distance of 120 miles in a region where, he said, "English, Urdu, Hindi, Marathi, Guzerati, and a little of Tamil and Telugu" were spoken.

In 1890 the two charges were again separated and two Circuits formed, Khandwa and Burhanpur, under the leadership of A. S. E. Vardon—beginning a Khandwa pastorate which continued until his death almost nine years later—and Harda and Gadarwara with Morton and Jacob Samuel in charge. Three hundred baptisms were performed at Khandwa in 1892. This year a girls' boarding school was opened under W.F.M.S. auspices. In 1894 Khandwa reported eighty-six full members and 324 probationers; Harda, seventeen full members and seven probationers. A program for girls and women was engaged in on a small scale in 1894 by Mrs. Morton with the small allowance made by the W.F.M.S. Among the English members she organized a W.C.T.U. and a Loyal Temperance Legion and Junior Epworth League.[273]

Agra* also was the outgrowth of Osborne's evangelistic efforts. He first visited the city in July, 1874, and held two weeks of special services in a private home. "Many, perhaps no less than fifty, were . . . brought to the Lord, and a Church was organized with a membership of about 40 . . . ." Two years later C. W. Christian was appointed pastor. He continued in charge for two years. Changes in conditions resulted in such deterioration that in 1881 the Presiding Elder characterized the field as "narrow and scattered, sparse patches of verdure in a sea of sterility." One of the greatest needs was a church building, as the rent disbursed would have gone a long way toward paying for a suitable edifice. In 1886 building was begun, discontinued in 1887, and finally a new church built in 1888 under the leadership of W. Rockwell Clancy, appointed to the charge in March, 1887. Up to that time no aggressive Hindustani work had been done in Agra. Bazaar preaching and mohalla visiting were begun and met with encouragement, resulting in a number of baptisms. Communion services were interracial. The missionary program expanded rapidly and in 1889 work was maintained in sixteen villages besides eleven mohallas. Agra in 1891 was organized with three Quarterly Conferences, two in the city of Agra—one English and one Hindustani—and the third in the villages around Jalesar. A government medical school was attended by some thirty Methodist students, of whom nineteen were young women who lived in the W.F.M.S. Home for Medical Students, built in 1889.[274]

J. E. Scott, first Presiding Elder for the Agra District in the newly formed Northwest Conference, wrote enthusiastically:

> There are two strong Epworth Leagues organized in connection with this church,—one in English, the other in Hindustani. Both these are doing a good work, and their exercises are exceedingly interesting and profitable. They teach our young people self-control and how to lead and take part in meetings and deliberative assemblies, and their direct evangelistic usefulness is invaluable.[275]

Matthew Tindale, an Anglo-Indian admitted on trial in the South India Conference in 1887 and appointed to Agra in January, 1892, had a special interest in missionary work among the lower-caste people. During the year, he reported, "we have had much success among these people [leather workers, roadmakers, agricultural laborers, and sweepers or scavengers] who are neglected and despised by their countrymen, and gladly welcome our sympathy and friendly efforts." In the lanes and back streets of the mohallas, where they lived, the Gospel was preached and women's work maintained. Schools for low-caste boys were well attended. In 1893, in addition to the missionary and his wife, the W.F.M.S. missionary, and the Indian pastor, there were five Local Preachers, ten Exhorters and teachers, and three Bible readers. The membership of the English church was reduced in 1894 by removals and the statistical report for 1895 indicated only sixteen full members and fifteen probationers. The Hindustani Society reported 118 full members and 120 probationers.[276]

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* Agra in 1887 was transferred from the Mussooree District to the Rohilkhand District, North India Conference. In 1891 it was made a central point in an Agra District. When the Northwest India Conference was organized in January, 1893, the Agra District was included as one of its seven Districts.

At Roorkee, Osborne also held services in 1875. After five days of meetings a group of persons asked for a preacher and agreed to provide his support. William Eales, a former Wesleyan preacher who had associated himself with Osborne's work in Meerut, was licensed as a Local Preacher by the District Conference and stationed at Roorkee. As successor to Eales, David H. Lee—a probationer who had recently arrived in India—was appointed in 1876. In 1877 Roorkee reported twenty-two full members and five probationers. By 1881 a comfortable chapel had been erected and a Sunday school organized. The congregation was made up of English residents, soldiers—some of whom were Wesleyan Methodists—and teachers and students of the government Engineering College. There was little or no growth in membership and in 1887 a number of faithful laymen were lost to the church by removal of the infantry detachment that had been stationed there. Their replacement by artillery fresh from England challenged the pastor's spiritual resources. The difficulties experienced by the Society were increased by the stationing of a British Wesleyan missionary at Roorkee for several months, resulting in "unavoidable division of interest and support." Conditions took a turn for the better about 1889 and in 1890 the Society dedicated a church edifice on "the finest site in Rurki, kindly granted by the Government." The pastoral care of the nonconformist troops continued to be a responsibility of the Methodist missionary. In 1895 the Society reported a membership of thirty-eight persons.

By 1881 a Hindustani Sunday school had been organized and the next year a Class of about a dozen was formed by a Local Preacher. The membership grew gradually until in 1886, with some forty members, a separate Quarterly Conference was organized. This year a native girls' school had twenty-four pupils in attendance. The missionary's wife, Mrs. De Souza, was in charge of women's work. Two boys' schools, one with 105 pupils, and another with fifty-five, were opened in nearby places. In 1884 weekly services among the lepers outside the city began to be held. From 1888 on the work in the city, the adjacent villages, and the surrounding country developed rapidly. In 1888 the mission school at Manglaur, five miles from Roorkee, reported having reached a new high in enrollment, almost a hundred and fifty pupils. In 1889 five boys' schools and a girls' school were in operation. Three Bible women were employed, and in 1890 five. On the evening of December 26, 1889, under the ministry of C. W. Ross De Souza, seventy-two persons were baptized, constituting an entire mohalla, the name of which was changed to Isai Mohalla. One-third of the 325 baptisms in 1890 were women and girls. Other successes followed. In 1893, the Roorkee Circuit was formed under missionary leadership, with eight helpers.[277]

Lahore, in the Punjab, appeared first in the December, 1880, appointments, with James Shaw designated as pastor. In his report to the 1881 Conference Osborne said:

> The last Annual Conference resolved upon the long cherished, yet long deferred step of planting a Methodist Church in the chief city of the Punjab . . . . On the 23rd February, Bro. [James] Shaw and myself reached Lahore, and, without delay began services both in the civil station [Anarkali] and among the railway community. These services were greatly blessed of God, and so rapid was the progress of the work that on Sunday 27th, we were enabled to organize a church membership of twenty, and a Sunday School of forty children. The services were continued with increasing interest until March 3rd on which date we organized the first Quarterly Conference of the M.E. Church in Lahore.

Later in the year a terrifying epidemic swept the city. Finding a suitable place for public worship presented another difficulty. At the 1882 Conference Shaw was replaced by Gilder who began his pastorate "with a glorious revival, which was the means of drawing many within the fold of Christ." Regular services were also held among the troops at Meean Meer. The Presbyterian Mission, U.S.A., this year gave the Methodists a building site in a good location near the railway quarters of Lahore. On May 29, 1884, the new edifice, substantial and commodious, was dedicated. The Indian work, auspiciously begun, suffered a setback because of the incompetency of the native helper who had been placed in charge. In 1885 a missionary society was organized which undertook the support of a missionary and Indian helper, to give their whole time to the native work. After a highly successful ministry of three years at Lahore Gilder was succeeded by Finley D. Newhouse, recently arrived from America. Claudius H. Plomer, a Eurasian, was placed in charge of the Hindustani Mission. The Woman's Conference listed in the 1889 appointments a girls' school directed by the missionary wife.[278]

The two first years in the Bengal Conference (1887-88) constituted a period of severe trial for the Lahore English church. Removal of members, estrangement of others, and depletion of finances combined to hinder the progress of the work. Before the close of 1889, under the pastoral leadership of E. S. Busby, general affairs had taken a turn for the better, but the English church was not successful in increasing its membership and the period closed (1895) with only twenty-one full members on the roll. The services, however, were well attended both by civilians and nonconformist soldiers. A Christian Endeavor Society, organized in 1893, exercised a strong Christian influence among young people. The Hindustani program expanded steadily. In 1895 there were nine day schools, including three girls' schools, eleven Sunday schools, and a Christian community numbering 772. The missionary's wife carried on an extensive program with the aid of five Bible women.[279]

Mussooree, located on the ridge of one of the lower ranges of the Himalaya Mountains at an elevation of 6,600 feet, rivaled Naini Tal as a summer resort of European residents. A "Hill Sanitarium" was maintained here, where missionaries from all parts of India came for rest and recuperation. What seemed to Osborne a providential opening led him to move the missionary at Jabalpur to Mussooree in August, 1881. But it was left to Osborne himself to lay the foundation of the church. He spent five months of 1882 in Mussooree.

> A series of special services opened the work, resulting in the conversion of many and in solid accessions to the Church. The attendance in our public services, at first merely nominal, very soon filled our temporarily hired worshipping place. . . . Some attention was paid to Native work, and two Native Sunday Schools organized.[280]

In September Gilder was left in charge to carry on to the end of the Conference year, when Osborne—still Presiding Elder—assumed charge. Since people were constantly coming and going the large membership was not stable but the congregation was generous in support of the missionary program. Services were held in a hired hall in Landour, the convalescent station for British troops, practically a part of the city. During 1884-87 Osborne continued to carry responsibility for both the District and the charge. In 1886 a church building was completed. Services were also held at three outlying points, Happy Valley, Landour, and—once a month—at Dehra Dun. The native work at Mussooree included regular preaching services in a hired native chapel in the center of the bazaar, a Sunday school, and a mission day school. A school and chapel building at Rajpura was purchased in 1886 from the Presbyterian mission and with the aid of two Indian helpers preaching services, a Sunday school, and a boys' day school were established. A major interest of the Mussooree mission was the boarding school for boys from Christian homes, the Philander Smith Institute, founded in 1884. At the January, 1889, Conference, P. M. Buck was given the double appointment of principal of the institute, and the Mussooree, and Rajpura mission, with F. J. Blewitt as his associate. In 1893 girls' schools and zenana work were maintained at both places. During the year a Society of thirty members and probationers was organized; twenty-four persons were baptized; and the mission property and the mission school both improved.

In 1892 a revival in the Mussooree English church resulted in the conversion of scores of young people. The Society supported the missionary work generously both in Mussooree and Rajpura. The Hindustani Society in 1895 reported a membership, including probationers, of 110 and a Christian community of over three hundred. Bazaar preaching was maintained regularly at Rajpura and Mussooree and also an anglo-vernacular school at each place.[281]

Meerut, in the United Provinces, thirty-seven miles northeast of Delhi, was the site of a great military station. It was here that the Sepoy Mutiny began. Osborne visited the city in July, 1875, and held a series of evangelistic services for ten days resulting in the organization of a small Society. Gilder was appointed to the station at the 1876 Conference but because of broken health was unable to fill the appointment. Since no one was available to take his place, interest quickly waned. In 1881 Osborne again visited the city and found what seemed to him "a providential opening." For more than a year De Souza labored faithfully as pastor and was meeting with much success when unexpectedly he was transferred to another station and no permanent adjustment seemed possible to provide for the vacancy. Left unsupplied, the appointment in 1883 was temporarily dropped from the list. It reappeared in 1887 and in 1891 the Meerut Circuit, with two Hindustani sub-Circuits, was included among the appointments of the Mussooree District, Bengal Conference. The next year Osborne stated in his report as Presiding Elder that an English church had been organized and regular services begun in a rented hall. Three sub-Circuits had been formed and there had been large ingatherings among the accessible classes. A training school for girls was opened under W.F.M.S. auspices. When the District was placed in the Northwest India Conference P. M. Buck was appointed Presiding Elder and pastor at Meerut. When he was appointed, Bishop Thoburn said, "I'd like you to stay here . . . twenty years and see what you can make of it." He stayed, excepting furloughs, for twenty-one years. His work on the District was one of the outstanding achievements of India Methodism. For the first ten years, in addition to the native work, he was pastor of the English church. Then the church was transferred to a Wesleyan chaplain. In 1893 the church was visited by a revival in which more than 125 persons were converted, the majority soldiers of the local garrison. The next year an attractive church, with a seating capacity of three hundred, was dedicated. Five months later a combined church and girls' school building for native work, on the mission compound, was completed. A congregation of good size attended the religious services in the building.[282] In 1892 a girls' boarding school was begun which in 1895 enrolled fifty-seven pupils. The compound was enlarged and two comfortable dormitories built.

Ajmer, an ancient city in Rajasthan (formerly Rajputana) of some 70,000 population was a place of great historic interest. Osborne in his report to the December, 1882, Conference* told of the beginning of Methodist work in the city:

> It was visited by Bro. [Ross] D'Souza and others last year, and Bro. Smith

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* Ajmer in 1888 was included in the newly organized Bengal Conference. In 1891 it was taken over into the new Agra District of the North India Conference and in January, 1893, became the center of the Ajmer District of the Northwest India Conference.

> working from Bandikui this year, opened religious services there. In July [1881], Bro. E. Jeffries, who had just terminated his connection with the Government service, was sent to Ajmere. He found a wide and needy field. Services have been held in the Railway Institute and in the houses of the people, resulting in the quickening of many, and in the organization of a promising church membership.

Jeffries held the first public service on Sunday, July 23. The Society was organized on August 1 with one Local Preacher, one full member and two probationers. At the year's end the church reported fourteen full members, five probationers, two Local Preachers, and Rs. 402 raised for ministerial support. At the December, 1882, Conference J. D. Webb was appointed to the Ajmer Circuit. Indian work with daily preaching in the streets and bazaars was begun with the assistance of laymen of the church. The Society was under the disadvantage of having to hold all its services in a hall which was "neither suitable nor commodious." In 1885 a much more suitable hall was found. It was opened with a lecture on "America" by W. F. Oldham and a week of revival services. At the February, 1886, Conference Webb was succeeded by T. E. F. Morton. Webb's report rejoiced in the fact that the Methodist Hall had been

> the happy centre of church life and rich spiritual blessing. Here the pastor and wife . . . gathered throngs . . . for the discussion of Bible themes. Eight thousand clerks and work men stream from the adjacent Railway offices and shops, and hundreds have paused at a time while we have preached from the front platform of our Hall.

Morton extended the Circuit widely, preaching and making pastoral visits at Nasirabad, Phalera, Bandikui, Rewari, and Sojat. Ajmer reported to the 1888 Conference twenty-seven full members and sixteen probationers. The Indian Society had six members. At the 1887 Conference C. P. Hard assumed charge of the Ajmer Circuit.[283]

A mission building, two stories high, with twenty rooms, including a preaching hall, a schoolroom, an orphanage, and quarters for Indian preachers on the first floor and missionaries above, was erected in 1888. In 1891 when the Ajmer Circuit was transferred to the North India Conference it had a Christian community of 646 people. When the next transfer was made (1892) J. E. Scott, the Presiding Elder, said of Ajmer:

> Here we have a wonderful field. Where two years ago there was but a handful of Christians at one place, last year we had three circuits, and now there are eight . . . . There are now about two thousand Christians, more than one thousand of whom have been baptized this year. Most of these converts are . . . from among the leather workers (Reghers), and some Brahmans also have been baptized. Many of these converts are full of zeal. . . . I have been struck also with their earnest prayers, and with their quaint and fresh religious experiences.

The Ajmer Circuit the next year had a staff of five Indian preachers, eight Bible readers, and fifteen Exhorters and teachers. A boys' and a girls' boarding school were growing rapidly. Work was carried on in a number of outlying stations. The preaching hall built in 1885 was inadequate to meet the needs of the increased congregations. At the beginning of 1893 the Avery Girls' Boarding School was hopefully opened, although many problems presented themselves. Several sub-Circuits were reached by native assistants, especially wives of teachers and preachers, but the arrangement was regarded as unsatisfactory. Baptisms in 1895 were few in comparison with the 1892 record, but De Souza was confident that every phase of the program was "on the line of advance." [284]

BURMA DISTRICT, 1884-87

Rangoon (Burma) was first listed as an appointment in 1878, "left to be supplied." * The Burma Mission, Thoburn says, "was thrust upon us, rather than sought by us." Over a period of more than four years he had received invitations from Calcutta converts who had removed to Rangoon to organize a church there. Finally he decided "to go and see if God had anything for us to do" in that city. In the meantime William Taylor had sent out Robert E. Carter from Ohio. It was not until Thoburn received a telegram saying Carter and wife had actually arrived that he left Calcutta for Burma. On reaching Rangoon on May 11, 1879, he immediately began a two weeks' series of meetings for the English-speaking people in the Baptist Mission Chapel.

> At the end of two weeks . . . we . . . were in possession of a valuable plot of land [donated by the city of Rangoon] at the corner of two main streets, on which to build a church and parsonage. We had an organized church of sixty or seventy members, a Sunday-school in operation, had held our first Quarterly Conferences, had licensed one local preacher and two or three exhorters, had held our first class-meeting and love-feast, and had commenced street-preaching in three different languages.

Services in Tamil and Telugu were begun by the Hindu converts. At the next Conference (January, 1880) Carter was assigned to Bangalore and J. E. Robinson was appointed to the mission. In March, 1880, a church was dedicated. In 1881 in response to an appeal from Robinson the W.F.M.S. sent Miss Ellen Warner of Berea, Ohio, to establish an English girls' school in Rangoon. The school opened in January, 1882, with twelve pupils. By 1882 the mission had made substantial advancement, particularly among the Tamils, and a Sunday school with fifty pupils and a Society of twenty-eight members, including probationers, had been organized.[285]

When Burma was set off as a separate District (1884) J. E. Robinson†

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* The American Baptists had at this time a strong mission in Rangoon with a Sunday evening service in English, a printing establishment, and all departments of vernacular work. There was also an English Presbyterian church—attended principally by Scotch people, merchants and government officials—and an Anglican pro-cathedral.

† John E. Robinson (1849-1922) was born in Gort, County Galway, Ireland, on Feb. 12, 1849, and in 1865 emigrated to America to engage in business. When in 1870 he was converted he decided that he must enter the ministry and entered Drew Theological Seminary for training. When he heard

was made Presiding Elder and Sam P. Long, recently arrived from America, was assigned to the church. This year Singapore, Straits Settlements, appeared among the appointments of the District. Requests had come for several years to Thoburn, as Presiding Elder of the Calcutta District, for preaching services at Singapore, far beyond the boundary of the Conference. At first he gave slight attention to the invitations but as they continued to be received he finally became convinced that "God was beckoning . . . onward to one more advanced post." Early in 1884 he sent a call to the *Western Christian Advocate* for two volunteers. About twenty young men offered themselves for the mission but none seemed to have quite the qualifications needed. Bishop John F. Hurst on his way to India met a resident of Singapore who impressed him with the missionary opportunity which the city offered. His first question on meeting Thoburn was, "What can we do for Singapore?" When the South India Conference was convened in Hyderabad for its ninth session, on November 20, 1884, a proposal was brought forward to establish a foreign mission in the Straits Settlements, to be directed by the Methodists of India, the first enterprise of the kind ever to be considered. The Conference had no financial resources to fall back upon for establishing a new mission but this seemed to occasion little concern. Oldham at the time was on the ocean approaching India. It was impossible to reach him for consultation but the Conference authorities had full confidence in his ability, courage, and loyalty, and when the appointments were read William F. Oldham was announced as missionary to Singapore. As soon as Conference had adjourned Thoburn hastened to Bombay to meet the Oldhams and convey the news to them. They were startled but not disturbed.

> I had prayed for some days that God would make me willing to go to any post in all India to which I might be sent, and I at last had reached a point where I felt I was perfectly willing for any place selected for me in all this empire; but it never once dawned upon my thoughts that they would shoot me clear through the empire, and fifteen hundred miles out on the other side.[286]

Plans for beginning the mission were soon made. Accompanied by Thoburn, Oldham proceeded at once to Singapore and within two weeks of their arrival a Methodist Society was organized. Soon a Chinese day school was established, followed by a boarding school, and by February, 1887, the erection of a church and a school building.

At the February, 1887, South India Conference, Robinson was moved

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that William Taylor was asking for "unmarried men who could sing" he volunteered for India, was admitted on trial to the Central Illinois Conference, and reached the field on Dec. 18, 1874. He served the English language churches of Secunderabad, Bangalore, and Rangoon, and later was Presiding Elder of the Burma, Bombay, and Calcutta Districts. In 1876 he married Henrietta L. Terry of New York. He was a prolific writer, producing numerous books and pamphlets, historical and apologetic. In 1904 he was elected Missionary Bishop for India. His death occurred in Bangalore on Feb. 15, 1922. James R. Joy wrote of him: "Deeply religious, forever talking and living his religion, but saved from being sanctimonious . . . [by his Irish] sense of humor and warmth of sympathy. Everybody loved him, . . . [and] he continually made conquest of individual hearts, and working unceasingly with voice, pen and hand, . . . built up the church."—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *Christian Advocate,* XCVII (1922), 8 (Feb. 23), 220.

from Burma by Bishop Ninde and made Presiding Elder of the Bombay District. His report to the Conference carried the implication that Burma had been looked upon as the stepchild of the South India Conference:

> For the last seven years appeals have been regularly brought to each Conference Session for reinforcements to allow of extension in many inviting directions; but so far as Burmah is concerned, in all these years only one additional preacher has been sent, and he, at the end of his first year, was left alone, his colleague having been withdrawn through necessity. So that in the matter of preachers, the Burmah field is practically where it was seven years ago, and all that could be done has been . . . to strengthen to the utmost possible extent the single station in which our work had been established.[287]

To succeed Robinson, Oldham was appointed in 1887 Presiding Elder of the Burma District and pastor at Singapore. In the vast area included within the District there were but three centers: Rangoon and Toungoo in Burma, and Singapore, Straits Settlements, Malay Peninsula. From Singapore to Rangoon by sea was a distance of approximately twelve hundred miles. In 1888 the Burma District became a part of the Bengal Conference.

CENTRAL INDIA DISTRICT, 1884-95

The Central India District * was formed at the 1884 Conference with five appointments.† Clark P. Hard was appointed Presiding Elder. His reports over the eight years that he continued in this office are almost wholly devoid of historical information concerning District developments.

The first new mission to be opened in the District was Burhanpur, begun in 1887 by A. S. E. Vardon. During his first year two boys' schools were established, a Hindustani and a Marathi, with a combined enrollment of sixty pupils. Vardon found that his small dispensary "kept the ears and hearts of the people open." Scripture portions were sold in 1889 in fifty villages, and ten thousand tracts were distributed. At the 1890 Bengal Conference Burhanpur, as previously stated, was joined with Khandwa, an arrangement which was continued for two years. In 1893 a defection of some of the baptized converts occurred but two of the apostates, with their families, were soon regained. At the 1895 Conference the Burhanpur Indian Society reported fourteen full members and one probationer.[288]

Bengal Conference, 1888-95

The vast size of the South India Conference created almost insuperable administrative difficulties and finally led to its division. At the February, 1887,

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* When the Bengal Conference was organized in January, 1888, the Central India District was included under the name Ajmer District. In 1889 the name was changed again to Nerbudda Valley District. In December, 1892, it was transferred to the Bombay Conference and renamed Central Provinces District.

† The five appointments of the Central India District in 1884 were: Ajmer; Harda and Khandwa; Jabalpur; Mhow; and Nagpur. Account of these Stations and Circuits has already been given in connection with the Districts with which they were associated in earlier years.

Central Conference, Bishop Ninde by authority of the General Conference[*] divided South India into two Annual Conferences—one to retain the original name and the other to be called Bengal.

Railroad lines were instrumental in determining boundaries. A railway which extended from Peshawar, the capital of the Northwest Frontier Province, to Calcutta—a distance of 1,588 miles—was made the base line. Singapore in the Malay Peninsula marked the eastern bound. The two extreme points of the new Conference were 4,300 miles apart. Geographically, it was the largest of the three India Conferences. Within its borders dwelt an aggregate population of about 150,000,000 people.

The Bengal Conference was organized with four Districts: Calcutta, Ajmer, Mussooree, and Burma. In 1891 the Tirhut District, in Bihar Province, was added. When the preachers within the boundaries which had been determined met in the Dharamtala Church, Calcutta, January 13, 1888, for organization —twenty-one members and thirteen probationers[†]—no Bishop was present. Dennis Osborne was elected president. The Conference this year had fourteen English charges with 555 full members and 153 probationers. It had fifteen Indian charges with 201 full members and 320 probationers.[‡] At this first session, in consideration of the immense distance between stations, a resolution was adopted asking the General Conference to organize all "the unoccupied region East of India [Malaysia and Burma] . . . into a separate mission."

On January 14, 1888, concurrent with the organization of the Conference, a Bengal "Woman's Missionary Conference" was organized. The constitution of the North India Woman's Missionary Conference was adopted, and Mrs. S. P. Long was elected president. Six missionaries were present.

Missionaries found life in Bengal and Burma difficult. For health and other reasons a number left the work. In 1889, after a little more than a year in India, Robert H. Craig returned to America because of the illness of his daughter. L. R. Janney left in the same year. Ray Allen, after two years, returned as a result of the serious illness of his wife and his own ill health. After three years' stay William A. Carroll and Alfred G. Creamer returned home, and after four years J. M. Thoburn, Jr., and Charles M. Miller. Dr.

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[*] *G. C. Journal,* 1884: ". . . the South India Conference shall have authority during the coming quadrennium to divide the same into two Annual Conferences, with such names and boundaries as they may appoint, the Bishop presiding . . . concurring therein [pp. 232, 345]." The General Conference also gave authority to the two Conferences (North India and South India) to change names and boundaries. The 1892 General Conference changed the name of the Bengal Conference to "Bengal-Burmah Conference," and its area to "consist of Bengal, Bakar [Bihar], and Burmah."—*G. C. Journal,* 1892, p. 408.

[†] The charter members of the Conference were: Ray Allen, F. J. Blewitt, Robert H. Craig, A. G. Creamer, C. W. R. DeSouza, A. Gilruth, C. P. Hard, Levan R. Janney, E. Jeffries, F. L. McCoy, J. P. Meik, C. M. Miller, T. E. F. Morton, Ralph W. Munson, D. Osborne, W. F. Oldham, James M. Thoburn, James M. Thoburn, Jr., A. S. E. Vardon, Frank W. Warne, J. D. Webb. Probationers: E. S. Busby, William P. Byers, W. A. Carroll, Charles G. Conklin, S. N. Das, Louis H. Koepsel, S. P. Long, Niels Madsen, Proshono C. Nath, F. D. Newhouse, C. H. Plomer, Paul Singh, Matthew Tindale. One layman, W. G. T. Mulligan, was appointed.

[‡] There were also twenty-one English Local Preachers; twelve church buildings; and fifteen Sunday schools. In the Indian work there were fifteen Local Preachers; two churches; seventeen boys' schools with 808 pupils; and six girls' schools with 196 pupils.—*Minutes, Bengal Conference,* 1888, pp. 58, 61, 64.

Frank L. McCoy, Presiding Elder of the Calcutta District in 1889, felt that departures after a brief service were not in all cases justified:

> I do not raise the question of right or duty in this matter, these brethren acted in harmony with the 'powers that be,' . . . . But I can only regret that the awful rent that has been made, and deplore the evil report that has gone out from Bengal Conference. The easy and rapid return of missionary workers is demoralizing and destructive.

The Conference also passed a resolution much to the same effect. It deprecated the sending out of missionaries "except in rare cases, to work specified before their coming, and for limited terms." The practice, it stated, tended "to destroy the Missionary spirit which should seal men to the foreign work for life," and also to limit the appointing power of the officers of the Conference.[289]

Despite all vicissitudes the years 1889-95 witnessed marked institutional expansion in the Bengal Conference. In 1888 the government offered valuable property at Pakur "for Mission premises and Native Orphanage" at Rs. 18,000 and the mission accepted. In 1891 the girls' orphanage had twenty children; the boys' orphanage a somewhat smaller number.

An asylum for lepers was completed and occupied in 1889 at Roorkee, and in 1892 two others at Asansol, one for men and one for women, were erected —funds for these latter supplied in part by a Scotch leper association and the remainder by local contributors.

The distressing amount of extreme poverty in Calcutta revealed by a government report—twenty-two per cent of the Eurasian population paupers —moved the mission to establish in 1893 an Industrial Home for unemployed men. Lodging and meals were provided in return for seven hours' work a day. In 1895, 120 men were cared for and employment was found for five hundred. So many orphan boys applied for shelter that a Boys' Orphanage was established in connection with the home.

In an article in the *Gospel in All Lands* in January, 1892, Bishop Thoburn proposed a Calcutta Methodist Brotherhood, somewhat after the order of the Oxford Club, whose members would dedicate themselves to missionary evangelism among the fifteen thousand or more students in the city, many of whom had come from distant parts of Bengal.

> I should like these young men to come to India pledged to remain unmarried at least four years . . . . I should wish them to live on half pay while thus members of a common brotherhood, and to devote themselves exclusively to work among the Bengalis. . . .
>
> Are there any four young men who have graduated, or are about to graduate, who will be willing to come out to India and undertake this kind of work early in the autumn of next year?

Two young men promptly responded to the Bishop's appeal—August Kullman and Benjamin J. Chew, and in 1893 the Brotherhood was formed.

Four young, unmarried missionaries—Edward S. Ekdahl and Franz E. Leiden the other two—lived together in a common home, engaged in a common work. Together they studied Bengali, conducted open-air services, did house-to-house visiting, and led some cottage prayer meetings. The band did not long hold together. In 1895 Kullman tired of celibate life, and married, and later Chew followed his example.

During the years 1889-95 twenty-three missionaries were received into the Bengal and Bengal-Burma Conferences.[*] In January, 1893, nine members and four probationers were transferred to the Northwest India Conference and eight to the Malaysia Mission Conference, which depleted the membership. However, numerous probationers through the years had been added [†] to the roll, and others continued to seek entry.[290]

CALCUTTA DISTRICT, 1888-95

The Calcutta District of Bengal Conference in 1888 had six charges.[‡] Following the departure of J. M. Thoburn, Jr., from India in 1888, Frank L. McCoy[§] was appointed Presiding Elder. A few weeks after the January, 1889, Conference—two years and one month after his arrival in India—death ended his career. Few, if any, Methodist missionaries made so strong an impression and won so many good friends as he. Frank W. Warne, pastor of the Dharamtala Church, was appointed to the District to succeed him. He, like Thoburn before him, found that his responsibilities in the city of Calcutta left him with little time or opportunity for District administration.

The District, however, could point to an active youth program. In 1894 it had six Epworth Leagues with a combined membership of 230. "Time would fail me to tell," wrote Warne,

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[*] Missionaries received (and their Conferences) 1889-95 were: 1889, Henry and Helen Walker Jackson, New York; Philo M. and Carrie McMillan Buck, North India; William N. Brewster, Cincinnati; Charles A. Gray, Ohio (died in Singapore, 1889); 1890, Lewis A. Core, West Virginia (m. 1894, Mary Kennedy); William R. and Charlotte Force Clancy, North India; Antone Dutt, South India; Homer C. and Estelle Clark Stuntz, South India; 1891, Julius H. and Mary Price Smith, St. Louis; James and Lilias Rhenius Lyon, South India; Guru Diyal Spencer Singh, North India; John C. and Myrtle Haynes Floyd, Michigan; Ernest A. Bell, Pittsburgh; Albert T. and Minnie J. Leonard, North India. Daniel D. Moore was received on his credentials from the Canada Methodist Church. In 1892, Thomas S. Johnson, M.D., and Amanda R. Johnson, George F. and Kate Dixon Hopkins, John W. McGregor, and Edwin T. Farnon, all from North India; 1893, August Kullman, New Jersey (m. 1895, Adeline Weatherby); Benjamin J. Chew, West Virginia (m. 1899, Flora Widdifield); 1894, Gerhard J. and Elizabeth Bell Schilling, Malaysia Mission Conference; 1895, David H. Lee, East Ohio.

[†] Those received on trial 1889-95 were: 1889, Benjamin F. West, M.D., and Letty Graham West; 1890, F. E. Warner, Henry Gershom; 1891, Benjamin H. Balderston (layman), Y. Cornelius, W. T. Kensett, B. Luther, William G. Shellabear (army engineer); 1892, J. T. Robertson, Charles Dowring, J. S. Joseph, E. W. Gay, J. Sumer; 1893, John F. Deatker, William Peters, John Robert; 1894, Joseph Culshaw, Edward S. Ekdahl, George S. Henderson, Franz E. Leiden, James Martyn, Jawala Singh, Nain Sukh; 1895, B. Nath.

[‡] The six charges of the Calcutta District in 1888 were: the English church, Dharamtala; Calcutta Bengali Mission and Pakur Circuit; Calcutta Hindustani Mission; Hastings Seamen's Mission; Lal Bazaar Seamen's Mission; and Asansol. Account of all these missions has already been given.

[§] Frank L. McCoy was born in Ballinamore, County Leitrim, Ireland, on Jan. 28, 1856, and died on Feb. 13, 1889. At sixteen he emigrated to America and for three years worked in an Akron, Ohio, factory. During this time he was converted and in 1874 entered Mount Union College. Before graduation he went to Michigan and began to preach. In 1877 he was received on trial in the Michigan Conference and during 1879-81 served as pastor at Otsego. From Otsego he went to Albion College, and in 1884 received his B.A. He continued his studies and later received the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. He arrived in India on Jan. 14, 1887, and was at once appointed editor of the *Indian Witness.* His sudden death was an irreparable loss to the Christian mission in India.—Obituary, *Minutes, Bengal Conference,* 1890, pp. 48 ff.

> of all the work of the Leagues on the District such as money raised, missionary offerings, cottage meetings held, hospital services, alms house services weekly, strangers hunted up and welcomed, and to have this in all the churches and united in a District League is in our opinion getting the foundations well laid.[291]

On his arrival in Calcutta in 1889 Henry Jackson was designated to open a mission in Muzaffarpur, a city of some sixty thousand population, and one of the most important centers in the densely populated Tirhut district, that portion of Bihar which lies north of the Ganges. He held English services weekly in the city and in Samastipur. Bazaar preaching was also begun. Mrs. Jackson curtained off a corner of the mission house veranda and, though not a physician, established a dispensary which soon drew daily fifty women and children. The mission was short on native helpers. Through the W.F.M.S., three girls' schools were opened.

The opening of a mission at Bolpur, a hundred miles northeast of Calcutta, was assigned in 1892 to J. P. Meik. In 1894 he reported that he was "sowing beside all waters" and that reaping had begun. As before at Pakur, his wife worked closely with the women. The first school was forced to close but by 1893 antagonism had been overcome and the school was reopened. By 1894 two thousand Bibles and Scripture portions had been sold and in addition four thousand hymnbooks and tracts. The lack of a tent, a cart, and bullocks hindered progress but in 1895 these were procured. A break was made and some were baptized.

A mission among the Oriya people who had come to Calcutta from Bihar, the Central Provinces, Orissa, and elsewhere was established in 1891. In 1892 the Presiding Elder reported twenty-two men, sixteen women, and thirteen children in the congregation. H. N. Samuel, a Local Preacher, was assigned to the mission in 1893 as a supply, and recruited fifteen full members and forty-two probationers. A boys' school of twenty-seven pupils and a girls' school of twenty-five were established. By 1894 four congregations, using four different languages, had been established.[292]

AJMER (CENTRAL INDIA; CENTRAL PROVINCES) DISTRICT, 1888-95

When the Ajmer (formerly Central India) District in 1888 became a part of the Bengal Conference it had eight charges.* C. P. Hard was continued as Presiding Elder. In 1892 he was succeeded by T. S. Johnson, transferred this year from North India. The District was enlarged to include all of the Methodist work within the Central Provinces of India. While the Church had been firmly planted in a number of strategic centers a large part of the area was still a virgin field. In his 1894 report Johnson recorded observations made on a journey of three hundred miles through regions where the Gospel had never been heard.

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* The eight charges of the Ajmer District in 1888 were: Ajmer English Circuit; Ajmer native Circuit and Boys' Orphanage; Ajmer village work; Bharatpur Mission; Burhanpur Mission; Jabalpur and Railway Circuit; Khandwa; and Mhow English church and native mission. Account of these missions has already been given.

> Large portions of the populations are descendants of the aboriginal tribes of the country, are very simple and accessible, and the whole region promises to be a most fruitful missionary field. The country is hot and very malarious but when we can find men and women willing to leave civilization and go into this kind of jungle, and money to support them, we may expect great results.

At the close of 1895 there were five boarding schools in the District—at Jabalpur, Narsinghpur, Kamptee, Khandwa, and Basim—and at Harda a beginning had been made which, it was thought, might later develop into a boarding school. "The number," Johnson said, "will soon have to be increased." [293]

To Gadarwara, eighty miles west of Jabalpur, Jacob Samuel was appointed in 1889. At the next Conference Gadarwara and Harda were listed as a single appointment and to the Circuit T. E. F. Morton and Samuel were assigned. In the 1891 *Minutes* Gadarwara appeared again as a separate station under Devjee, a graduate of Bareilly Theological Seminary, and eight assistants. In 1892 a new station, Bankheri, was added to the Gadarwara Circuit, but next year the field was left to another denomination which had also entered. Workers changed from year to year and little progress was recorded.

Chhindwara was separated from the Jabalpur Circuit at the 1891 Bengal Conference and set on its own feet. For one year it was served by a supply pastor. In 1892 John W. McGregor was appointed to the charge but could give to it only part-time. Under these circumstances little could be expected in results. In November, 1894, the Society reported fifteen full members and twelve probationers.

At Narsinghpur, fifty-three miles west of Jabalpur, previously a part of the Jabalpur Circuit, in November, 1891, the Methodists purchased from the Swedish Mission* a valuable property, consisting of a large hall, two bungalows, and "wide shaded fields." At the January, 1892, Conference Hard was appointed to the Narsinghpur Circuit. About thirty men selected from newly baptized people of many villages were organized into a training school in preparation for work as pastor teachers. H. W. Butterfield, a Local Preacher who had resigned a government position that he, with his wife, might devote their lives to missionary service, was placed in charge of the school. The wives of the married men were taught in the Female Training School by Ada Nash, W.F.M.S. assistant, and Mrs. Butterfield. In 1893 a boys' boarding school was opened in close proximity to the training school.[294] The regular women's program found its opening among Bengali and Mohammedan women, primarily of the most influential class.

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* The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission had been at work at Narsinghpur since 1878. At the Third Decennial Missionary Conference at Bombay, 1892, the secretary of the Swedish Mission publicly indicated displeasure of the entrance of the Methodists to the area and expressed strong disapproval of their methods of evangelization.—*Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay, 1892-93,* II, 625 f.

MUSSOOREE DISTRICT, 1888-92

The Mussooree District, following transfer to the Bengal Conference (1888), the first year had nine charges.* The District included part of the Northwest Provinces and the Punjab. Dennis Osborne remained Presiding Elder. The year 1891 registered a remarkable advance. Within fifteen months more than two thousand persons were baptized, an advance in which every Circuit shared. New areas were opened and improvements made in church organization.

Religious meetings for the nonconformist troops in Multan were begun in 1888 by C. G. Conklin. He was given the use of the troops' "Prayer Room," where he held services regularly on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. He also held meetings for the railway employees and endeavored to establish an English Sunday school. Conklin felt that opportunity was favorable for beginning Indian work but obstructions developed and the station disappeared from the list of appointments in 1891. In 1894 it was reopened by J. F. Deatker. In addition to services for the troops, native work was begun and 156 persons baptized during the year. The Society reported this year (1894) forty-eight full members and sixty-one probationers. The wives of the missionary and of the native pastor visited among the women of Multan.

Deoband, in the Saharanpur region, a city of thirty thousand population, on the railway, where no missionaries were at work, appealed to Osborne as "an important and accessible mission field." Archibald Gilruth opened a preaching place and established a boys' school in the city in January, 1888. Opposition was so strong that it was considered wise to suspend the school temporarily. Later it was reopened in a less public location. A Local Preacher who was a qualified physician established a dispensary which met with immediate favor. Numbers of patients from the city and surrounding villages were treated successfully. At the 1889 Conference J. D. Webb was appointed to the mission. Deoband and Muzaffarnagar were combined in a Circuit and the work was extended to several other places. A girls' school and two Sunday schools were conducted at Muzaffarnagar. In 1894 five Exhorters and pastor-teachers were working in cooperation with Joshi Sumer, an influential Indian minister. During the year 198 women were baptized on the Circuit.[295]

At Patiala, in the state of the same name—the largest of the native states of the Punjab—a mission was opened in August, 1889. In 1890 Antone Dutt was appointed to the mission. Everywhere on his preaching tours he found attentive listeners but little response. For two years he toiled almost without result but finally on August 10, 1891, the break came, and there "were 107 baptisms on a single evening."

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* The nine charges of the Mussooree District in 1888 were: Mussooree English church; Mussooree and Rajpura mission; Allahabad English church; Hardwar Mission; Lahore English church; Lahore Hindustani Mission; Multan; Roorkee; and Deoband. With exception of Multan and Deoband, account of all has been previously given. The Mussooree District was transferred to the Northwest India Conference in 1893.—*Minutes, Northwest India Conference,* 1893, p. 23.

> Since then the flames have burst on the adjacent villages, and the missionary with reinforced staff has all he can do to keep pace with the rapidly growing openings.

In 1894 Patiala had four sub-Circuits. During the year there were 120 baptisms. Twenty-two workers were employed under the supervision of E. T. Farnon. Twelve day schools enrolled 105 pupils, and sixteen Sunday schools had an average attendance of 725. Progress was hindered by lack of a church and a house for the pastor. Three teachers, a Bible reader, and the pastor's wife were engaged in women's work.[296]

TIRHUT DISTRICT, 1891-95

Tirhut District was formed at the 1891 Conference, with Henry Jackson as Presiding Elder. Four appointments were listed for occupation: Muzaffarpur, Samastipur and Samastipur village work (where Jackson had made his start), and Darbhanga. At the close of the year he reported "five stations" occupied, Sitamarh and Chapra in addition to the others. All of the towns were on the railroad line. He was hampered by the lack of native helpers to draw upon in this new field. He had been compelled, he reported, to use "such men as . . . [he] could find, and they . . . [had] not given satisfaction." Among the hundreds who had heard the Word were "very many who . . . [had] heard it for the first time." Two orphanages had been established, a boys' school, and three girls' schools with an average attendance of seventeen pupils. The girls' schools were in the care of Mrs. Jackson, and the dispensary was operated by Mary Ward, formerly a Bareilly orphanage pupil. At Samastipur Sunday evening services in English were held, but as many of the railway employees were usually on duty at the time of the church service attendance was irregular.

By 1894-95 Jackson had assistants of whom he could give a better report and the District, he felt, had "begun a new era." There had been baptisms at each station, at Bettiah, a station added in 1894, ninety; at Muzaffarpur, eleven; at Darbhanga, 152; at Chapra, fifty-nine; in all, at six stations, 324.[297] As for women's work, however, he was somewhat disturbed for the schools at all the appointments were closed one year for lack of appropriation and another year the dispensary met the same fate, a great loss to the work.

BURMA DISTRICT, 1888-95

When in January, 1888, the Burma District became part of the Bengal Conference it listed seven appointments.* For one year W. F. Oldham served as Presiding Elder. He was succeeded by Sam P. Long, who in turn was followed in 1891 by Julius H. Smith of the St. Louis Conference.

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* The seven appointments were: Rangoon, English church; Rangoon, Burmese Mission; Rangoon, Seamen's Mission; Rangoon, Tamil and Telugu Mission; Singapore, English church and Chinese Mission; Singapore, Anglo-Chinese School; and Penang.

When Smith had been a year in the field he was convinced that the great opportunity of the Burma Mission was not with the English work, which had been given the priority for years, nor with the Tamil and Telugu immigrants who after a few years almost invariably returned to India, but with the Burmese, among whom a decided change in attitude toward Christian schools had taken place. While in earlier years they could only with difficulty be persuaded to patronize missionary schools, by 1892 they regarded them with favor. "We have now more than one hundred and twenty children in our Burmese schools," Smith reported, "two-thirds of whom have been gathered into schools this year." Nevertheless, since Burma had a mixed population, it was considered necessary to maintain preaching services in no less than five languages—Burmese, Tamil, Telugu, Chinese, and English.

The Burmese work was at first slow-moving. As early as 1887, the Rangoon English church undertook to support a missionary to these people on the grant-in-aid plan. The language itself, however, was a barrier, and with the shortage of workers time could not be spared for intensive study. Nonetheless, in Rangoon two day schools, separating the sexes, were in operation by the early nineties, as well as a Sunday school. When two new men—J. T. Robertson, formerly of the Salvation Army, and G. J. Schilling, supported by the Montclair, New Jersey, church—came into the Conference prepared to enter Burmese work, for the first time it was given a firm footing. Centers were started in Thongwa and Pegu, and the first property bought for a mission house.

When her husband was made Presiding Elder Mrs. Smith was given charge of the general work for women in Rangoon which—other than the girls' school—included an orphanage, a deaconess home, and a Burmese school. The orphanage grew slowly year by year until in 1894 thirty-nine children were being cared for, of whom thirty were dependent upon the W.F.M.S. for support. Only a small appropriation was available for the Burmese girls' school but under Mrs. Smith's frugal management excellent work was done.

The English language missions in Rangoon continued to grow, although at a slow pace. The English church in 1893 had attained a membership of 165, having climbed from ninety-two in 1887. Revival meetings in 1894, led by Dennis Osborne, increased the membership to two hundred. The Seamen's Mission required much of the time and effort of the pastor. During the busy season of rice shipments audiences of more than one hundred sailors attended the evening services. During 1893 "a score or more . . . including some officers, were converted."

At the time the Burma District was formed, there were in Rangoon twenty-eight Tamil and Telugu converts, for whom a Society had been organized and a school established. Oldham considered 1887 the best year that mission had thus far experienced. The Tamil work was in the charge of Ezra Peters, who preached on the streets and in the church and conducted a small school.

R. E. Cully, a Local Preacher, engaged in similar work among the Telugu people and taught a boys' school. The school was not permanently successful and in 1893 was discontinued. In 1895 the Tamil and Telugu church reported fifty-six full members and forty-nine probationers.

A small Chinese mission in Rangoon was begun in 1894 by a Chinese layman from Vancouver, whose work was supported by a British army major. "It moves slowly," the Presiding Elder reported at the close of the Conference year, "but there have been three baptisms." [298]

The other major appointment in Burma was Toungoo, which had first appeared in the *Minutes* in 1886. In 1887 the mission was under the care of C. G. Conklin, a Local Preacher of the Rangoon Quarterly Conference, and his wife Mary McKesson Conklin, who were at work among the Tamils. Together they also conducted a day school and a boarding school, and held English services for the garrison. Conklin's successor in 1888 was unable to hold the interest of the soldiers. Some converts had been made among the Tamils and a mission continued to be maintained with an Exhorter, Joseph, in charge until 1895.[299]

In 1895 Smith asked the Missionary Society whether it would support "the planting of missionary stations throughout Burma on an industrial basis." He cited the example of the Roman Catholic Church which, he said, had successful "coffee plantations in the Karen hills." The Board, doubtless with the failure of industrial experiments in India in mind, replied that it was "not expedient to grant this request." [300]

Bombay Conference, 1892-95

The 1892 General Conference for the second time divided the South India Conference to create the Bombay Conference.* The organizing Conference met in Bombay on December 22, 1892. Bishop Thoburn presided. Twenty-three ministers were recognized as members.† The Bishop announced the transfer of Horace A. Crane from the North Nebraska Conference and of William E. L. Clarke from the South India Conference.‡ When organized the Conference had three Districts: Bombay, Central Provinces, and Sind; and twenty-five charges with 814 full members and 1,112 probationers. Devotees of three great historic religions—Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Zoroastrianism—were found in large numbers among the more than forty-five million inhabitants of the area. Vernaculars deemed of such importance as to be included in the Conference course of study were Marathi, Gujarati, Hindustani (including both Urdu and Hindi), Sanskrit, and Arabic.

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* The fourth Central Conference at its meeting in Calcutta in January, 1892, asked for five Annual Conferences in India, the fifth—the Bombay Conference—to "consist of the Bombay Presidency, the Central Provinces, Berars, that portion of the Nizam's Dominions north of the Godavery River and all of Central India south of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude."—*G. C. Journal,* 1892, pp. 408, 412, 413.

† The charter members of the Conference were: *Elders,* Thomas S. Johnson, Daniel O. Fox, William E. Robbins, Clark P. Hard, John E. Robinson, George I. Stone, William W. Bruere, William H. Stephens, Gyanoba Khandaji, Algernon S. E. Vardon, Thomas E. F. Morton, Arthur W. Prautch, Clayton E. Delamater. Edwin F. Frease, George F. Hopkins, Fawcett E. N. Shaw, John O. Denning, John W. McGregor, Paul Singh, Archibald Gilruth. *Deacons,* Gangadhar B. Kali, Charles G. Elsam. *Probationer,* William H. Grenon. Also transferred were Horace A. Crane and W. E. L. Clarke.

‡ In the following three years those transferred were: 1893 none; 1894, William Feistkorn, North Indiana Conference; Frank R. Felt, Detroit Conference; William A. Moore, readmitted; 1895, Thomas P. Fisher, East Ohio Conference. Those received on trial, 1892-95, were: 1892, H. W. Butterfield; 1894, Thomas M. Hudson; Samuel Benjamin; Gottlob Engel; 1895, Sakharam Bhosle.

As elsewhere in India the Conference missionary program was soon crippled by health breakdown of missionaries. Within two years E. F. Frease was compelled to return to America for recuperation; H. A. Crane was smitten with disease; and W. E. Robbins, C. P. Hard, Archibald Gilruth, and C. E. Delamater became supernumerary.

An important change of policy as regards schools was made in 1892, because of the increasing number of converts for whom no systematic education was provided:

> the time has come when the demands on us for educating Christian children and inquirers are so urgent that we deem it advisable to open no more Schools for purely Hindu and Mohammedan children. We are more than ever satisfied that whatever may have been necessary in times past, the present time requires that we confine ourselves to the teaching of those who are with us, or willing to receive us.[301]

BOMBAY DISTRICT, 1892-95

The Bombay District of Bombay Conference in 1892 had fourteen charges.* John E. Robinson was appointed Presiding Elder. At the second session of the Conference he said that by comparing the District with the same territory as it existed a few years earlier there were abundant evidences of real progress.

> There can be no question as to numerical and material advance—the increase in membership being over 50 per cent in the past five years; and the character and efficiency of our mission agents [workers] have undoubtedly improved. Our native Christian community, as a whole, though not numerically large, has become more intelligently spiritual; and a calm and careful survey of the membership cannot but satisfy us that notwithstanding some serious drawbacks and unsatisfactory elements, our people are really growing in grace and in the purifying and uplifting knowledge of God.[302]

The one great disadvantage was that, outside of the two cities, Bombay and Poona, the District had but one missionary who was giving himself wholly to village work—"the particular work which everywhere yields the largest and speediest results." In no other part of India were the energies of the missionaries so absorbed in purely English work.

Robinson was gratified by the condition of the Sunday schools on the District. "Well organised, efficiently superintended, carefully instructed," he believed them to be doing a grand work. He referred again in 1894 to "the development of intelligent piety" of the Indian members of the Church. "The workers generally," wrote Robinson, "are manifestly being established in the faith and are bringing forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness in their lives." As for the English churches he was certain that there were no congregations in the entire Methodist Connection that "in proportion to their ability, do better in . . . pastoral support and liberal contributions to the various benevolences of the Church."

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* The fourteen charges of the Bombay District in 1892 were: Baroda, English church; Baroda Gujarati Mission; Bombay, English churches (Bowen Church, Grant Road Church); Bombay Gujarati Mission; Bombay Marathi Mission; Bombay Mazagon church; Bombay Seamen's Mission; Igatpuri; Kamptee, Nagpur, Poona, and Lonavla; Poona Marathi Mission; Thana. Account of these charges has been given.

A valuable sanitarium property at Pachmarhi was conveyed in 1894 to a Bombay District Board of Trustees by Mrs. Martha E. Lawrence.

In 1895 a most encouraging break came among the Gujarati. At the close of the year the Bombay District had a Christian community of six hundred where a year before it had "but a handful of converts all told."

> A glorious opportunity, but a tremendous responsibility. . . . Thus far the missionaries responsible for the work in Gujarat have been favored in being able to make fairly good provision for the initial instruction of the flock; but they have to face the immediate establishment of training schools for men and women, boarding schools for boys and girls, and—most urgent of all—proper provision for the nurture of the women whose ignorance and backward state loudly plead for special effort in their behalf.[303]

At the December, 1895, Conference a Gujarat District was formed by cutting off the province of Gujarat and the Gujarati work in the city of Bombay from the Bombay District.

CENTRAL PROVINCES DISTRICT, 1892-95

Eleven charges* were included in the Central Provinces District in the first year of the Bombay Conference (1892). Thomas S. Johnson was Presiding Elder. The District was enlarged this year to include all of the work of the Church within the Central Provinces.

In 1895 Johnson announced that Basim in Berar had been "transferred with its Missionaries and Helpers and property worth Rs. 15,000 from Dr. Cullis' Faith Mission, to the Methodist Episcopal Church." A Methodist Society had been organized which this year reported eleven full members and seven probationers.

Bhusawal first appeared as a separate station in 1893. A church for the English congregation was begun this year. The English community was large and Johnson felt that not enough attention had been given to it in earlier years.[304]

SIND DISTRICT, 1892-95

The Sind District, included in Bombay Conference in 1892 with George I. Stone as Presiding Elder, had four charges.† The District extended from Karachi by the sea to Quetta on the northern frontier of Baluchistan. It comprised all of the provinces of Sind and Baluchistan. "It has cost constant toil," Stone reported at the close of the first year, "sore disappointments, much prayer and patience, and some tears to reach the [first] mile stone, but thank God we 'got there.' "

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* The eleven charges of the Central Provinces District in 1892 were: Burhanpur; Bhusawal; Chhindwara; Gadarwara; Harda; Jabalpur; Jabalpur English church; Kamptee; Khandwa; Nagpur; and Narsinghpur. For account of these see earlier pages.

† The four charges of the Sind District in 1892, of which account has been previously given, were: Karachi, English church; Karachi Seamen's Mission; Karachi Marathi Mission; and Quetta.

There were many populous towns on the Indus River, along the Northwestern Railway, and in the interior, in which the Gospel had never been preached. To the Presiding Elder the District, with a small amount of missionary money appropriated for cultivation, and a very few missionaries allocated to it—only two in 1893, and one in 1894—constituted an immense problem. "To properly work the field," he estimated, "would employ one hundred missionaries and a lac [100,000] of rupees annually." [305]

Women's Work in South India

Organized women's work under W.F.M.S. auspices in South India was slow in getting under way. Although the South India Conference was not organized until 1876, it was two years later before the Society sent a missionary to the South India field. The second W.F.M.S. missionary arrived in 1880 and the third in 1881.

Several years passed before a Woman's Conference organization was in operation. Eventually—on January 29, 1886—the South India Woman's Missionary Conference was formed under a constitution which stipulated that the wives of members and probationers of the South India Conference, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society appointees, deaconesses, and other workers formally elected by the body should be members. Women's appointments were listed in the Annual Conference *Minutes* under the designation "W.F.M.S." rather than "Woman's Missionary Conference," although many of the appointees were missionaries' wives not receiving salaries from the Society.

Not until 1889 did the South India Conference print in its *Minutes* a complete list of the women's appointments. This year, twenty-five women, six W.F.M.S. missionaries and nineteen wives of missionaries, were appointed to twenty-three missionary projects, predominantly girls' schools but including also combinations of girls' schools and zenana work, women's work in general, Bible women's work, medical work, and editor's desk. This gave formal recognition to the many different types of missionary service carried on in the Conference by women. Two years earlier, however, the W.F.M.S., in addition to the six missionaries in service in the Conference, had had six medical assistants, 188 Bible women, and 103 Christian teachers. There were seven hundred pupils in the two boarding schools, and three thousand in day schools. Workers were regularly visiting 2,970 zenanas. While this represented a remarkable development within a single decade the Society keenly felt a need for more schools in which to educate the children of church members; for a larger proportion of girls' schools; and for training schools for Christian workers. All six of the Indian and Eurasian assistant missionaries had been educated in other missions. "We cannot expect to carry on our work successfully," the Society declared, "without laying foundations broad and deep."[306]

In both of the Annual Conferences which split off from South India, women's Conferences were organized. At the first session of the Bengal Conference (January, 1888) six women united to set up a Woman's Missionary Conference. Of the six, four were wives of missionaries. The constitution of the North India Woman's Conference, with a few necessary changes, was adopted. Mrs. S. P. Long was elected president. Brief sessions were held on each of three days for the consideration of women's work in progress within the Bengal Conference. From the beginning the Conference published the W.F.M.S. appointment list. The second year, twenty-one W.F.M.S. missionaries, wives, and deaconesses were appointed to girls' schools, orphanages, zenana work, and a Deaconess Home.

At the first session of the Bombay Conference six W.F.M.S. missionaries and sixteen missionaries' wives received appointments to various types of work for women and girls. One of the wives, Mrs. Bruere, was appointed to the Marathi Boys' Boarding School in Poona. The six missionaries were assigned to the two mission centers Bombay and Baroda.[307]

At practically all of the centers where missionaries of the parent Board were at work the W.F.M.S. sent representatives, most of whom were in charge of schools.

In 1877 an appeal was made to the W.F.M.S. for a teacher for the Calcutta Girls' School. A year later the request was renewed and in 1878 Margaret E. Layton was sent out by the Baltimore Branch, the first W.F.M.S. missionary to South India. For ten years before leaving for India she had been a successful teacher—for eight of these years in the Wesleyan College at Wilmington, Delaware. She "found the school in great need of help, with thirty-five boarders and eighty day pupils." In one of her earliest reports to the Society Miss Layton said she had never seen "so much to do and so little to do it with," but she was not easily discouraged. By her efforts within four years the school was built up to a point where applicants for admission had to be refused. Under her direction the school became known as "one of the best in the city" and Christian girls began going out from it to engage in zenana missionary work. To assist Miss Layton and later to replace her Margaret Hedrick, a graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University, was sent to the field in 1884 by the New York Branch. Miss Layton's failing health required her to return to America in 1886.* For more than five years she served with distinction as teacher, manager, disciplinarian, and Christian worker. Under her administration the institution became "the largest school of the W.F.M.S.," with two hundred pupils, and thirteen teachers besides the Americans. English, Eurasian,

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* Margaret E. Layton (1841-92) was devoted to missionary service. She returned to India in 1891, "when after a few months at Cawnpore, she died from a twelve-hours' illness of cholera, April 28, 1892."—Louise Manning Hodgkins, *The Roll Call* . . . , pp. 16 f.

German, Italian, Portuguese, Burmese, and African girls composed the student body, a truly interracial and international group. Of the large proportion of students in 1889 who had become Christians, seventy-seven had united with the Church.[308]

Ellen H. Warner (Ph.D.), head of the department of mathematics in Baldwin University, Berea, Ohio, volunteered to go to Rangoon, Burma, in response to Isabella Thoburn's call to establish Christian educational work for girls. She arrived in 1881 and within six months had received from the government "nine building lots, a very eligible site, valued at eight thousand dollars, and five thousand dollars in cash as a building fund, and four hundred and fifty dollars for furniture." No other missionary in South India had such financial support from government sources. She closed her first year with a self-supporting English school of sixty-seven girls, real estate worth $15,000. and "an established reputation." In 1885 Julia E. Wisner arrived as an assistant, and upon Miss Warner's marriage in 1887 took charge of the school. The next year Estella M. Files, a graduate of the Brockport (New York) normal school, came to her assistance. The program was gradually expanded until in 1890 in addition to the Girls' School, which had an enrollment of 180, the women's program included management of an orphanage, a "Woman's Work-shop," and work among the Burmese.[309]

Evangelistic and educational work for women was inaugurated in Bombay in 1884 by Sarah M. DeLine, sent to the field by the Northwestern Branch. She was described as "a very earnest Christian, a successful teacher . . . [with] great power in evangelistic work." She soon had a comprehensive program of zenana, day school, and Sunday-school work under way, with two Indian teachers and two Bible women as assistants. Later her plans were broadened to include other workers.

> She . . . associated with herself young women well fitted to witness for the Lord in the families of well-to-do Natives and . . . [had] a number of Bible Women . . . [to] visit the families of the Natives and public institutions such as hospitals.

The W.F.M.S. also sent Mary C. Elliott, who arrived in India in 1885, to give her assistance but after a year she married William H. Stephens. In 1887 Minnie F. Abrams joined the group as assistant missionary. A Christian girls' school was opened this year supervised by Miss Abrams and soon expanded into an orphanage and a boarding school. By 1891 there were three day schools, in addition to the Christian girls' school, open-air evangelistic meetings, and house-to-house visitation. Mary E. Carroll came to the field in 1888 and at once took a leading part in the program. Mary Kennedy, who had been a successful teacher in the Des Moines, Iowa, public schools, joined the staff of the Christian Girls' School in 1892 and the next year established a kindergarten. Miss Christina H. Lawson this same year came to the aid of Miss DeLine in zenana work. Illness and death seriously handicapped the women's program. Miss DeLine, because of ill health, left India in 1895 and in 1897 Mary Carroll died. A year later Miss Abrams became superintendent of an undenominational institution, the Ramabai Home for Indian widows. In 1894 Mary Kennedy married the Rev. L. A. Core of the parent Board.[310]

On her arrival in Madras with her husband in 1884, Mrs. A. W. Rudisill immediately noticed the lack of educational facilities for girls. Government schools and colleges had been provided for boys and young men only. An appeal was sent to the W.F.M.S. for funds and an appropriation was made by the Baltimore Branch to supply the need. To assist her Mrs. Rudisill enlisted Miss Grace Stephens,* who in 1886 established a zenana mission. Within a short time some thirty-five zenanas were being regularly visited. Mrs. Rudisill wrote of her: "Her work is a marvel to many who have been long in the mission field. She is gentle and winning in her manner, loves and respects those for whom she labors, and has strong faith in God." In 1887 Mary A. Hughes arrived from America and was given charge of the Madras women's work. With eight children as a nucleus she established an orphanage. A high-caste girls' school with an enrollment of twenty-five pupils was conducted in a zenana, and a day school for children of the depressed classes in Pudupet. In 1890 the responsibility was divided, Miss Hughes taking the orphanage and schools and Miss Stephens the zenana program. The next year Miss Hughes' marriage to D. O. Ernsberger left the entire program in Miss Stephens' capable hands. By 1894 the work under Miss Stephens encompassed the orphanage school, now with sixty pupils, three city day schools, five village schools, eight Sunday schools, and zenana visiting in six different districts. She had as helpers a matron and six young women assistants, three Bible women, four village schoolteachers, nine city schoolteachers, an evangelist, and two others. In addition she edited the Tamil *Woman's Friend,* a monthly periodical which had been begun by Mrs. Rudisill, and she also became superintendent of the Madras Deaconess Home.[311]

In 1886 an urgent request came to the W.F.M.S. for missionary assistance for women and children in Singapore. When the appeal came up for consideration in the General Executive meeting, the committee felt that the Society should not assume any additional responsibilities. But Mrs. Mary C. Nind, corresponding secretary of the Minneapolis Branch, saw in it a challenge to their organization and declared, "Frozen Minnesota will send help to perishing souls on the Equator," and promised to raise $6,000. At the South India

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* Grace Stephens was an Anglo-Indian woman who had been converted in the Taylor meetings. She responded wholeheartedly to Mrs. Rudisill's appeal for assistance and for many years was the center of Methodist women's work in Madras. Her sister and three brothers also became active missionary workers. She became a deaconess and was influential in the development and management of the Deaconess Home in Madras. She was adopted as a missionary by the Baltimore Branch and supported by it for many years.—L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.,* pp. 43 f.

Conference (February, 1887) Sophia Blackmore,* who had just arrived in Madras from Australia in company with the American Methodist evangelist, Isabella Leonard, was present, hoping for an appointment. The W.F.M.S. was approached on the matter of sending Miss Blackmore to Singapore, and gave approval.[312]

Miss Blackmore arrived in Singapore on July 18, 1887, and on August 15 opened a Tamil † girls' school. Nine little girls, "dressed in their gayest and bedecked with much jewellery, gazed with solemn brown eyes" at the foreign people. Mr. Rama Krishna Row, a member of a Tamil "mutual improvement" society which had been formed earlier, supplied free of rent "a small shop house in Short Street" as a schoolroom, and other members contributed money for the teacher's pay and for desks, benches, and blackboard. When the shop was outgrown the sole trustee of the Christian Institute, Middle Road, placed the building at the disposal of the missionary. Later the Minneapolis Branch paid off the mortgage of $1,700. and it became mission property, used first as a school and later as a church. In August, 1888, a Chinese girls' school was opened in Telok Ayer, the Chinese suburb of Singapore. In some Chinese families the girls were taught in the homes, daily or two days a week. Other than the schools and the home teaching, Miss Blackmore's time was taken up by language study, and with visiting in Indian, Chinese, and Eurasian homes. In 1888 the missionary had three assistants and two teachers. For one year the work was included within the Bengal Conference and in 1889 became a part of the newly organized Malaysia Mission.[313]

In Baroda, once again, women's work was inaugurated by a missionary wife. When E. F. Frease was sent out in 1889 to take over the newly opened Gujarati work, his wife and her sister, Anna M. Thompson, accompanied him. Together the women started teaching, and the next year Miss Thompson became a W.F.M.S. appointee. Before long a school and orphanage were in operation. The W.F.M.S. also appointed Dr. Izillah Ernsberger—sister of the missionary—to open medical work. During her first year she treated 3,800 patients in the dispensary and made over three hundred and fifty calls on patients in their homes. During the second year over 4,300 persons were treated, and a second dispensary opened. Patients in 1893 numbered 6,800. With two native assistants Christian teaching was maintained in twelve villages in the vicinity of the city. Visits were made during 1894 in nearly four hundred villages. By the next year a Girls' Boarding School was making such a good record in examinations that the government grant-in-aid was increased.[314]

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* Sophia Blackmore (1857-1945), of Scotch Congregational lineage, was born in New South Wales. She early became interested in missions and decided that God had called her to be a missionary. On an evangelistic tour in Australia Isabella Leonard collected money to pay the outgoing expense of a missionary and persuaded Miss Blackmore to accompany her to India. Under the auspices of the Minneapolis Branch she gave thirty-six years of fruitful service to the Malaysia Mission.—*Ibid.*, pp. 48 f.; Sophia Blackmore, "A Record of Forty Years of Woman's Work in Malaya," ms., ch. I, 8.

† There was a considerable Tamil population in Singapore, some of whom had been educated in the American Board School in Ceylon. They thoroughly believed in education for girls as well as boys.

In July, 1890, Louisa Blackmar was transferred from North India by Bishop Thoburn to undertake women's work in Hyderabad. She succeeded in opening a school under W.F.M.S. auspices within the walled city with nine Marathi girls. In September a school entirely for Mohammedan girls, also within the city, was started with forty pupils. Two other schools were opened, a school for Mohammedan girls outside the city gates in a neighborhood where there were no other educational facilities for children, and earlier than any of the others (1889) a school in Chadarghat for European, Eurasian, and Indian Christian children. These schools met with little opposition and, educationally speaking, were highly successful. Sunday schools were maintained in connection with the day schools as interest grew.

In 1894 Bishop Thoburn appointed Miss Blackmar as one member of an exploring party to investigate the opportunities for Christian schools in Bastar state. The trip involved a journey of three hundred miles through wilderness and jungle, across wide rivers and through dense forests, but led at last into a valley of promise, three hundred by one hundred and fifty miles, populated by millions of people who had never heard the Gospel. She was so impressed by the Godavari Valley and its people that she resolved to return at the earliest opportunity. In 1895 she went back, under the double appointment to Hyderabad and Sironcha, negotiated for property, and put two Bible women to work at her own expense. In 1897 she was appointed to Sironcha where a many-sided mission was established under W.F.M.S. auspices.[315]

The W.F.M.S. sent to South India Conference in fourteen years (1878-92) fifteen missionaries, as well as a number to the Bengal Conference,* and in addition took under its auspices one (Grace Stephens) born in India. Eight of the American missionaries were married within a few years after their arrival. Of those who remained unmarried, one served for nine years; two for eleven years; two for twelve years; one for thirty-two years; and two for thirty-three years. Three died in India. As the foregoing account has shown, most of the educational work for women and girls in the South India Conference during these years was begun and maintained by the missionaries of the Society.

MISSIONARY DEACONESS MOVEMENT

The Methodist Deaconess Movement, officially recognized by the 1888

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* The missionaries, other than those mentioned in biographical notes in preceding pages, and the Branches which sent them were: 1878, Margaret E. Layton, Baltimore; 1881, Ellen H. Warner, Cincinnati (m. 1887, D. O. Fox); 1880, Mattie B. Spence, Northwestern (m. 1882, Perrie); 1883, Mary McKesson, Northwestern (m. 1886, Charles G. Conklin); 1884, Sarah M. DeLine, Northwestern; Margaret Hedrick, New York (m. 1894, John D. Miles); 1885, Mary C. Elliott, New York (m. 1886, William H. Stephens); Julia E. Wisner, Cincinnati; 1887, Minnie F. Abrams, Minneapolis; Mary A. Hughes, New York (m. 1891, D. O. Ernsberger); 1888, Mary E. Carroll, Northwestern; Izillah Ernsberger, M.D., Cincinnati; Anna M. Thompson, Philadelphia (m. 1895, W. H. Stephens); 1891, Mary Kennedy, Des Moines (m. 1894, L. A. Core); Catherine Wood, Des Moines; Alice A. Evans, Des Moines.

W.F.M.S. missionaries to the Bengal Conference were: 1888, Estella M. Files, New York; Martha Day, Des Moines (m. 1895, David G. Abbot); Elizabeth Maxey, New York; 1889, Frances Scott, Cincinnati; 1890, Fannie A. Perkins, Des Moines; Rebecca B. Daily, Northwestern; 1892, Josephine Stahl, New York; Anna C. Keeler, Cincinnati; Frances Craig, Northwestern. One missionary was sent to the Bombay Conference in 1892: Christina H. Lawson, New York.

General Conference, had several roots.* No one was more influential in its recognition by the Church than J. M. Thoburn. When he arrived in the United States in 1886 for recuperation, he began systematically to advocate in his addresses before Church gatherings, particularly Annual Conferences, the establishment of a deaconess order in the Church. He introduced in General Conference one of the two memorials presented on the subject (viz.: that of the Bengal Conference: "We . . . memorialize the General Conference . . . to provide for a formal recognition of the office of deaconess in the Methodist Episcopal Church"). He was chairman of the Committee on Missions which formulated and presented to the Conference a complete plan of organization that was adopted and inserted in the Discipline.[316]

The idea of a deaconess order had first taken form in Thoburn's mind early in his missionary career when he had "baptized frightened village women" under conditions which made him wish that "some Phoebe" might have been at hand to perform the rite in his stead:

> as for the inmates of the zenanas, it is simply impossible for a man to gain access to them, and, even if he could be admitted to them, his services would be very unsatisfactory. A woman who has been carefully secluded all her days, and who has never seen the face of men who were not members of her family, is not merely embarrassed in the presence of a foreign missionary; she is absolutely frightened. There are those who believe that these timid, untaught creatures will be induced to come out to the big churches built for them, and stand up . . . face to face with a missionary, and give intelligible answers to his questions, and then receive baptism at his hands. All this may happen, but I do not expect to see it. . . . but rather that, as in ancient times, we shall see the church in the house revived, and Christian women sent to minister to those who are inaccessible to the ordinary minister of the public congregation.[317]

The Bengal memorial carried a second paragraph asking that "provision be made for the administration of the Sacraments in Zenanas," but fearing that opposition to this request, which involved the ordination of women so that they could administer the sacraments, might defeat the entire memorial, this part was omitted.

When he returned to India, shortly after the adjournment of General Conference, Thoburn took with him three deaconesses, Elizabeth Maxey, Kate A. Blair, and Lillian Black. Mrs. Thoburn was instrumental in opening a Deaconess Home in Calcutta and to it in January, 1889, the Bishop appointed the three deaconesses who had accompanied him from the United States.

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* In Germany Methodist "parish deaconesses" were engaged in missionary service as early as 1868 and in 1874 organized a Bethany Association. German Methodists in the United States became interested in the deaconess work in progress in Germany and advocated the establishment of a Methodist deaconess sisterhood in America, but without success. In the summer of 1887 in Chicago Mrs. Lucy Rider Meyer, assisted by eight Christian women, began systematic visitation of the poor, the sick, and the needy of the city and in the fall opened, in a few hired rooms, what came later to be known as a "deaconess home." In 1886 Miss Jane M. Bancroft (later Mrs. George O. Robinson) went to Europe for study. While there she became acquainted with deaconess work and when she returned strongly advocated the development of the work in Methodism by the Woman's Home Missionary Society.—For further information on the founding of the Chicago Home see Lucy Rider Meyer, *Deaconesses, Biblical, Early Church, European, American, with The Story of the Chicago Training School, For City, Home and Foreign Missions, and The Chicago Deaconess Home.*

Within a comparatively short time homes were established also in Muttra, Lucknow, Madras, Pithoragarh, Bangalore, Kolar, and Singapore. A building was erected in Muttra in 1889, for which W. E. Blackstone of Chicago contributed $5,000., to house the Muttra Training School and Deaconess Home. To it Fannie J. Sparkes and Kate McDowell, M.D., were appointed. Phoebe Rowe and Lucy Sullivan were named as appointees to the Lucknow Home; Annie M. Budden to Pithoragarh; Elizabeth E. Ferris to Singapore; Grace Stephens to Madras; and Henrietta Matson to Bangalore.

Like other women missionaries of the W.F.M.S. deaconesses received their support from the Society. Deaconess regulations determined the uniform to be worn, a gray dress—in summer, white—and a black bonnet trimmed with gray ribbon. Support for India was estimated at nine hundred rupees (approximately $350.) per year. Experience proved that the plan of identical support for all was not practicable and in 1895 the Society decided that variation should be made "according to the locality, the provision or not of a Deaconesses' Home, or the necessity on the part of the missionary to live by herself." [318]

The program of the Deaconess Homes varied in the different centers. At Calcutta it consisted principally of visiting, seven hundred visits to homes being reported in 1892, where the deaconesses "read and prayed with those who could not or would not come to the public service of the church." Visits were also made to the grog shops where the men and women invited to the church services had tracts in different languages given to them. The entire time of one deaconess was taken up with work among the poor Bengali Christian women, who needed "instruction in nearly everything." Two day schools were maintained in the city and two in villages south of Calcutta. By way of contrast, the Bangalore home—as some others—was both a residence for the deaconesses and a school for the training of girls in preparation for deaconess work. Within a few weeks of opening, in March, 1890, thirteen girls were in residence, "all except three were motherless, having had no training or care." Only one was a professing Christian when she came but in September "eleven others professed to give their hearts to Jesus." "It is not just the 'Training school for Christian workers' that we had hoped for," the superintendent wrote to the Society, "but perhaps God sees that better workers can be raised up from these whose training is to extend through a long series of years, than from older ones whom we might have chosen." [319]

The Deaconess Movement, so far as its relation to India and other mission fields was concerned, apparently began to wane before 1895. The General Executive Committee agreed to the plan of providing support on the deaconess basis for the women who volunteered to go to the field as such but the Society seems never to have put itself back of the Movement.* Bishop and Mrs.

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* Sophia Blackmore: "For quite a number of years the plan was adhered to in Malaya, but the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society as a whole was not behind the movement. Other workers coming

Thoburn were the chief sponsors of the idea of Methodist missionary deaconesses. India and Malaysia, as also other fields, never had as many missionaries as were needed and the plan appealed to Thoburn as a practical means of increasing the missionary personnel. The fact that years earlier he had himself relinquished salary from the Board doubtless was a factor in his thinking. Some of the W.F.M.S. missionaries in India, but by no means all, agreed to fall in line with the Bishop's plan and relinquished half of their previous salary. It may easily be seen why such a wide discrepancy in income of the women, all of whom were working under the same auspices, would inevitably promote dissatisfaction and undermine morale. As a result the Movement was ultimately abandoned in both India and Malaysia.

North India Conference, 1877-95

The organization of the South India Conference did not in any way affect the administrative structure or the ongoing program of the former India Conference, now North India. The Bombay, Bengal, and Madras Mission, erected by General Conference into the South India Conference, had always been outside the bounds of the India Conference. The Conference had three Districts,* Rohilkhand, Kumaon, and Oudh.

At the first session of the North India Conference, convened by Bishop E. G. Andrews on January 3, 1877, thirty-two ministers received appointments—twenty-four missionaries and eight Indian preachers. This, however, by no means represented the entire working force of the Church. In his report of the Rohilkhand District, T. J. Scott listed a personnel of seventy workers: six missionaries, four native members of Conference, four ordained and thirty-two unordained Local Preachers, and twenty-four Exhorters and teachers. In 1880 E. W. Parker gave a more complete listing for the District, including eight missionaries and their wives, two women missionaries of the W.F.M.S., nine native female zenana assistants, seventy-four native Bible women and native Christian teachers in girls' schools, fifty-four full-time native preachers, seventeen native teachers in boys' schools, and six full-time native colporteurs engaged in selling books, Bibles, and Scripture portions, a total of 178 paid workers. In addition, Parker said, "we have many exhorters and leaders, who support themselves by their own work, and yet are efficient helpers." This personnel, large as it was, was not sufficient to maintain the institutional work

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to the field objected to the costume, and when Bishop Oldham returned to us [1904], Mrs. Oldham wrote to the Society explaining that Malaya was not a cheap place in which to live and that their workers should have the same support as on other Mission Fields. Thus the Deaconess plan was abandoned."—*Op. cit.*, ch. III, 3 f.

* The Districts remained the same until 1882 when a fourth District, Amroha, made up of "the sixteen sub-circuits" of the Sambhal and Amroha charges, was formed. The Committee on the State of the Church of the 1891 Conference announced that over 6,000 persons living in widely separated villages had been received into membership and that this increase would necessarily cause considerable readjustment. The Rohilkhand District was discontinued, and five new Districts were established: Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Moradabad, and Pilibhit. In 1893 Circuits and Stations of Agra and Aligarh Districts were made the nucleus of the Northwest India Conference, and in 1894 two more new Districts—Gonda and Budaun—were organized and the Amroha was renamed Sambhal. In 1895 two additional Districts—Sitapur and Garhwal—were formed, making ten in all.

of the Church in the District and because of this a considerable force of non-Christian men and women teachers were employed in the day schools. While Rohilkhand was the most extensive District, the other two Districts were comparable.

The extent of the women's program in the Conference also was amazing. On one Circuit, for example, Mrs. Robert Hoskins reported thirteen day schools, seventeen Sunday schools, two Class meetings for girls, two for women, a weekly prayer meeting, a weekly mothers' meeting, a weekly meeting for the study of the Sunday-school lesson, and visitation in eighty-three zenanas. Christian truths, she felt certain, were "finding an entrance into hundreds of hearts." By 1878 six girls' boarding schools were supported by the W.F.M.S.: Lucknow, Kanpur, Budaun, Moradabad, Bijnor, and Pauri.[320]

On his visit to India in 1883 Missionary Secretary J. M. Reid was very favorably impressed with the personnel, missionary and native, of the North India Conference. The missionaries were forward-looking, he said, "continually pressing on . . . to new and holy enterprises," not bound by custom or routine, and "truly consecrated to God" and their work. The Indian preachers also seemed to him to be men of independence of thought and action, of "considerable education and ability," some understanding English and even able to speak it well. They likewise were men of consecration and sincere devotion.[321]

The Conference maintained a rigid discipline. The examination of character at the Annual Conference for members and at the District Conference for Local Preachers and native assistants was searching.*

The famine of 1876-78 which was of such extreme severity in parts of South India also caused great suffering in the north. The Presiding Elder of the Rohilkhand District reported that he had inquired in all parts of the District and had not heard of as many as six native Christians who had perished from famine. This was because pastors and missionaries had been active in relief work. Efforts had been made to show people how to aid themselves. Livestock and food had been given to weavers and cloth taken in return. The blind, the destitute widows, and those unable to work had been fed. As a result fatalities among Christians were few in comparison with the general death rate. Following the famine the enrollment of mission schools tended to increase sharply with the number of orphans taken in. The girls' school at Budaun, which at the beginning of 1877 had only four pupils, at the close had thirty-five. The girls' boarding schools at Moradabad and Bijnor also expanded, and the orphanages at Shahjahanpur and Bareilly were filled.[322]

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* At the Rohilkhand District Conference in 1877 a report was made that a native helper had attended a dinner given to the dead, an idolatrous rite. His conduct was condemned but after discussion of the case he was continued with the stipulation that should the offense be repeated he would suffer as a penalty the loss of his license. Another helper who had broken a marriage engagement was obliged to confess publicly his fault and ask pardon of the Conference before receiving renewal of his license. At the 1879 District Conference two brethren between whom there had been ill feeling were pronounced worthy of reproof but their characters were passed and, with one exception, the licenses of all were renewed.—Mrs. T. S. Johnson, "Diary," ms., unpaged, Oct. 21, 1889; E. Cunningham, rep., *Sixty-first Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1879), p. 112.

Visual aids as a means of evangelization came into general use in the North India Conference in 1879-80. Robert Hoskins told of using the "magic lantern" with "great profit" on the Budaun Circuit in 1879:

> By hanging the white sheet under some large tree, even when the moon was shining brightly, the people could see the pictures clearly, and would sit on the ground and listen for two or three hours to the gospel story. The pictures most utilized are, The Wise Men following the Star, . . . Christ blessing Little Children, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Sower, the Samaritan Woman at the Well, the Ascension . . . . Invitations have been received from many villages to make them a visit, and although we use the lantern to convey Scripture truth, still the people seem anxious to be present, often coming miles from the villages around.

P. M. Buck, Presiding Elder of the Kumaon District in 1880, listed the exhibition of Scripture views by means of a magic lantern along with preaching, conversation, and bookselling as a method of evangelization on District itineraries. The exhibitions drew large crowds, not only of "common people . . . but all classes." B. H. Badley of Lucknow exhibited pictures in all the schoolhouses "to hundreds of schoolboys and their friends, as well as at private houses upon special invitation." By explaining the pictures and accompanying them with preaching and group singing, he felt he was able "to bring the truth very close to the people." [323]

During these years and later an increased demand for books and tracts was observed. The schools by teaching both men and women to read had created a market for Christian literature. The people had learned to put confidence in Christian publications. It was becoming common practice for colporteurs to be invited into the inner apartments of houses.

During the early eighties the personnel of the North India Conference was reinforced by thirteen new members.* Of these people, five gave more than thirty years to missionary service: Charles L. Bare, thirty-seven years; Dr. Stephen S. Dease, forty; Frank L. Neeld, thirty-two; William Rockwell Clancy, forty-six; Noble L. Rockey, forty.

The middle eighties brought marked increase in the rate of growth of the Church. Never before had so many baptisms been recorded as in 1886. Reports from the churches showed 469 new full members over the previous year. There was an increase in the number of children in the Sunday schools and a corresponding increase of Christian children in the day schools. Equally encouraging evidence of a growing moral and spiritual earnestness among the Indian preachers and the village Christians was apparent. The process of Indianization of the Church was this year set forward by Conference action confirming an 1885 decision to conduct all proceedings in Hindustani.[324]

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* Missionaries who entered the North India Conference between 1880 and 1885, and their wives, were: 1880, Charles L. and Susan Winchell Bare, Des Moines; Peachy T. Wilson, South India; 1881, Henry F. Kastendieck, South India (m. 1884, Louisa Cotsell); Stephen S. Dease, M.D., Philadelphia (m. 1886, Margaret Fleming); 1882, James L. and Emily J. Trussell Humphrey, returned to India from Northern New York Conference (Mrs. Humphrey died in 1894; he later married Nancy B. Green); James C. Lawson, West Wisconsin (m. 1883, Ellen Hoy); Frank L. and Emma Avery Neeld, Pittsburgh; 1884, Frank W. Foote, layman (m. Laura Hyde, M.D., 1886; ordained in 1888); William R. and Charlotte Force Clancy, Michigan (Mrs. Clancy died in 1891; in 1892 he married Charlotte Fleming. During the years 1890-92 he was in the Bengal and Southern California Conferences; returned to North India in 1892); Allen J. and Ellen Blackmar Maxwell, Michigan; 1885, John W. McGregor, resident of India; Noble L. and Mary Hadsell Rockey, Colorado; David C. Monroe, Central New York (m. 1891, Hester Mansell).

At the 1887 session the Conference came into possession of Rs. 817-3-11 to aid native Christians in building village chapels. The money had been invested and the Conference determined to use only the income for the designated purpose. The 1889 Conference established a "Village Chapel Aid Fund" and stipulated that contributions should be made only to villages where the people agreed to provide a half of the amount required. Evangelization had by this time reached a point where it had become necessary for the Christians of many villages to have a fixed, suitable place of worship. As village Societies were in most cases too poor to build meeting houses of their own without financial assistance such a fund met a real need. William Butler had become interested in raising money for the fund and by 1890 had secured $2,180. in cash and pledges. By 1891 aid had been given toward building twenty-seven chapels.[325]

In 1888 E. W. Parker, Presiding Elder and preacher-in-charge of the Moradabad Circuit, formed a Young People's Christian League. The pupils of the boarding schools and the young people of the church, together with their teachers, were members. The object, he stated, was "to secure systematic study of the Scriptures, to discuss subjects connected with departments of Christian work and of needed reform in India." Monthly public lectures were attended by large audiences. When the Epworth League became the official young people's organization of the Church the Moradabad Young People's Christian League was changed into an Epworth League—"the first chapter . . . organized on the continent of Asia." Within a few years many chapters were organized in India, and in October, 1893, an all-India Epworth League Convention was held in Lucknow.[326]

By 1889 the Christian "mela"—an adaptation of the Camp Meeting—had become a fixed institution in North India. It was held at the beginning of the Conference year in conjunction with the District Conference and continued for a full week. It was attended by all of the Christian workers of the District, numbering many more than attended the Annual Conference. Everyone's work passed under review and all waited "upon God for blessing and strength for further service." T. S. Johnson reported concerning the mela held in 1889 on the Oudh District:

> Our last meeting was the most profitable we have ever had. A number of preachers entered into a fuller personal experience of Spiritual life and power than they had ever before known, which has been manifested in their work during the year, while all in the camp were greatly blessed and encouraged.

The melas had both spiritual and social values. They provided an opportunity for Christians from different places to become acquainted and to form friendships. They also contributed to *espirit de corps* among the workers, many of whom laboring alone in isolated places in the midst of unfriendly Hindus and Mohammedans tended to become dispirited.[327]

The 1890 Conference adopted a resolution requesting Bishop Thoburn to appoint a member of Conference as evangelist-at-large on a full-time schedule and to provide him with a staff of assistants. Parker was appointed.* Later he wrote to the Missionary Society:

> new efforts are being made to turn preaching and school work more effectually to the saving of the people, and to gathering them into little churches under pastoral watch-care. . . . Including the places opened through the extra aid secured by Dr. Peck and Bishop Thoburn . . . more than 200 new centers will be opened by the end of October, and more than 200 places are still calling. These centers are scattered all over India. Of course, most of this work is done by the regular laborers in the various circuits, and thus our object is being secured of turning attention to this kind of work, working up an interest in it, and securing the means needed for it. . . . All converts are placed under the watch-care of Christian pastor-teachers, and schools are opened for their children. We open no new center when we cannot supply the pastor-teacher, who teaches the children to read and write, and the inquirers and Christians the way of life more fully.[328]

The years 1889-90 witnessed remarkable growth in North India. The time of harvest had at last come. Baptisms in 1889 numbered 3,791; in 1890, 6,098. The latter year also recorded an increase of full members of 980 and probationers, 2,935. The total native Christian community in 1889 numbered 13,529, in 1890, 19,429—an increase of 5,859. The majority of the converts in 1889 were in the Budaun, Bijnor, and Bareilly Districts. Twelve charges had a hundred or more baptisms. The majority of the twelve charges were entirely under native leadership. Two-thirds of the converts were adults and "nearly all . . . [were] from the lower castes." "Christianity," said C. L. Bare, Presiding Elder of the Rohilkhand District in 1890, had become "self-propagating, spreading from member to member of the same family, and . . . from family to family in the same caste, and from village to village, along caste lines," and occasionally leaping over caste boundaries. On January 13, 1891, Bishop Thoburn wrote to Missionary Secretary Peck:

> The outward expansion of the work seems really to be beyond our control. . . . I cannot tell you how deeply I have felt over this whole question during these five days of the Conference session. We cannot retreat; we seem to advance in spite of ourselves; and yet, we are not equal to the responsibility which is upon us. . . . We are sure you will lift your voice like a trumpet to tell the church of the great door which God has set before us, and of our utter inability to carry the burden which is thrust upon us. . . . Our force of American missionaries has

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* The next year Parker was given a double appointment, evangelist-at-large and Presiding Elder of the Oudh District. He wrote on Jan. 14, 1891, to Missionary Secretary J. O. Peck: ". . . the Bishop and brethren thought I ought to take . . . [Oudh] District and also continue . . . [as general evangelist]. We felt very badly about this as there seemed no one to take Mrs. Parker's large school. . . . So it was finally arranged for Mrs. Parker to remain here in her school until she could be removed without harm to the work. . . . Still it is not a usual arrangement for a man and wife to have appointments 200 miles apart. When any one asks if missionary wives are missionaries you . . . have an illustration." —Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.

> not been so weak in North India for twelve or fifteen years past, while the work is ten fold heavier than it was even five years ago.[329]

Missionary support failed to keep pace with expansion of the field program. The India Committee in 1891 recommended an appropriation of $83,226.—an amount which would make provision for developing the work in the newly occupied areas—but estimates for all mission fields except one (Korea) were cut, and only $77,000. was appropriated for North India. To the missionaries this was disheartening, particularly to Bishop Thoburn:

> I can see that most of the brethren thought they had done something in their appropriations to North India, but North India had all its work to provide for aside from this new movement. I try to command my feelings, but must say that I speak the sentiments of every missionary we have in India when I say that we feel utterly humiliated by the action of the Committee.[330]

In 1892 baptisms continued at an accelerated rate, the total equaling the entire enrolled membership at the close of 1891. This, the Committee on the State of the Church said, "[causes us] to rejoice with trembling."

> Our duty to these . . . thousands has only begun when they are baptized. . . . The danger of the hour—a danger which we shall ignore at the risk of our work and the peril of souls,—is that the spiritual needs of these babes in Christ may be neglected for the easier and more sensational work of baptizing other waiting thousands. We must not, we dare not, shut our eyes to the vital importance . . . [of teaching them].

The report continued with a long list of suggestions and recommendations on ways and means of instruction, house-to-house visitation, use of Bible classes, and plans for short-term preparation of the more capable converts to teach the candidates and new members.[331]

In a letter to Missionary Secretary Peck on December 30, 1892, Bishop Thoburn appealed to him to get fifty people each to give $100. a year for three years to meet the extra expense of training five hundred boys for special educational service. It was estimated that $100. would pay the expenses of ten boys for a year in a boarding school. The India Woman's Missionary Society had agreed to support five hundred girls on the same basis. The testimony of one and all, the Bishop said, is that the permanence of the work among the low-caste masses depends absolutely upon their education. Without waiting for assurance from New York that the funds would be forthcoming it was enthusiastically agreed by those whom the Bishop consulted "to gather in five hundred boys . . . and begin at once to train them." A measure of encouragement was found in the fact that at the January, 1893, North India Conference forty-eight young men were ordained, of whom nineteen received elder's ordination.[332]

By January, 1894, the Conference found itself in serious financial difficulty, facing a deficit of Rs. 13,000 after eliminating all building construction and reducing all other expenses that could possibly be cut. Two suggestions for meeting the emergency were proposed, one to raise Rs. 3,000 in India and reduce salaries of all missionaries, ministers, and teachers by Rs. 20 per month; the other to dismiss, without recourse, at least two hundred teachers and pastor-teachers. The second alternative, it was realized, would certainly be accompanied by a degree of dissatisfaction and a sense of injustice in the native community that would result in irreparable injury to the Christian cause. When the motion was made in the Finance Committee to adopt the first alternative Bishop Thoburn refused to put it to a vote and said he would assume responsibility for raising the Rs. 10,000 in addition to all that he was already obligated to give. "Hence," wrote Parker to Secretary Peck, "our work goes forward on the same plan as of last year . . . ."

The year 1894 was declared by the January, 1895, Conference to have been the best year in its history, "the best year *spiritually* . . . and the best temporally."

> Little note is taken by us of the fact that fewer accessions, fewer baptisms may have been recorded than in previous years. The work has gone forward just as fast as it could go safely and there has been little ambition on the part of missionaries and older preachers-in-charge to report thousands baptized unless proper arrangements were feasible for the further instruction and spiritual guidance and oversight of those thousands.[333]

North India Conference at its first session had thirty-two members—twenty-four missionaries and eight Hindustani; in 1895, eighty-seven members—twenty-five missionaries and sixty-two Hindustani. While the missionary membership was approximately the same at the close as at the beginning of the period, thirty-two missionaries had entered the Conference*; several had retired or returned to America for various causes, mostly because of ill health; several had withdrawn; and three had died. Most significant was the eightfold increase in the native membership of the Conference, which was even more noteworthy if the increase in number of Local Preachers from fifty-one in 1877 to 231 in 1895 is considered.

The three Districts of 1877 had twenty-three Circuits and Stations. In 1895 the Circuits and Stations of nine Districts numbered ninety-nine. This phenomenal growth makes it impossible within the limits of a single volume to give a detailed account of the work in the local Stations. To name and locate them must suffice.

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* Missionaries received into the North India Conference, 1886-95, and the wives of those who were married, were: 1886, Dr. John C. Butcher, Rock River (m. 1888, Ada Procter); De Loss M. and Ida Foote Tompkins, South India; 1887, John H. and Carrie D. Schively, Baltimore; T. A. Clifton, layman; 1888, George F. and Kate D. Hopkins, Wilmington; 1889, Charles W. and Ella B. Simmons, Bengal; 1890, William A. Mansell, Ohio (m. 1894, Florence Perrine); James B. and Elizabeth W. Thomas, Bengal; Frederick H. Northrup, Central Illinois; John Blackstock, returned to India from North Indiana; Joseph H. Gill, returned to India from the Rock River Conference. In 1891, John E. and Emma Day Newsom, Iowa; 1892, George C. Hewes, Illinois (m. 1896, Annie Butcher); Matthew Tindale, Bengal; Homer C. Stuntz, Bengal; 1893, John W. and Elizabeth F. Robinson, Des Moines; Harvey L. Roscoe, layman (m. 1895, Alice Scott); 1894, David Lyle Thoburn, Central Ohio (m. 1899, Ruth Collins); 1895, William W. Ashe, M.D., Georgia (m. 1896, Christine Christensen).

ROHILKHAND DISTRICT, 1877-91

In 1877 the Rohilkhand District had nine appointments: Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad and Chandausi, Bijnor, Amroha, Panahpur, Budaun, Khera Bajhera, and Sambhal. In 1890, the last year of the District, appointments were made to twenty-four Stations and Circuits.* Space limitations permit accounts of only the more important centers of the District.

The number of listed places by no means indicated the total number of centers of missionary activity. Parker's 1881 report as Presiding Elder made this clear.

> Our Mission work in the province has been during the past year divided into thirteen separate circuits or appointments, for the work of each of which one man is made responsible. Four of these circuits have been in charge of missionaries, eight in charge of Native Ministers, and one in charge of a Eurasian lay-preacher. These appointments are most of them again divided into sub-circuits over which a Native preacher of less experience is placed, so that there are fifty-eight places occupied as centres in Rohilkund where Native preachers reside and where work is carried on. There are connected with the work of these circuits and sub-circuits ninety-four regularly appointed Native preachers and male Christian teachers of various grades, from the ordained minister to the primary school teacher, giving their entire time to this work. . . . There are Native Christians living in 312 villages or towns, making a Christian community of about 4,500 souls, 2,630 of whom are communicants.[334]

Five years later (1886) the Christian community in the District had increased to 5,396. Teachers' meetings were held in all of the large centers and all teachers were grouped in classes which pursued regular courses of study and passed examinations. A large proportion of the baptisms this year—439 adults and 301 children—were brought about, directly or indirectly, by the schools. By 1888 the fifty-eight occupied centers of 1881 had increased to 144; the number of villages in which Christians were living had grown to 463.[335] The rapid growth created an unparalleled opportunity for primary education.†

Bareilly, with a new, commodious church edifice, reported at the 1878 Conference 177 full members and fifty probationers. Considering that the Society was one of the first to be organized in India this represented very slow growth. Of the number reported more than one half were non-resident students of the theological and normal schools and residents of the orphanage. Half of the remainder lived in villages outside of Bareilly. In the city itself few converts had been made in the twenty years since starting. There had been no lack of bazaar preaching but it had not produced many converts. Little or no headway had been gained among the middle and upper classes. Sweepers, shoemakers, cooks, and a few teachers made up a majority of the baptisms. In 1883 Dr. S. S. Dease, who was appointed to Bareilly in 1881, reported the baptism of a number of promising young men who had been placed under instruction with the hope of later enlisting them as workers among their own caste. The training of a "medical class" of young women—the plan begun by Dr. Swain in 1870 but soon abandoned—was revived by Dr. Dease. A class of six, graduates of the orphanage school, was formed and in 1883 three began to practice. A new class was then organized, four of the members being wives of Bareilly Theological Seminary students. Mrs. T. J. Scott in 1880 conducted in her house a day school for women with two classes, one for wives of new converts and one for Bible women. This developed into a woman's school which in 1895 enrolled fifty-two students. More and more, Bareilly became a chief center of training for Christian work. By 1890 no less than 870 young people, of whom 473 were Christians, were under instruction in the several mission schools of the city.

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* The year-by-year additions of Circuits and Stations were as follows: 1878, 1879, none; 1880, Fataganj; 1881, Kakrala, Bilsi; 1882, Bisauli; 1883, Mandawar, Najibabad; 1884, Aonla; 1885, Pilibhit, Jalalabad; 1886, none; 1887, East Shahjahanpur, East Shahjahanpur native church; 1888, Agra, Muttra, Kasganj; 1889, none; 1890, Bisulpur, Muhamdi. Not all of the added Circuits were permanently retained.

† The people themselves were asking for schools for their children. Parker estimated that schools could be maintained at an annual cost of fifty-six dollars each. In 1882 Dr. and Mrs. J. F. Goucher provided for the establishment of fifty village schools and their maintenance for five years. The period was later extended to twenty years. They were established in many communities widely scattered over North India. The next year Mr. Frey of Baltimore followed Dr. Goucher's example and made provision for eighty additional schools. In his will he also endowed seventeen scholarships in the Bareilly Theological Seminary. In 1886 Dr. Goucher authorized the opening of forty-eight village schools for girls. "Goucher Schools" and "Frey Schools" are frequently mentioned in *Annual Reports,* 1883-93. —J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* III, 89; W. A. Mansell in Frederick B. Price, Ed., *India Mission Jubilee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Southern Asia,* 1907, p 165; *Seventeenth Ann. Rep., W.F.M.S.* (1886), p. 14.

From year to year new centers were listed as sub-Circuits of Bareilly, thirteen or more. Some of these within a year or two became separate Circuits, some were combined with other sub-Circuits; and some were given up as barren fields. Preaching was maintained for part or all of the time at several other places.[336]

The Shahjahanpur Society in 1877 completed a new building, a combined preaching hall and schoolhouse. At two outpoints, Tilhar and Pawayan, missionary F. M. Wheeler reported an increase of opposition and little apparent result of missionary effort. In 1882 native preachers were at work at these places and at Jalalabad; they also preached once a week at Rampur. Appointments were made in 1885 to four sub-Circuits. The village of Lodhipur, site of the boys' orphanage, was separated from Shahjahanpur by the river Khanaut. The mission property included the orphanage, school, missionary bungalow, industrial establishment, and the Women's Home, besides a garden and a farm. An industrial school, part of the orphanage, which in 1890 enrolled thirty-seven boys, taught shoemaking, carpentry, ropemaking, tailoring, and farming. Articles made in the school helped meet the expenses of maintaining the orphanage.

Shahjahanpur by 1895 had become an important center of W.F.M.S. work. The Bidwell Memorial School—opened in 1887 by Mrs. Robert Hoskins—enrolled eighty girls; in East Shahjahanpur a Home for Homeless Women was a haven for numerous broken women. Two Bible readers regularly visited twenty outlying villages; and in the adjoining region thirty-one other Bible women were employed on five large Circuits.[337]

Budaun in 1877 reported 153 full members and 163 probationers. Most of the converts, T. S. Johnson, veteran missionary, stated, were from "the Mehtar caste," one of the lowest. While child marriage continued to be one of the most difficult problems the attitudes of the women were gradually being changed. In 1880 Robert Hoskins commented that in Budaun they were being influenced much more by the Bible women than the men were by the native preachers and the missionaries. "They get nearer the people," he said, than do the preachers.

By 1885 Budaun Circuit had expanded to a point where it had six sub-Circuits. Budaun had a large boys' school, a boarding school for girls, and "one Mohalla and 2 village schools." Kakrala, twelve miles from Budaun, had two boys' and one girls' school, with schools also in two outlying villages. Dataganj, the third center, embraced nine villages; and Kasganj, the fourth, four villages, in all of which Christian converts had been made. On the entire charge there were fifteen boys' schools and thirty-nine Sunday schools.

At the 1888 Conference P. T. Wilson was appointed to Budaun. He and Mrs. Wilson were medical missionaries engaged primarily in evangelistic work. However, they also maintained a dispensary in which during the year they treated thousands of cases. In 1891 not less than two thousand persons were baptized of whom at least one half were women and children. Thousands of others were waiting for instruction. Women's work was strengthened this year by the addition of Mary Wilson,* the missionaries' daughter, who in 1895 became superintendent of the girls' school—the Sigler Boarding School—begun 1881. The school, with an assistant, a matron, and six teachers, had eighty pupils.[338]

The Moradabad Society—the church of the Moradabad Circuit—at the end of the first year (1878) of the North India Conference had 118 full members and ninety-eight probationers. E. W. Parker gives a cross-section picture of the membership. Thirteen, he says, were employed as mission preachers or teachers at Moradabad, Chandausi, Kundarki, and Byrampur; fifteen were in government or railway service; seventeen were servants of missionaries or working under them in connection with the mission; others were shoemakers, farmers, weavers, masons, and coolies; and forty-three were the older boys and girls of the mission schools. The church, he was certain, was growing spiritually and its general influence on the several communities was very good. In 1880 four Moradabad sub-Circuits were listed.† However, the fact that the mission furnished employment for a growing number of converts led some to apply for baptism out of mercenary motives.

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* Mary Wilson evidently served at first as a voluntary assistant. In 1894 she was taken on as a regular missionary, the first W.F.M.S. missionary appointed to Budaun. In 1910 she married J. H. Gill.

† The 1890 *Annual Report* says that "sixteen preachers and 37 Christian teachers are occupying 12 centers of work."

A headquarters building costing $15,000., erected in 1875, was the center of a comprehensive mission program. It provided a chapel for Sunday worship services and weeknight and Sunday evening lectures on religious subjects; and housed the central high school. In 1886 the school had an enrollment of 250 boys, of whom 130 were Christians. It was intended to serve as a training academy to provide students for the Conference normal school and theological school; its pupils were selected from all over Rohilkhand. The Sunday school had an attendance in 1888 of four hundred, principally students. A Young People's Christian League was formed that year with an active program of Bible study, Sunday evening prayer meetings, and monthly public lectures attended by large audiences of older students, teachers, and laymen. Fifty-nine young people were received into full membership in the church at the close of the year.

By 1876 Moradabad had become a chief center of W.F.M.S. activities, with a new missionary home costing $3,500. and a school building valued at $2,000. There were twelve girls' day schools—ten for Mohammedan girls and two for Hindus—with about three hundred pupils. The Christian Girls' Boarding School in 1878 enrolled sixty-eight girls. A branch school was located in Amroha. By 1886 enrollment had increased to 118. In 1895, 131 girls were in attendance. Of the eleven teachers the majority were graduates of the school. Moradabad was also the center of outstanding medical work under W.F.M.S. auspices, begun by Mrs. E. W. Parker. In earlier days she had visited the sick, distributed medicines in the city and surrounding villages, and personally attended women and children stricken with fever and cholera. She was aided by two Indian Bible women, one trained in the original medical class at Naini Tal, and the other, Jane V. Plumer, trained by Dr. Swain. In January, 1875, Dr. Julia Lore arrived and a dispensary was opened. The next year she married George H. McGrew. Later Dr. Mary Christiancy took charge. In a single year 14,083 patients were treated—5,764 Hindus, 4,866 Mohammedans, and 3,453 Christians. For several years (1886-91) Dr. Kate McDowell rendered highly efficient service.[339]

Chandausi continued until 1881 as a sub-Circuit of Moradabad. That year it was supplied by George Bailey, a Eurasian Local Preacher. The charge had an Anglo-vernacular boys' school in the city and two schools for boys among the Chamars. There were also two Sunday schools for girls, one for Mohammedan girls and one for the Hindus. The minister was handicapped, with no church building or schoolhouse, but the program steadily expanded. In 1886 three new outstations were opened. This year a combined Camp Meeting of Rohilkhand and Kumaon Districts was held at Chandausi. In making advance plans for the large number expected to attend, the Indian preacher reported that little grass huts were "being prepared for the people . . . , and we are looking for God's special presence." In 1890 with twenty Christian workers employed eight new villages were opened and sixty-six persons baptized. In 1892 there were six hundred Christians living in thirty villages and twelve mohallas.[340]

Bijnor Circuit at the 1878 Conference registered 147 full members, eighty-three probationers, six Local Preachers, and ten Sunday schools. The Circuit had three church buildings and four parsonages.* The missionary, A. D. McHenry, reported twenty-three baptisms—eight adults and fifteen children. Two Anglo-vernacular boys' schools each had an attendance of fifty boys. In July, 1877, a girls' boarding school was begun with four daughters of native preachers. Famine soon increased the enrollment to twenty-three. Ten years later the school numbered forty-five girls. In 1892 women's work was being carried on from sixteen centers.

The area embraced by the central Circuit and its sub-Circuits had 1,680 villages and cities with a population of 730,000 people. In 1885 work was carried on in Bijnor and four sub-Circuits by the missionary, Noble Rockey,† and his wife, his Indian assistant, eight other native preachers, five "Goucher teachers," two W.F.M.S. assistants, and nineteen Bible women and teachers. The Anglo-vernacular boys' schools in Bijnor city had been combined into one but this school was unable to compete with the more generously supported government school and in 1886 was transferred to Nagina. In 1888 a Christian boys' primary boarding school was opened in Bijnor as a feeder for the Moradabad High School. In 1889 Bijnor Circuit reported eight village schools and 304 baptisms on five sub-Circuits.[341]

Rockey considered Bashta, twenty-four miles from Bijnor, a sub-Circuit where Thoburn had preached in 1868, his most fruitful field. It had a large farmer population "under friendly landholders." Soon after he began his work on the District he baptized thirty persons who had been under thorough training. In 1888 J. C. Butcher stated that the Bashta people were to be found in all parts of the North India Conference as servants, teachers, and preachers.

Amroha, a city of some 45,000 people and a place of strong Mohammedan influence, in 1877 had both a boys' and a girls' school, though they were housed in one building. Amroha Circuit ‡ this year [1877] had seven sub-Circuits, including Babukhera, most of which embraced from fourteen to twenty villages.

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* In the rapid extension of the work during 1889-93 most of the sub-Circuits became separate Circuits so that by 1894 the Bijnor Circuit was made up of the city and three outstations. Even with this delimiting of area the Circuit in 1895 had 1,068 Christians.

† Noble Lee Rockey (1857-1924) was born in Columbus, Ohio, June 9, 1857. Inflammatory rheumatism kept him crippled from his tenth to his twentieth year, but he finished the local school, and then taught a country school for three years. He worked his way through Ohio Wesleyan University and graduated in 1884. He was admitted on trial to the Colorado Conference (*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1884, p. 221) and at once transferred to North India. He arrived in Bombay Dec. 24, 1884, with his bride of three months, Mary Hadsell (1858-1935) who had taught for a year in Xenia College, and who became his constant co-worker. He was stationed first at Bijnor (1885-88), then at Cawnpore Memorial School (1888-90) and then for five years in Shahjahanpur, supervising the Bareilly District. After furlough came five years in Dwarahat and three years in Gonda, one on the Tirhut District, and the remaining years of his life in Naini Tal and Bareilly, where he died June 19, 1924. He edited the *Children's Friend,* a weekly Sunday-school paper, for twenty-eight years. He sent out a constant stream of tracts in Hindustani and English. His *Life of Wesley* in Hindustani and English was widely used. He was a much loved friend, especially by children.—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

‡ Sub-Circuits in 1878 numbered seven; in 1879, nine. In 1880 there were six, and in 1881, the last year in the Rohilkhand District, eight. In 1882 Amroha became a District.

In 1881 the church reported 204 full members and 212 probationers. Reports of the Presiding Elder (1882-92) were routine and brief, giving little information concerning the life and growth of the churches. He said in 1891 that the work was spreading so rapidly it was repetition to give an account of developments on each Circuit.[342]

Sambhal at the 1877 Conference was reported to be still a stronghold of Hinduism and a hard field for Christianity. It had been separated from Moradabad in 1873 and in 1877 had only twenty-one full members. There were five Sunday schools, an Anglo-vernacular boys' day school of eighty pupils, four small girls' day schools, and two church buildings. In his report for 1879 Zahur ul Haqq mentioned five places where there were Christian families.* In 1891 the Indian minister reported daily teaching kept up in twelve mohallas in Sambhal, and twelve day schools, eleven "vernacular Lower Primary and one Anglo-Vernacular." There were ten Sunday schools on the Circuit and a Christian community of 301 persons.[343]

Pilibhit in 1878 was an outstation of Bareilly. Concerning the work of that year G. H. McGrew, the missionary-in-charge, said there had been "no visible result." In 1884, at long last, rapid growth began and at the January, 1885, Conference Pilibhit was made a separate Circuit, with two sub-Circuits.† In 1888 the Gospel was preached in some two hundred villages. There were eight mission schools—seven for boys and one for girls—and five Goucher schools. In all, school instruction was given to 256 children and women. In 1891 Pilibhit was made the center of a District of the same name and in 1895 the Pilibhit Circuit—one of eleven in the new District—had eighty-eight full members and 207 probationers; eleven Sunday schools; and a Christian community of 533. The preceding year the Indian Presiding Elder expressed gratitude that there were in the District hundreds of people who were "ready to glorify God and spread the faith of Christ . . . by their personal efforts and private means." [344]

In 1891 C. L. Bare, Presiding Elder of Rohilkhand District, in his annual report said:

> This has been a year of marvelous growth in this District. Four thousand nine hundred and sixteen persons this year received baptism in the name of Christ. Three hundred and fifty-eight new places were opened. Eight hundred and nine Christian workers, all but twenty-nine of whom are natives, worked the field from 229 centers; and Christians live in 1,039 cities, towns and villages. The church now numbers 9,508 members and probationers, and the Christian community more than 16,000. This is an increase of nearly 3,000. Four hundred and five day-schools enroll an attendance of 8,818 pupils, while 14,933 persons have been gathered into 468 Sunday-schools.[345]

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* In the report for 1881 three additional centers were named, one of which was the old center of Babukhera.

† In 1889 a third sub-Circuit was added.

KUMAON DISTRICT, 1877-95

The Kumaon District in 1877 was widely extended.* To go from Pauri, the northwest point, to Pithoragarh on the eastern border by horseback—the usual mode of travel—required fourteen days. The English portion of the population were employed at the civil and military stations. The largest proportion of the population were Hindus, with a few Mohammedans in government and domestic employ. Some Chinese, also, were to be found on many of the tea plantations. Over most of the District exceedingly primitive conditions existed among the people. J. T. McMahon tells of the baptism of a convert who owned about fifteen acres of land.

> He is better to do than any other man that has been baptized for three years past. When baptized he was dressed with a new coat, but was *without pants*. His wife came in her holiday attire, with a ring in her nose. His three children came naked . . . . The ceremony was performed in a cow-shed.

In 1876 N. G. Cheney had been appointed pastor of the Naini Tal English church, and was reappointed yearly until 1882. In October, 1881, a new chapel was dedicated, located at the lower end of the lake, to take the place of the church destroyed by the terrible landslide of September 18, 1880, in which half a hundred Europeans and more than a hundred natives perished. For five years, 1883-88, James Baume, veteran missionary, served as pastor of the church. In 1881 an English boarding school was opened by Cheney in his home, Boys' High School, later named Oak Openings, renamed Philander Smith Institute destined to render notable educational service to missionaries' children and European and Anglo-Indian youths. In 1882 an English school for girls was opened by Emma L. Knowles, the Naini Tal Girls' School, later the Wellesley Girls' High School, which was to have no less noteworthy development than the boys' school. The English church ministered to many soldiers, English residents, and visitors but was never able to enlist more than a limited membership. In 1895 it reported twenty-four members.[346]

The Naini Tal native church after nineteen years of missionary effort reported in 1878 thirty-four full members and forty-one probationers. Most of the work during the cold season was in the Bhabar, at the foot of the hills; in the hot weather in and around Naini Tal and higher in the mountains. Most of the converts were from the lowest caste, the Doms. Eleven day schools for boys were maintained in the Bhabar villages. There were also two schools for girls, a lower-caste school opened in the bazaar in 1881, and a school attended chiefly by Christian women and girls, later known as the Hindustani Girls' School. At the 1881 Conference a Bhabar Circuit was formed, apart from Naini Tal charge, and placed in the care of an Indian preacher. By 1884 three sub-Circuits had been formed but at the 1887 Conference all of the

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* The District in 1877 had five charges: Naini Tal English church; Naini Tal Indian church; Eastern Kumaon (Pithoragarh); Palce (after 1880, the Circuit was changed to Dwarahat), and Pauri (Garhwal Circuit).

Bhabar work was combined with Naini Tal. In 1892 twelve Indian preachers were employed on the Circuit. While they were reported to have worked faithfully there was little to show for their efforts. Writing in 1894 Waugh emphasized the difficulty growing out of "the migratory character of the majority of the people, spending [each year] . . . a few months in the mountains and the rest of the year in the plains . . . ." The ninety-one baptisms was the largest number ever reported in any one year.[347]

At the Conference of 1874 Richardson Gray, M.D., as previously stated, was appointed to Eastern Kumaon. Two schools organized by the London Mission were turned over to the Methodist mission. An Indian Methodist Society was organized with a few members who had embraced Christianity. At the end of 1877 Gray reported that the work had gone on "without many visible results." Schools had been increased to five—all vernacular. The next year's report told of ten boys' schools with an average attendance of 434, besides one girls' school of thirty pupils. In four years (1874-78), more than seventy thousand cases were treated in the mission dispensaries of Garhwal and Kumaon. By 1880 there were four: Pithoragarh, Lohooghat, Dwarahat, and Bhimpal. In 1883 Dr. Gray withdrew, under charges, from the Conference. After a year without a male missionary (1883) J. L. Humphrey was appointed to Eastern Kumaon, to be followed in 1885 by Dr. S. S. Dease. The year saw the establishment of a Leper Asylum by the Scotch Mission to Lepers with the Methodist missionary assuming oversight.

The W.F.M.S. work in Pithoragarh was begun in May, 1874, when the Society took over one of the schools tendered by the London Mission. In January, 1880, a Home for Homeless Women was established for the purpose of aiding "young women of a caste in which men never married daughters of their own tribe, . . . leaving all girls born to them to follow lives of shame" —a profession lucrative to their families. The Home was financed by the W.F.M.S., and Miss Annie N. Budden, formerly of the London Mission, was placed in charge, and accepted as a W.F.M.S. missionary.

During 1890-95 Harkua Wilson, Indian minister and doctor, labored in the Eastern Kumaon region. In April, 1892, he established headquarters at Bhot, "eight days' marches north of Pithoragarh," opened a dispensary, and began a day school. The people, Bhotiyas, traded with Tibet and it was hoped that through them an entrance might be gained to that country but this proved to be a vain hope. In 1892 his dispensary was visited by 3,200 patients. He made at various times several trips into Nepal, and also one trip into Tibet. In addition to the dispensary, missionary institutions in 1892 included the Woman's Home, which housed sixty; and Christian Boarding Houses, with ninety girls and forty boys.[348]

The W.F.M.S. staff in 1892 consisted of two missionaries, Annie N. Budden and Mary Reed, four women assistants, four Bible readers, and six teachers.

In the early fall of 1891 Mary Reed [*] had arrived at Pithoragarh after a brief furlough in America during which she received the dread intelligence that she was a victim of leprosy. Her first assignment in India had been zenana work in Kanpur (1885-89). After four years she was transferred to Gonda where for a few years she was busy with zenana work. She returned to India from America with a conviction that she had a God-given mission to the lepers of Eastern Kumaon. In September, 1891, Bishop Thoburn wrote to the Scotch society, Mission to Lepers in India, in her behalf and she was appointed superintendent of their Leper Asylum at Chandag. In 1898 her official connection with the W.F.M.S. was severed in order that her undivided attention might be given to the leper mission.

From Bombay in 1891 she had written a letter to her family which is a classic of missionary literature. In part it read:

> After prayerful consideration, I find it wisest and kindest to tell you, or allow dear, brave-hearted sister, Rena, with whom I entrusted this mystery of God's providence, to reveal what she pledged to keep from you. She will explain how our loving Heavenly Father, who is too wise to err has, in his infinite love and wisdom, chosen, called, and prepared your daughter to teach lessons of patience, endurance, and submission, while I shall have the joy of ministering to a class of people who, but for the preparation which has been mine for this special work, would have no helper at all . . . . He, who has called and prepared me, promised that he himself will be to me as a little sanctuary where I am to abide, and abiding in him I shall have supply for all my need. . . . He has enabled me to say, not with a *sigh* but with a *song,* 'Thy Will be done.'

She established a residence in a bungalow located on the crest of a ridge some 6,400 feet above sea level, which commanded a charming view of the valley in which Pithoragarh was located. For fifty years she ministered with love and skill to the members of the leper colony. Under her management the buildings which housed the group were transformed into beautiful homes. Before her work ended the colony had a hundred acres of land and homes for almost a hundred men and women patients, a dispensary, a hospital, and a chapel.[349]

Dwarahat (Palee), in Eastern Kumaon forty miles from Naini Tal, first appeared among the appointments for 1877 to be supplied. It was a central place in the mountain area, with forty villages within a radius of four miles. Not until 1881 when P. M. Buck[†] was given the double appointment of

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[*] Mary Reed (1854-1943) was born at Lowell, Ohio, the second of a family of eight children. At sixteen she consecrated her life to the service of Christ. After ten years of successful teaching in southeastern Ohio she volunteered for foreign mission service, was accepted by the Cincinnati Branch, W.F.M.S. and on Sept. 7, 1884, sailed for India. When her affliction became known innumerable prayers were offered year after year in her behalf and the disease was so kept in abeyance that she was able to carry on her work without interruption. In 1904-1906 her disease was so arrested that she was given two years' furlough, during which she visited Palestine and her parents' home in America. Her spiritual ministrations were so owned of God that the morale of all the inmates of the asylum was greatly increased and many became Christian converts.—L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.,* p. 33; John Jackson, *Mary Reed, Missionary to the Lepers,* p. 9, *et passim.*

[†] Philo Melvin Buck (1846-1924) was born in Corning, N. Y. His family moved to Kansas and he began preaching there at the age of seventeen. He was admitted to the Kansas Conference in 1865, where he served five years in the pastorate. He married Angie Tibbott in 1868, who died in 1869. The following year he asked for a transfer to China, but instead was sent to India, where he arrived in

Presiding Elder and minister at Dwarahat did the Circuit have the service of a missionary. A school for women and girls, another for boys, and four primary day schools were established.

A number of applications were received for girls to be taken in as boarders, all from distant villages. There was no suitable building, but Mrs. Buck could not refuse them. Thus was begun a girls' boarding school which in 1895 had twenty-nine pupils. In 1884 a dispensary and hospital building was erected, the local government making a grant of Rs. 500. Later a new schoolhouse was built, toward which the government of India made a contribution of Rs. 1,300. A native doctor was in charge of the dispensary, which provided medical treatment for a great many patients, in 1892 for more than six thousand. The Presiding Elder concluded in 1893 that religiously Dwarahat was "a hard, barren field," offering small opportunity for results.[350]

Pauri (the Garhwal Circuit) to which in 1877 Gill was appointed for the fourth year had eight outpoints.* The boys' school, the only one in the town in 1878, had been maintained for ten years. The W.F.M.S. girls' orphanage housed some thirty orphans, and the girls' school cared for about forty pupils. Famine brought to the mission the nucleus for a boys' orphanage. Of the Christian community in 1879 thirteen families owned or had permanent possession of the land on which they lived and owned an aggregate of forty-one head of cattle. Ten of the adult Christians were domestic servants; nine were tradesmen; seven, petty farmers; two, shopkeepers, eight employed helpers of the mission; and one, a doctor. In 1879 P. T. Wilson entered government employ "as Superintendent of Pilgrim Hospitals in Kumaon and Gurhwal." At the January, 1880, Conference he was appointed superintendent of medical work in Garhwal. During a period of three months in 1881 he treated all the cases of cholera in the Christian community and all his patients recovered. Messmore, sent to Garhwal in 1884, reported in 1885 "seven stations, sixteen day schools, and seven Sunday schools on the circuit." He was convinced that increase of the Christian community depended on converts being helped "to the possession or occupation of land." His successor, J. T. McMahon, did not agree. "I am not sanguine," he wrote, "of helping these people by . . . grants of land and money. Property not earned by hard labor will not remain to bless the owner." In 1889 the Conference divided the Garhwal Circuit into two, Pauri

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November, 1870, and was appointed to Shahjahanpur. On furlough in America, 1876-78, he graduated at Drew Theological Seminary and returned to India where he was successively Presiding Elder on Kumaon District (1879-84); pastor at Kanpur (1885); principal of the Philander Smith Institute, at Mussooree (1889-92); and Presiding Elder of the Meerut District (1893-1914). During the entire time he was engaged also in evangelistic work throughout the whole Indian field. He retired in 1922, but continued to teach at Bareilly Theological Seminary. In 1872 he married Caroline Louisa McMillan, a W.F.M.S. missionary. He was a delegate to the General Conferences of 1896, 1908, and 1916. He wrote numerous books and pamphlets and translated many into Hindustani. Bishop J. W. Robinson said of him: "He established the work, he acquired the property, he inspired his Indian co-laborers with his own spirit, and in doing so he launched a movement of which we can see no end."—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

* The outpoints changed considerably from year to year. In 1884 six Stations were named to which Local Preachers had been appointed. To this list another Station was added in 1885. The 1894 report in addition to the Pauri Circuit listed four other Circuits which were an outgrowth of the Pauri work: Srinagar, Bhot, Kainur, and Lansdowne.

and Kainur. By 1894 the Pauri staff had expanded to include, besides J. H. Gill, the missionary, and Mrs. Gill, two W.F.M.S. women assistants, twenty-one Bible readers and teachers, and fourteen Indian preachers. Gill was so encouraged that he declared there was "no more hopeful or important field than Garhwal" within the entire extent of Methodist mission work in India. Converts were principally from the Doms, who were aborigines.[351]

OUDH DISTRICT, 1877-95

At the 1877 Conference appointments were made to nine charges of the Oudh District.* Twenty years had passed since Methodist missionary work had been opened in the province yet only 311 members and probationers were reported the next year. "Take from these all who have come from other places, and all who are of Christian parentage," said J. H. Messmore, Presiding Elder, "and the very few remaining will give melancholy proof of the fact that Oudh is virtually untouched by our twenty years of work." His report for 1879 was of like tenor. "We have no class movements to record; no indication of special progress in any direction. Hindus, Mohammedans, and educated young India . . . remain intact, so far as our efforts to move them are concerned." When another five years had passed the outlook had become more encouraging. The workers were more hopeful, inquirers had increased in number, and in several instances men listening to preaching on the streets and at melas had come forward to confess their faith in Christ and receive baptism. In 1891 E. W. Parker was still of much the same opinion as Messmore—that Oudh had been a very hard field to work—yet the substantial number of two thousand converts had been made. The group of workers had largely increased, this year consisting of eleven missionaries, fourteen Indian members of Conference, seventy-three employed Local Preachers, seventy-seven women Bible readers, and 108 Christian teachers. In January, 1894, Oudh was divided to form the Gonda District. This left, other than Lucknow, six Circuits† in the Oudh District. All of the Circuits except Sitapur and Lucknow were manned by Hindustani ministers, who, Parker declared, were "tried, trained, consecrated men." These Circuits were all large with sub-Circuits, schools, Sunday schools, Epworth Leagues, and "all kinds of services." [352]

In March, 1877, the Lucknow English church, J. H. Messmore, pastor, dedicated a new building which cost, including the lot and furnishings, Rs. 20,000. The church was fortunate in having a succession of able pastors. Messmore was pronounced by Brenton T. Badley to be one of the best preachers who ever filled a pulpit in India. He was characterized by "originality, clarity of expression, aptness of illustration, [and] choice diction." He served the church at intervals for thirteen years, a longer period of time than any other minister. Among his successors were J. C. Lawson (1882), Rockwell Clancy (1884-87), and John W. Robinson (1892-99). From the early days special emphasis was given to Sunday-school work. In 1881 the charge reported twenty Sunday schools with 1,370 pupils. While the membership of the church was not large (in 1877 thirty full members, 1885, forty-four, 1895, ninety-five) the congregations were of good size, made up of professional men, government officials, railway employees, Indians conversant with English, Eurasians from the native city, and pupils of the two Methodist boarding schools. There were also many British soldiers. There were many conversions, some of nominal members of other churches who preferred not to change their church affiliation. In 1894 the church reported twelve hundred adherents and an average congregation of three hundred and fifty.

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* The nine charges of the Oudh District (1887) were Lucknow English church; Lucknow Indian church; Sitapur; Hardoi; Gonda and Bahraich; Bara Banki; Rae Bareli, Kanpur English church; and Kanpur Indian church. For several years, at intervals, Lakhimpur was combined with Sitapur.

† These six Circuits were Bara Banki, Hardoi, Lakhimpur, Rae Bareli, Sitapur, and Unao. Kallu Das was this year (1894) transferred to the Northwest India Conference.

The Lucknow Indian church, the largest native church in the Oudh District, reported in 1877 fifty-five full members and thirty-one probationers. Preaching was maintained at seven points and there were twenty-one day schools with an enrollment of 1,316 pupils. Growth of the church was slow but J. W. Waugh found encouragement in the fact that what was accomplished was more by the efforts of native Christians than by missionary agency.

> Some among these brethren begin to understand that the ultimate establishment of Christianity in India is to be accomplished mainly through themselves, and not through the foreign missionary; . . . the churches must be gathered and taught by our native brethren.

This year (1877) special work among the educated classes was begun with weekly lectures on the Christian religion by Ram Chander Bose. The addresses attracted an audience of about a hundred cultured Hindus and Mohammedans. Later the lecture series was given in several other cities where large audiences attended.[353]

In 1878 Brenton H. Badley* was appointed to the Lucknow Indian church beginning a missionary pastorate that was to continue for almost nineteen years, with a furlough interim of two years. During most of the period he served also as principal of the Centennial High School, a boarding school for Christian Indian boys, and was chiefly instrumental in developing it into one of the outstanding English high schools of India. For four years Isaac Fieldbrave was associated with him as Indian pastor. In 1882 Matthew

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* Brenton H. Badley (1849-91) was born at Monmouth, Ind. He was a graduate of Simpson College (1870) and of Garrett Biblical Institute (1872). On Aug. 8, 1872, he married Mary A. Scott, a college mate. He was received on trial in the Des Moines Conference in September, 1872, and transferred to the North India Conference. With Mrs. Badley he sailed from New York on Oct. 23 and arrived in India on Dec. 19. He began at once to study Hindustani and within six months preached his first vernacular sermon in a Lucknow bazaar. For four years he was missionary-in-charge at both Gonda and Bahraich. His crowning work was the development of Reid Christian College. He was tireless in labor and wrote several books and numerous articles on Indian missions for American periodicals. Of him Bishop Thoburn wrote: "Blameless in life, . . . gentle in spirit, . . . immovable in purpose, he wielded a blessed influence among his Hindustani brethren . . . ."—Obituary, *Gospel in All Lands,* June, 1901, pp. 273 f.

Stephens was admitted to the Conference on trial and appointed Indian pastor in association with Badley. He was continued as pastor until 1895. In 1894 the church reported 176 members, with an attendance at the Sunday services of four hundred to five hundred. The church was self-supporting, including pastor's salary and all incidental expenses. The evangelistic work this year was in the charge of W. A. Mansell, aided by twelve Indian assistants.

The North India Conference of the W.F.M.S. in 1882 decided to establish in Lucknow a Home for Homeless Women on the same plan and with the same purpose as the Home opened two years before at Pithoragarh. It was proposed, if possible, to raise the necessary funds for buildings and maintenance in India. The institution was opened in 1882, and in the course of years sheltered hundreds of women, many of whom were rehabilitated within a few months to go out to live "useful lives as ayahs, nurses, matrons, and zenana workers." [354]

Sitapur in ten years had seen missionaries come and go five times. It was no wonder, J. E. Scott commented when reporting from the Station for the first time in 1876, that growth had been slow "when no one has remained long enough to become acquainted with the people or understand the needs of the place." During 1878, with the help of a graduate of the Bareilly Theological School and five Local Preachers, Scott held preaching services at intervals in three centers: Sitapur, Khairabad, and Misrikh. Gradual progress was made year by year so that by 1892 there were nine centers, six Indian preachers, two W.F.M.S. missionaries, an Anglo-vernacular boys' school, a boarding school for Christian girls, and a number of small day schools. The boarding school had seventy-three girls in attendance in 1895, with Epworth and Junior Leagues, a missionary society, and active bands of Ready Workers who visited villages and mohallas. In 1893 the Sitapur charge, with fifty-eight Sunday schools, reported fifty-three full members and ninety-three probationers.

Accounts, similar save for details, may be given of Hardoi, Lakhimpur, Rae Bareli, and Bara Banki. At none of these Circuits did marked success attend missionary effort.[355]

Gonda as regards growth was, for the Oudh District, exceptional. In 1876, in combination with Bahraich, the Station reported only twenty members. In 1893, apart from Bahraich, Gonda had 650 full members and 560 probationers. The workers in 1876, in addition to the missionary, included four Local Preachers, two Exhorters, and two colporteurs. There were twenty-one day schools with twenty-nine teachers and 826 pupils. Outstations numbered three: Colonelganj, Nawabganj, and Ellenpur. Samuel Knowles, in charge again in 1880, remarked on the entire absence of opposition. Crowds, both Hindu and Mohammedan, listened attentively and respectfully during the services held in the bazaars. In his report for 1881 Knowles told of four remarkable conversions: a young Brahmin, listening in the Bahraich bazaar struck by the comparison between the tenth Hindu avatar who would come to destroy and the incarnate Christ who came not to destroy but to save; a young Madrasi servant who upon hearing a sermon in the Gonda bazaar became convinced that only Christ could save him from his sins; a middle-aged Brahmin fakir whose mind was opened to Christian truth in a bazaar service in Colonelganj; and a Brahmin compounder in the Nawabganj hospital who came to the bazaar one evening to break up the meeting and went away an earnest inquirer and shortly afterward became baptized. In 1884 the Gospel was preached by Knowles and his assistants in three hundred villages of the Gonda District, at seven melas, and in sixty-two bazaars of as many cities. The previous year, for the first time, Bahraich was made a separate charge with an Indian minister, a Local Preacher, and two W.F.M.S. Bible women. Gonda by 1888 had an aggressive program under way in seven outstations. In 1892, with ten centers of work, baptisms numbered 640. Knowles attributed success solely to "experimental preaching attended by the *power of the Holy Spirit.*"

> The deepest and most effectual kind of preaching is that which comes from a *man's own experience.* So before we go out on an itinerating tour it is our custom in Gonda to gather all our native preachers in from our out-stations, and spend a week or ten days in earnest heart-searchings and fervent prayers before God.[356]

It is noteworthy that Samuel Knowles served Gonda as pastor for a second lengthy period, 1880-93, an unusually long missionary pastorate. For much of that time Mrs. Knowles had direction of women's work. In 1884 she reported five Bible women engaged in zenana visiting; by 1886 the number of zenanas visited had increased to 141, and in 1887 to more than three hundred. This year a female devotee who with her husband had sat under a tree in sackcloth and ashes in all kinds of weather became a convert and joined in preaching and teaching in the villages. In 1888 Phoebe Rowe who, with Esther J. DeVine, for two years had been in charge of the Lucknow Girls' Boarding School, was transferred to Gonda for "the Boarding School and evangelistic work." A school and home was built during the year, which soon was overcrowded. By 1894-95 more than fifty villages were regularly visited by the W.F.M.S. workers.[357]

The work of the Kanpur English church in 1877 was stated by the pastor to be in a prosperous and very hopeful condition with "a greater spirit of active evangelism among the members" than before. The church had forty full members. This, however, did not accurately represent the strength of the church since many of the strongest moral and financial supporters maintained their membership elsewhere. In 1884 some twenty owners and managers of mills and factories were affiliated with the church as members of the congregation, many of whom gave a regular portion of their time to missionary work. At least three hundred Hindus and Mohammedans were this year receiving religious instruction. One layman maintained an English Sunday school for children of railway employees and four native Sunday schools and supported three native preachers. In 1892, with forty-six members, the church in addition to its work among English residents and soldiers and among Indians maintained an Anglo-vernacular day school for boys, and a boarding school for native Christian girls.

The Cawnpore Memorial School, the English boarding school, in 1877 was divided into two separate departments, a boys' school; and a school for girls, the Cawnpore Girls' School. Though under the handicap of a floating debt of $11,800. the Memorial School gained in influence until within a few years it was drawing pupils from all parts of India.[358]

In 1877 the Indian Society had some thirty members and probationers, mostly employees of business houses or the mission, and their families. These included a Local Preacher and an Exhorter who gave their entire time to bazaar preaching. There were three boys' day schools with an attendance of 140 pupils. Kanpur was one of the most promising fields for Christian mission work in North India, its native population characterized by greater independence of thought and action than that of most other India cities. The Kanpur native who became a Christian was less likely than those elsewhere to lose his caste standing and his livelihood. By 1885, with a new building the church had a congregation of 1,200 and 177 members and probationers. A plan to develop self-support in converts by training them in factory work in Kanpur mills and factories did not work out as well as was hoped. In 1882 some 116 boys, men, and women—the largest proportion being boys from the Shahjahanpur Orphanage—were employed part-time in factory work and part-time in school. Five years later there were only sixty, and in 1890 not one of the men who had been trained remained in the mills as an employee. Many who were enrolled as trainees were unwilling to submit to the discipline involved in training; some preferred other forms of employment; and others rightly objected, as Christians, to the Sunday work required by some of the factories. Robert Hoskins' judgment was that the scheme was too paternalistic; the men, he said, "become better Christians when they are left more to their own exertions." [359]

AMROHA* 1882-93 (SAMBHAL, 1894-95) DISTRICT

The Amroha District was formed in 1882 with thirteen Circuits.† It contained an approximate population of 500,000 in 1,200 towns and villages with Christians in 152 of them. All of the preachers—including Zahur ul Haqq, the Presiding Elder—were Indians. All of the pastors, with one exception, were Local Preachers. Christian converts were widely scattered, only a few in a village, frequently not more than one family, and from fifteen to twenty villages on a Circuit. At the close of the first year Zahur ul Haqq reported that in most of the Circuits the churches had been strengthened and inquirers had increased. Schools multiplied. In 1884 in addition to "a school for the higher classes" there was one exclusively for Chamar children, one for children of the Sweepers, and a girls' school. In five Circuits—Babukhera, Joa, Narainiya, Daurala, and Raepur—the work was almost wholly among Sikhs. The Church of Christ, the Presiding Elder felt, was "being slowly, but surely built up in these villages." Women's work in the District was under the supervision of Mrs. Zahur ul Haqq, "carried on by twenty-two Bible women and teachers." She visited all of the charges in the District and "examined every girls' school." On the Sambhal Circuit there were in 1885 three girls' schools at Sambhal, a mohalla girls' school at Hatam Sarae; and in 1886 preaching places were established on the Hasanpur Circuit, at one of which openings were found among "three classes of people." In 1891 Zahur ul Haqq reported 1,101 persons baptized during the year. In 1892, after five hundred had been baptized, there were still "thousands of inquirers in the surrounding parts." This year there were twenty zenana schools with 572 girls in attendance; thirty-four boys' schools with 706 students, and a Christian community of 2,590 persons. The Bible women—of whom thirty-one were employed in 1894-95—in addition to Scripture teaching and the singing of hymns and bhajans taught needlework.

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* At the January, 1894, Conference the name of the District was changed to Sambhal.

† The thirteen original Circuits were Amroha, Sambhal, Rasulpur, Sharifpur, Gangeshri, Hasanpur, Narainiya, Raepur, Dhanpur, Daurala, Shahpur, Babukhera, and Joa. From time to time work was begun in new centers so that in 1889 there were twenty-two Circuits, including in addition to most of those on the original list, Bajoi, Anupshahr, Bulandshahr, Khurja, Meerut, Garhmukhtesar, Hapur, Mowana, Pariehhatgarh, and Muradnagar.

In 1894, under its changed name, the District had fourteen Circuits. Seven of the pastors were Conference members, and six were Local Preachers, of whom five were ordained and one unordained. The Presiding Elder, H. A. Cutting, a Hindustani minister, reported improvement "in every department of . . . [the] work." The temporal as well as the spiritual condition of the Christians, he stated the next year, is steadily getting better. "They keep their houses clean," he said, "wear clean clothes, and are becoming more industrious." Many promised to do their utmost to banish the evil practice of child marriage.[360]

AGRA DISTRICT, 1891-93

The Agra District was formed in 1891, in an area formerly included within the Rohilkhand District, with six Circuits.* The three central stations from which the work was carried on were Agra, Ajmer, and Muttra—each the capital of a civil district of 800,000 to a million people—and each with a missionary in charge. When formed the District had about 1,300 Christians in some fifty towns and villages. In 1892 the District had a working force of some hundred and fifty persons, including three missionaries with their wives;

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* The six Circuits of the Agra District in 1891 were: Agra, Ajmer, Fatehpur Sikri, Hathras, Jalesar, and Muttra. Ajmer Circuit, in accordance with an action of the Boundary Commission of the Central Conference, was transferred in 1891 from the Bengal Conference to North India.—*Minutes, North India Conference,* 1891, pp. 71, 73.

two Indian Conference members; twenty-four Local Preachers, twenty Exhorters; twenty-five pastor-teachers; a W.F.M.S. missionary; Bible readers, and various unpaid workers. Bishop Thoburn wrote to the *Gospel in All Lands* that the thousands of children flocking into the churches greatly increased the need for schools. "We must not only have village schools, but central boarding schools in which the more promising boys and girls can be trained for usefulness." J. E. Scott, Presiding Elder at this time, stated that so many inquirers were presenting themselves for baptism that many had "to be held back," not because they were not worthy but because there was no practicable way of caring for them. This year there were about two thousand baptisms on the District. A thousand pupils were in the day schools and about five thousand in the Sunday schools.

Agra had three Societies, an English and a Hindustani Society in the city and a third among the villages about Jalesar. The Ajmer Circuit with two hundred communicants and a Christian community of four hundred and fifty in a population of two million also had both English and Hindustani work, and two sub-Circuits.[361]

Muttra, thirty miles above Agra, on the left bank of the river Jumna, had in the eighties a population of about 55,700. It was one of the most famous religious centers in India with many sacred sites of nationwide reputation. It first appeared as a separate Conference appointment in 1888, with J. E. Scott as missionary. Two private schools were taken over by the missionary and before the end of the first year eighty boys were enrolled and several branch schools opened. This year W. E. Blackstone contributed $3,000. for the beginning of deaconess work in the city, including the training of native workers, and for a missionary home. By 1890 the home was completed, with Miss Fannie J. Sparkes in charge, and more than five thousand visits already made. A girls' training school had been organized and eleven pupils were in attendance. There was also a Christian Boys' Boarding School and a Central Anglo-Vernacular School. A soldiers' chapel was built with an auditorium, a prayer and reading room, and a coffee shop. A general-purpose building, Flora Hall, had a preaching hall, schoolrooms, bookstore, and mission office. Almost "every form of Christian work . . . [was] carried on" by 1893, and five large Circuits were superintended from the city by Scott. Work was also in progress at Brindaban, six miles from Muttra, a city of a thousand temples, with eight thousand Bengali widows living as "the brides of Krishna." [362]

ALIGARH DISTRICT, 1891-93

When the Aligarh District was formed in 1891 Hasan Raza Khan, a Mohammedan convert, was appointed Presiding Elder. He had been baptized in 1880 and immediately begun to preach. In his youth he hated the Christians but one day was struck by the statement of a colporteur: "God so loved the world that He gave His only Son to die for our sins." Days later he sought the man and asked whether the words were "perfectly true."

> My conscience burst on me like a volcano, . . . I was . . . at a loss what to do. . . . I then purchased from the colporteur fifteen books of this religion, read them over carefully, and when I had studied the Bible from beginning to end I became completely dissatisfied with the . . . religion of my forefathers, and became impressed that Christ was the only redeemer of the world.
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> At last, against my inclination, I was obliged to admit the truth of Christianity. Its evidence was so strong that I could not resist it, and the fear of being hated and killed troubled me no more.

In 1887 he was appointed to the Kasganj Circuit where there were but fifteen Christians, all in one town. In 1885 Kasganj had a primary school, and schools also in three villages. By 1891 there were eight Circuits and a Christian community of 3,090, living in 125 villages. This year the Kasganj Circuit was made the nucleus of the new Aligarh District, with the following Circuits: Kasganj, Soron, Patiala, Aliganj, Sikandra Rao, Aligarh, Atrauli, and Etah. During the year 1,500 persons were baptized. The District had fifty primary schools with 1,222 pupils, and seventy-six Sunday schools with an enrollment of 2,085 pupils. In 1892 Christians increased in number to 5,751, the converts coming from almost all castes. The "rush of the people toward Christianity," the Presiding Elder said, "could not be arrested." [363]

BAREILLY DISTRICT, 1891-95

The Bareilly District as re-established in 1891, in the heart of the Methodist area where missionary work had been in progress since 1859, had sixteen appointments.* The Presiding Elder was P. T. Wilson. "We have," he reported at the close of 1891, "some 7,000 Christians in this District." Baptisms during the year had been 2,600 and from every side the call came, "Give us pastor-teachers, and come and baptize us." Christian work was being carried on among all classes. A few from "the so-called good castes" had become Christians, and many converts had been made from Mohammedans. There had been many recent conversions also among the thakurs and Wilson's hope was that as a group they might become Christians. The largest number of converts were Sweepers, some five thousand of whom out of 35,000 in the District had become Christians. There had been evangelistic work for many years among the 260,000 Chamars in the District but persecution among the few converts had been so severe that a Christian could not remain among his people. Indications now were that conditions were changing and a door was opening.

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* The sixteen Circuits of 1891 were: Bareilly, Budaun, Shahjahanpur, East Shahjahanpur, Khera Bajhera, Aonla, Bilsi, Bisauli, Dataganj, Jalalabad, Muhamdi, Kakrala, Pawayan, Panahpur, Tilhar, and Ujhani. During the four years 1891-95 several Circuits were transferred to other Districts and some new Circuits were added. At the 1895 Conference, appointments were made to twelve Circuits.

There were so many Christian children and youth that schoolwork had to be confined almost exclusively to them. Goucher schools and pastor-teacher schools were numerous, awakening in the pupils a desire for more Christian education. We need more schools for our Christian boys, the Presiding Elder said, than we dare ask the Missionary Society for. Good boarding schools for girls were maintained by the W.F.M.S. at three central stations in the District: Bareilly, Budaun, and Shahjahanpur, with 380 Christian girls in attendance.

At the January, 1893, Conference ten Circuits were transferred from the Bareilly District to the Moradabad District. Even with this reduction in area there were 652 baptisms during the year. At some points strong opposition continued. On the Shahjahanpur Circuit a new Station, Khutar, was opened in 1891 under extreme difficulties. N. L. Rockey, missionary-in-charge, wrote: "None of my seven years has been as full of persecution and worry, and none so plentifully fruitful and interesting." The wide distribution of converts in the District is shown in the fact that in 1894, 3,954 Christians were living in 456 different villages.[364]

MORADABAD DISTRICT, 1891-95

The new Moradabad District in 1891 under J. C. Butcher had nine appointments.* Butcher defined the area as including the whole of the Bijnor administrative division, the eastern part of the Moradabad district, and a portion of the Tehri and of the native state of Rampur. Each of the Circuits was placed under an ordained preacher, and each had "been blessed with many conversions." In 1892 as then constituted the area had about 1,800,000 inhabitants, of whom 7,665 were native Christians. Of these 2,323 had been baptized during the preceding twelve months. The largest proportion of converts were Sweepers, Chamars, and Nats. Moradabad was the center of the District and was well organized for missionary work. The Methodist schools, as previously stated, were outstanding. Bijnor, and its seventeen villages, had 399 Christians on the rolls. It had good schools, a Boys' Elementary Boarding School and a Girls' Boarding School which had seventy in attendance. Since the majority of the Sweeper caste had been baptized on the Bijnor Circuit, the missionaries turned to the Chamars, a very numerous group. In the past, converts among them had not been stedfast, the larger proportion after a time having turned back to their former way of life. Schools were again opened among them and the workers were hopeful that lasting results might be accomplished.[365]

PILIBHIT DISTRICT, 1891-95

The Pilibhit District, in 1891 carved out of an area in which Janvier had begun preaching in 1864, had six Circuits.* No missionary was included among the appointees. The Presiding Elder, Abraham Solomon, was a Hindustani Jew. The District had 3,458 Christians living in 315 villages. There were fifty-nine boys' schools with 1,316 pupils; and twenty-one girls' schools with an enrollment of 436. In 1892, 1,036 persons were baptized on the District. The Mohammedans of the area were aggressive in their efforts to win converts and disposed to oppress Christian workers.

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* The nine appointments of the Moradabad District in 1891 were: Moradabad; Moradabad Dang (Hindustani); Dhanpur, Nagina; Najibabad; Mandawar; Bashta; Bijnor; Chandausi; and Kundarki. No sooner had the District begun operations when readjustments were made. Appointments in 1892 were thirteen in number.—*Minutes, North India Conference,* 1892, pp. 74 f.

> The Mohammedans kept in custody for a whole day one of our teachers, and a new convert, to ascertain why they had embraced Christianity; but when they came to know that they had become Christians to save their souls, they let them go, with a request to give them a copy of the Bible and teach them the way to salvation; and a rich Mohammedan—one of their companions—became so much pleased with these two brethren that he gave us a small piece of land to build a chapel for Christian worship.

By 1894 Christians had increased in number to 6,622, besides thousands of inquirers, living in 423 towns and villages. The next year the W.F.M.S. reported twenty-two girls' schools and at one point a school of 120 women in preparation for Christian work and handiwork. The churches of the District provided entire support for thirteen preachers. On all of the Circuits the churches were growing, and practically everyone reported many inquirers.[366]

GONDA AND BUDAUN DISTRICTS, 1894-95

At the 1894 Annual Conference two new Districts were formed, Gonda and Budaun. The Gonda District, cut off from the Oudh District, had the first year ten Circuits.† In his report at the end of the year William Peters, the Hindustani Presiding Elder, commenting on his "very large field," said:

> I had to travel nearly sixty miles on foot to visit a station . . . and during a tour of one and a half months, I travelled two hundred and seventy-three miles in this manner, to see the work in different villages, and also to open new work. Though converts have been few this year, yet some three hundred and seventy-four persons, young and old, were baptized . . . .

The work was carried on among people from the highest caste to the lowest and inquirers came from all classes.[367]

The Budaun District, J. B. Thomas, Presiding Elder, "was formed . . . by cutting off a part of the Moradabad" District. It contained a territory of nearly 2,000 square miles—most of the Budaun administrative area and a large section of the Bareilly area—with a population of more than 900,000 people, of whom 8,000 were Christians living in some three hundred towns and villages. It was divided into nine Circuits.‡ There were 115 village schools in which 2,500 boys and girls were enrolled and in Budaun two boarding schools with 110 boys and ninety girls who were being trained for Christian service. Efforts were made to provide regular preaching in every village where there were Christians.

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* The six appointments of 1891 were Pilibhit, Bisulpur, Baheri, Fataganj West, Shahi, Nawabganj.

† The appointments of the Gonda District in 1894 were: Colonelganj, Balrampur, Nawabganj, Bankapur, Utraula, Bahraich, Bhinga, Kaisarganj, Nanpara, and Ikauna. In 1895 appointments were made only to eight Circuits.

‡ The Budaun District Circuits were: Budaun, Aonla, Binawar, Bilsi, Bisauli, Dataganj, Kakrala, Ujhani, and Sahiswan.

NORTHWEST INDIA CONFERENCE, 1893-95

The 1892 General Conference made provision for a new Annual Conference in northwest India.* On January 18, 1893, the members of the Agra and Aligarh Districts and the pastors of Kanpur, Allahabad, and Bulandshahr of the North India Conference, and also of the Mussooree District of the Bengal Conference, met in the Methodist Church at Agra for organization. Twenty-three ministers in full connection and seven probationers were present, in addition to Bishop Thoburn. The group included a number of the most able and experienced of the India missionaries and Indian ministers.† The Conference was organized with seven Districts: Agra, Ajmer, Allahabad, Bulandshahr, Kasganj, Meerut, and Mussooree.

The largely increased debt of the Missionary Society in 1893 ‡ which led to a decrease of the appropriation dealt a heavy blow to Northwest India. The Conference adopted a resolution declaring that

> our more than 25,000 converts who have been brought in during the past three years are left with insufficient pastors and teachers, and the hundreds of men, women and children who are joining us every month cannot have that attention which is necessary to build them up in the faith of the Gospel . . . .[368]

Bishop Thoburn made a special trip to the United States in an endeavor to raise Rs. 35,000 in special gifts to supplement the year's appropriation.

The Conference took note of the tendency in most of the Circuits of baptizing only the men, without their families, and adopted a resolution disapproving the practice except "under extraordinary circumstances." At the 1894 Conference 9,810 baptisms were reported, making a Christian community of more than twenty-eight thousand. The very rapid increase necessitated a change in the educational program. This was indicated by the Board of Education in 1893: "Our school work must be largely limited to our own people." There was no desire to exclude non-Christians, but the Christians and inquirers taxed the capacity of the schools and it was felt that the education of the Christian constituency was the first obligation. Changes were necessary also in W.F.M.S. methods. "Zenana work and schools for heathen girls have been closed all over the conference," the 1894 *Annual Report* stated, "so that the Bible-readers and teachers may teach the Christian women and children." In 1895 the Society had girls' boarding schools in operation at Muttra, Meerut, Kanpur, Aligarh, and Ajmer for Indian Christian girls, and the high school at Kanpur for English and Eurasians.[369]

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* *G. C. Journal,* 1892: "Northwest India Conference shall consist of that portion of the Northwest Provinces which lies south and west of the Ganges, the Punjab, and such parts of Rajputana and Central India as lie north of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude."—P. 412.

† The charter members of the Conference were: Frank J. Blewitt, Edward S. Busby, Philo M. Buck, William R. Clancy, Isa Das, C. W. R. De Souza, Edwin T. Farnon, Robert Hoskins, H. R. Khan, Mahrub Khan, Chimman Lal, Chunni Lal, James C. Lawson, A. T. Leonard, Hasan Luke, James Lyon, H. Mansell, John E. Newsom, Dennis Osborne, Claudius H. Plomer, Jefferson E. Scott, Matthew Tindale, John D. Webb. *Probationers,* Daniel Buck, Y. Cornelius, Edwin W. Gay, Tafzzul Haqq, J. S. Joseph, Mohan Lal, Joshi Sumer. Those received on trial were: Taj Khan, Fazi Haqq, Fazi Masih, Ishwari Pershad, John D. Ranson, Ram Sahai.

‡ See pp. 130, 132.

AGRA DISTRICT, 1893-95

When transferred from North India to the Northwest India Conference in 1893 the Agra District had eight large Circuits.* J. E. Scott was continued as Presiding Elder. In his report to the January, 1894, Conference he recalled the time when the missionaries visited the non-Christian melas preaching to indifferent listeners and contrasted it with 1893 when "most profitable *melas* were held at Aligarh, Hathras, and Brindaban" with instruction given through lectures, sermons, and exhortations to hundreds; and hymns, prayers, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper brought spiritual inspiration and solace. Some thirty village pastor-students were this year receiving training in special schools at Agra, Aligarh, and Muttra. Reading, writing, simple arithmetic, the Bible, Catechism, and practical evangelistic work were taught. Three or four rupees per month for an unmarried man sufficed for support. Scott felt that a marvelous change, wrought by grace in the hearts of hundreds of converts, was taking place.

> As is well known, many of the people are very, very poor. They live from hand to mouth, with but little in the hand. They are exceedingly illiterate. With the exception of about one hundred and fifty mission employees and several hundred students, the great mass are unable to read or write. It cannot be expected that a people oppressed and depressed for centuries will burst out into brilliancy all at once.[370]

Scott held a six-week District Summer School attended by teachers, Exhorters, and lower-grade workers and their wives in which the elementary subjects were taught, together with the parables, the Catechism, and Ten Commandments. Experienced missionaries gave daily lectures, and led devotional meetings. At the close there was a District Convention attended by many of the members of the local churches.

The second round of Quarterly Conferences of 1895, Scott felt, were especially helpful. Two questions: What can be done to stimulate self-support of the churches? and, What can be done to reach the women—particularly the Christian women—in the District? were discussed in all the Conferences.

> The meetings were held for the most part, on account of the great heat, at night. There is nothing more primitive or more interesting than these little meetings of humble people under some wide-spreading tree at night, with the people seated on the ground, around a dimly burning native lamp, literally the 'smoking flax,' singing their weird songs and offering their simple heart prayers. It is such meetings as

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* The Agra District appointments in 1893 were: Agra, Aligarh, Brindaban, Bharatpur, Fatehpur Sikri, Gobardhan, Hathras, and Muttra.

these which must be held in every village and hamlet wherever there are Christians, if we are to get these people properly taught and indoctrinated.[371]

KASGANJ DISTRICT, 1893-95

The Kasganj District constituted at the first session of the Northwest India Conference included all but one Circuit of the Aligarh District of the 1892 North India Conference. In all it had thirteen Circuits.* The Presiding Elder was Hasan Raza Khan, who served also as pastor of the Kasganj Circuit The District had eighty-seven small schools attended by 1,548 boys and girls During the year 1,400 "accepted Christ and received baptism" and entreated the Presiding Elder to provide more schools for the education of their children He opened fifteen small schools but could do nothing for some Stations. Funds were needed for forty additional pastor-teachers for forty congregations which were without pastors. In 1894 inquirers continued to increase. The Presiding Elder called the preachers together and urged them to give themselves to the instruction of converts and not to baptize others until proper arrangement for training them could be made. In a short time the plea for baptism became so urgent that he felt compelled to consent "with the result that two thousand and seventy-eight embraced Christianity." His call for funds for more pastor-teachers remained unanswered. Self-support was encouraged but the collections were too small to admit appointment of additional pastors. Eight workers were supported by local collections and this despite the fact that many of the people were so poor that they had but one scant meal a day.

> They cannot secure warm clothing for the cold weather, and have to huddle around a fire made of leaves and refuse most of the night to keep warm. . . . At the Hathras mela [1885] the self-support meeting was a pronounced success. The Christians of the Kasganj District placed their gifts on the table. There were rupees, pice, handkerchiefs, coats, sheets, chickens, eggs and various articles which were sold by auction and realized one hundred & thirteen rupees; this with the collections of the year makes a total of eleven hundred and sixty-seven rupees for the Pastor's Fund.[372]

AJMER DISTRICT, 1893-95

The Ajmer District as constituted in 1893 with Charles W. R. De Souza as Presiding Elder had eight Circuits.† It was an offshoot of Agra. It was a difficult field because of the remoteness of the villages, their inaccessibility and the fact that different dialects were spoken in the various areas. Ajmer as the principal town of the province of Rajasthan was surrounded by twenty-four native states, including some of the wealthiest and most influential of India. There were about 1,200 baptisms in 1893, and De Souza believed the number might have been doubled had helpers been available to oversee the work and build up the new converts in faith. Two of the principal Circuits were served by missionaries, Pisangan by James Lyon and Phalera by C. H. Plomer. The two boarding schools in Ajmer—one for boys and one for girls—were growing rapidly. A training class for students was maintained to prepare them for mission work in the District.

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* The thirteen appointments of Kasganj District in 1893 were: Kasganj, Aliganj, Atrauli, Etah Firozabad, Gangiri, Jalesar, Kaimganj, Mustafabad, Patiala, Sikandra Rao, Soron, and Suket.

† The eight Circuits of the Ajmer District in 1893 were: Ajmer, Kishangarh, Nawa, Phalera Pisangan, Pushkar, Srinagar (in Rajasthan), and Rupnagar. In 1894 Bir, Beawar, and Kuchawan were added.

The Ajmer District embraced an area in which the Rajputana Presbyterian Mission had been represented for more than thirty years and the coming in of the Methodists caused some protest.* A strict observance of comity would doubtless have dictated the choice of an unoccupied area, of which there was no lack.[373]

ALLAHABAD DISTRICT, 1893-95

The new Allahabad District as constituted in 1893 with Dennis Osborne as Presiding Elder had only two chief centers, Allahabad and Kanpur. The city of Allahabad was at the extreme southern point of the Conference, 120 miles south of Kanpur. The intervening area afforded a vast field for Christian work with many communities of accessible people among whom very little missionary work was being done.

Although Allahabad had an English-speaking population of six thousand the Methodist English church reported in 1893 only forty-four full members. Rockwell Clancy was continued as pastor. Missionary work was being carried on in four villages and several mohallas. The Indian members were divided into three Classes. There were six day schools and eight Sunday schools. A weekly prayer meeting was held and a noonday preaching service in the English church on Sunday. Eighty persons were baptized during the year. By 1895 there were thirty-two boys in the school, of whom eighteen were orphans. This year the employed staff included three ordained preachers, four Local Preachers, and eight Exhorters and teachers.[374]

The Kanpur English church at this time had forty-seven full members and seventeen probationers. John E. Newsom was pastor. The wife of the proprietor of a shoe and harness factory conducted a day school and Sunday school for the children of the factory employees. In addition to the regular church services attended by a congregation of four hundred, the pastor held English services at a railway station, a railway institute, and railway barracks. In 1895 a Mrs. Bond took upon herself the entire support of the mission in Bithur.

The Hindustani work in the District during these years was cared for by

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* The Rev. F. Ashcroft in an address at the Third Decennial Missionary Conference, at Bombay, 1892, based his objection on the ground that Methodist methods of evangelization differed from Presbyterian. "We," he said, "believe a man should not be baptized until . . . he understands what he is doing and is sincere in his action. Our Methodist brethren do not seem to think that necessary. They baptize in hope of future real conversions . . . . So they have baptized in the villages, round about Ajmere, hundreds whom we would never dream of baptizing . . . . This must result in evil . . . . (*Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference, Bombay, 1892-93,* II, 617.) Methodists made various answers. One was that some missions, with limited personnel, were in fields which they had no prospect of fully occupying for decades, if ever. The Ajmer work, more fully developed, much later was turned over by the Methodists to the Scotch Presbyterians.

Robert Hoskins, carried on at thirteen different locations in Kanpur and at eleven outside centers. A training school for boys in the city laid special stress on Indian music in addition to instruction in the Bible and a general education. Under Mrs. Hoskins' supervision fifteen Christian women were employed in teaching the Gospel to the women of the District. In 1893 forty preachers were in charge of ten sub-Circuits. Four hundred baptisms included converts from more than fourteen different castes. Over 1,500 candidates for baptism were under instruction. Attendance at the native girls' school had reached in 1895 eighty-five and was beginning to supply qualified Christian women workers. The Date Bible School for Christian boys was opened this year, supported by Henry Date of Chicago. In Kanpur Rs. 1,123 was contributed for self-support; Rs. 246 by native mission workers; and Rs. 657 by native converts, most of whom were exceedingly poor. Much of their contribution was in kind—eggs, flour, hens, deerskins, and so forth.[375]

BULANDSHAHR DISTRICT, 1893-95

Bulandshahr in 1893 was a district of British India in the Meerut division of the United Provinces. It was a level plain with an area of 1,899 square miles, highly cultivated and thickly populated. The Methodist work had been begun in 1888 as a part of the Amroha District, North India Conference. As constituted in 1893 the Bulandshahr District had ten appointments.* Christian workers, in addition to Charles Luke, Presiding Elder, included "eight deacons, five local preachers, thirty-one exhorters and twenty-five pastor-teachers," all Indians. Christians in the District were estimated to number 5,251. The Presiding Elder said at the January, 1894, Conference:

> Last year there were 2,295 baptisms in the district, and about 5,000 more inquirers are found ready who are eagerly desirous for baptism, but on account of paucity of funds we are unable to provide pastor-teachers for their spiritual training, and hence their baptisms are being delayed. These people voluntarily come from long distances and beg of us and press us to make some early arrangements for saving their souls. The reason . . . is that their relations and neighbors have made great progress in religious advancement, and they find themselves more backward.

Prayer meetings were held in eighty-six different places in the District. There were forty-five day schools in 1894 with 780 pupils in attendance. Urgent need was felt for a boarding school as a training institution for boys whose parents pleaded earnestly for their instruction. Bible classes for converts were held in each Circuit. Adults and children to the number of 1,298 were baptized.[376]

MUSSOOREE DISTRICT, 1893-95

The Mussooree District when included within the Northwest India Conference (1893) had six charges,* which was less than half the size it was in 1892. Henry Mansell, who was principal of the Philander Smith Institute, was appointed Presiding Elder. Despite his double appointment he visited in 1894 all of the Stations in the District, some of them three times. In 1894 the six charges had three English churches with a total of ninety-seven full members; and six Hindustani churches with a membership of 205 besides 1,047 probationers. The Indian Christian community numbered 1,465 adults and 579 children. There were sixteen Local Preachers, eighteen Exhorters, nineteen teachers (other than pastor-teachers), and three Bible readers. There were in the District twenty-two vernacular boys' schools with 389 pupils, and seven girls' schools with an enrollment of 147; and three Anglo-vernacular boys' and two girls' schools with a total enrollment of 241. Sunday schools numbered sixty-nine, with 1,770 pupils. While there were fewer baptisms in the Mussooree than in most other Districts in the Conference Mansell felt assured that "marked and steady progress" was being made in all the Circuits.[377]

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* The Bulandshahr appointments, 1893, were: Bulandshahr, Anupshahr, Aurangabad, Dadri, Dabhai, Jahangirabad, Khurja, Pahasu, Siyana, and Shikarpur.

MEERUT DISTRICT, 1893-95

The Meerut District, about sixty miles in width and 125 in length, in the United Provinces, lay principally between the Ganges and Jumna Rivers. When constituted at the 1893 Conference it had nine appointments.† Philo M. Buck was designated as Presiding Elder. He considered the District to be in advance of all other Districts in the Conference in the numbers of accessible classes. Socially they were at the foot of the ladder but as regards food and raiment they were as well off "as the average of their neighbors of higher social distinction." The Christians among them were comparatively independent and seldom asked for material help. Converts from the lowest castes who became educated were not discriminated against by the so-called better classes. Often the preacher of the Gospel who had become educated and cultured ranked among the most influential men of a town. In contrast to these favorable aspects in some of the newer areas of the work antagonism to missionary work was manifested.[378]

> In the region where the greatest number of baptisms have occurred, the leading men . . . assembled in council, where it is said several hundred were present, and . . . bound themselves under a curse to suppress Christianity and to prevent its further spread. Petitions were made to secure the assistance of native government officials. . . . One of our workers was asked to name a sum for which he would be willing to give up his work of evangelization. Our people have been beaten, were deprived for a time of pasturage for their cattle and of fuel for cooking their food, and from one village a company of Christians recently baptized has been expelled.

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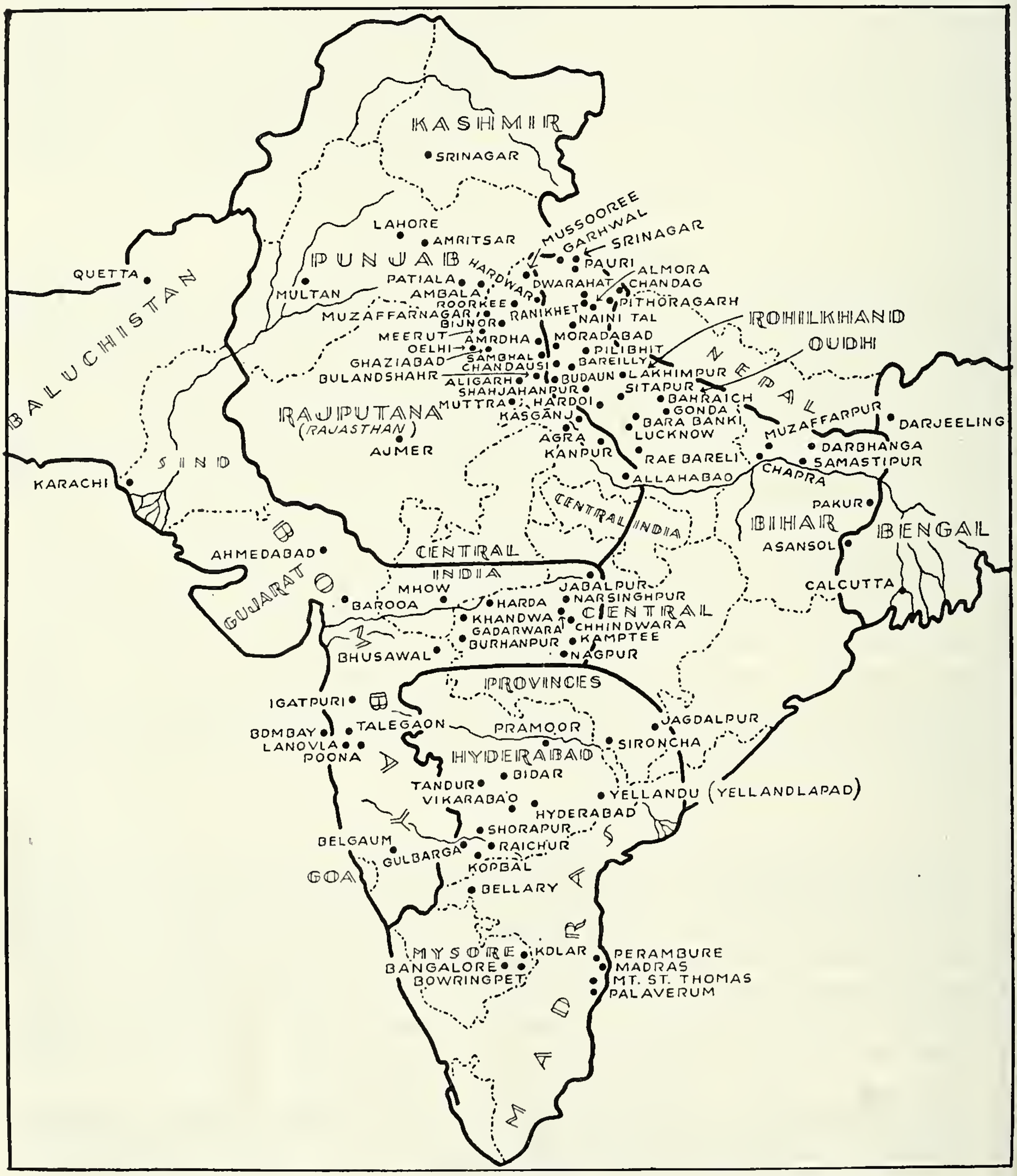
* The Mussooree District in 1893 included Mussooree, Lahore, Deoband, Patiala, Rajpura, and Roorkee. Account of all these charges has been given on earlier pages. During 1888-92 the District had been a part of the Bengal Conference. Five of its 1892 Circuits—Delhi, Baghpat, Bilochpur, Meerut, and Muzaffarnagar, were placed in the new Meerut District.

† The nine appointments of the Meerut District were: Meerut, Baghpat, Bilochpur, Delhi, Hapur, Minranpur, Mawana, Muzaffarnagar, and Rubbapura.

The Presiding Elder reported that he knew of but one lapse from Christianity resulting from persecution.[379]

While for most of the converts the schools furnished only elementary instruction their capacity to understand the Gospel and to embrace the new life which it offered was not dependent on the extent of their literacy. Buck was often surprised by the "clear views of sin, repentance, faith, conversion and good works" found among "simple village Christians who could not count one hundred if salvation depended upon it." Their singing was full of enthusiasm and inspiration. They learned by heart many hymns that were "full of gospel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MUZAFFARNAGAR
BIJNOR
MEERUT
AMRDHA
DELHI
GHAZIABAD
SAMBHAL
CHANDAUSI
BULANDSHAHR
ALIGARH
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GARHWAL
SRINAGAR
PAURI
DWARAHAT
ALMORA
CHANDAG
PITHORAGARH
RANIKHET
NAINI TAL
MORADABAD
PILIBHIT
BAREILLY
BUDAUN
LAKHIMPUR
SITAPUR
ROHILKHAND
OUDH
NEPAL
BAHRAICH
GONDA
BARA BANKI
LUCKNOW
AGRA
KANPUR
RAE BARELI
ALLAHABAD
MUZAFFARPUR
DARJEELING
DARBHANGA
SAMASTIPUR
CHAPRA
RAJPUTANA
(RAJASTHAN)
AJMER
SIND
KARACHI
CENTRAL INDIA
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BIHAR
PAKUR
ASANSOL
BENGAL
CALCUTTA
AHMEDABAD
GUJARAT
BARODA
MHOW
JABALPUR
NARSINGHPUR
HARDA
KHANDWA
GADARWARA
CHHINDWARA
BURHANPUR
KAMPTEE
NAGPUR
CENTRAL PROVINCES
BHUSAWAL
BOMBAY
IGATPURI
TALEGAON
BOMBAY
LANOVLA
POONA
PRAMOOR
JAGDALPUR
SIRONCHA
HYDERABAD
BIDAR
TANDUR
VIKARABAD
HYDERABAD
YELLANDU (YELLANDLAPAD)
SHORAPUR
BELGAUM
GULBARGA
RAICHUR
KOPBAL
GOA
BELLARY
MYSORE
KOLAR
BANGALORE
BOWRINGPET
PERAMBURE
MADRAS
MT. ST. THOMAS
PALAVERUM
MADRAS

BOUNDARIES OF THE FIVE INDIA CONFERENCES, 1895 truth and power" and in this way came to possess "a considerable body of the best theology." In 1894 P. M. Buck was the only missionary in the District. His policy as Presiding Elder was not to baptize converts more rapidly than they could be shepherded and trained. He said that he knew of no instance in which proper care was exercised where the convert renounced the faith. Eight of the nine Circuits were served by Hindustani members of Conference and associated with them were thirteen Local Preachers, twenty-seven Exhorters, and forty pastor-teachers. In 1893 there were 1,726 baptisms; in 1894, 1,728.[380]

Forty Years of India Missions

By 1895 the Methodist Episcopal Church had been thoroughly established in India, not merely in one section of the country but in all the major regions. Its five Conferences embraced the entire geographical extent of India and Burma. The North India Conference had ninety-nine charges; South India twenty-seven; Bengal-Burma, twenty-five; Bombay, twenty-five; and Northwest India, seventy-six; a total of 252 for all India and Burma.* Church buildings and chapels numbered 227. There were 26,611 full members and 43,899 probationers. The Christian community, which included adherents who were not church members, numbered 65,263 adults and 31,617 children. There were 1,286 vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools with 29,363 pupils, and 2,252 Sunday schools with an enrollment of 77,376.

Within four decades the Church sent to India—counting missionary wives—no less than 423 missionaries. Of these 337 were sent out by the Missionary Society and eighty-six by the W.F.M.S.

That the Methodist mission within the brief space of four decades was able to accomplish such impressive results was in part accounted for by the generally prevailing friendliness of the Indian people. The missionaries encountered little of the extreme prejudice against foreigners, with the resultant persecution, which made the beginnings of Methodist work in China so difficult. The greatest resistance was met on religious grounds. Mohammedans, because of thorough indoctrination in childhood and youth, were inclined to be hostile. Among the Hindus the Brahmins as the priestly class, characterized by exclusiveness, were naturally opposed to any movement which threatened their hereditary rights and privileges. Of overt oppression there was very little and such as occurred was short-lived.† Persecution of converts, however, was more common. P. M. Buck, when Presiding Elder of the Meerut District, Northwest India, in 1894 reported that converts were "being persecuted bitterly in various villages." The victims were low-caste people and the persecution, in most cases by the landholders and other leading men, was motivated not by an inherent opposition to Christianity but for economic reasons and a fear of the breaking down of caste customs. Sometimes the treatment was persistent and extremely cruel. However, the recognized right of the mission to take such cases to the courts for adjudication and enforcement of penalties served as a deterrent.

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* This total includes English language, Indian, and combined English language and Indian charges. In some instances a charge did not have an organized Society—and in other cases included more than one. The *Minutes* did not indicate the number of Societies in a District or in a Conference as a whole.

† For example, in 1885 J. H. Gill, then in charge of the Bareilly Circuit in North India, reported that a mob of some seventy-five people threatened a small band of Methodist women who were visiting and teaching at Bisulpur, but there was no violence.—*Minutes, North India Conference,* 1886, p. 28.

The British rule, after the taking over of administration from the East India Company by the Crown, was friendly to Christian missions. Even-handed justice in law enforcement, the policy of toleration, and the grants-in-aid * to schools made a direct contribution to the Christian cause. In numerous cases, also, British officials and merchants contributed generously to local support of missions and to English language churches. The investment of British capital in railroads, in irrigation projects, in the development of unproductive land facilitated missionary activities. Association with the British contributed to the prestige of the missionaries and their work, particularly with the underprivileged classes.

In the beginning the mission possessed the appearance and character of a foreign enterprise and this continued to be the case for years. The missionaries considered themselves "agents" of the Missionary Society. The term was first used by Butler and after him was in common use by other missionaries during most of the period. This tended to cause them to hold control in their own hands in the administration of funds, even in the case of money raised on the field. It led them also to think of the Annual Conference as an organization whose membership was limited to missionaries, a tendency which restricted the development of an indigenous Indian Christian Church. At the first meeting of the India Mission Annual Conference, in 1864, a recommendation from the Bareilly Quarterly Conference was presented for the admission of Joel T. Janvier, William Butler's first Indian assistant, to the Conference. This prompted questioning among the missionaries whether it was expedient to admit native ministers to the Conference. It was finally decided that Janvier and four other Indians should be admitted but this action did not establish a policy. Eleven years later (1875) comparatively few Indians had been received into Conference membership. Parker characterized the District Conference as the "native brethren's" Conference.

A long step was taken in the direction of placing Indians in a position of equality with missionaries when in 1882 Parker introduced a resolution calling for the appointment of an Indian minister as Presiding Elder. Parker's proposal, Messmore declared, "startled many of his colleagues by its bold liberality." But the mover of the resolution was the most prominent missionary in the Conference and the resolution was passed. When the list of appointments

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* The government's grant-in-aid system was not an unalloyed good. It placed the schools under certain limitations affecting the teaching of religion and made the schools subject to prescribed examinations and reports by inspectors who often were Englishmen indifferent to religion and to Brahmins who were critically antagonistic. Some schools preferred not to receive aid in order to be free to teach religion under more favorable conditions as regards time of day scheduled, and selection of textbooks and other subject matter.—See J. Richter, *op. cit.,* pp. 307 ff.

was read Zahur ul Haqq was named as Presiding Elder of the Amroha District. Native Presiding Elders had been appointed in China some years earlier but in their cases in each District a foreign missionary had charge of all matters relating to the finances of the mission. Zahur ul Haqq was endowed with as much authority as any missionary Presiding Elder in the Conference.

> This native minister . . . now became the peer of the [other] presiding elders in matters financial as well as ecclesiastical. He had a vote in arranging the finances of the Mission, all the Mission agents in his district received their pay from his hands, and—more than all this—this Indian presiding elder sat with other presiding elders in the bishop's council or cabinet.[381]

This case at the time was exceptional but later in the eighties, beginning about 1886, Indians were more and more appointed as the ministers of important Stations and Circuits. An Indian Christian leadership was emerging whose character and ability compelled recognition. Parker, as a discerning and fair-minded missionary leader, was one of the first to acknowledge this. Every year, he said, able tried men come from the ranks of Local Preachers who have "a clear, definite experience, sincere devotion, pure character, and real efficiency in the work." [382] It was not necessary for such men to wait indefinitely for the recognition that Annual Conference membership gave. They achieved recognition by virtue of their personality and strength of character, and responsibility was thrust upon them by missionaries and Indian fellow Christians who needed the assistance they were able to give.

Between 1888, when Thoburn was elected to the episcopacy, and the beginning of 1895 he ordained more than two hundred men as ministers. During these same years, according to the Bishop's statement, hundreds of other men who had not yet become eligible for ordination had been added to the list of Methodist preachers.[383]

A practice which tended toward cutting Christians off from their own people was the anglicizing of names * of young converts, both boys and girls. For those who had the native capacity and received sufficient training to become Christian leaders and teachers this was not a disadvantage, but the practice gave substance to the later charge that Christianity was essentially a foreign religion. In 1885 the first session of the India National Congress was held and from then on as nationalism became more and more a dominant influence in India the charge acted as a deterrent to the spread of Christianity, especially among the intelligentsia.

The recruiting of personnel for India by the Missionary Society based largely on the willingness of a candidate to go to the Orient and the few requirements to be met, contributed in no small degree to the weaknesses evidenced on the field and the slowness of establishing churches. No special preparation of candidates for the difficult and highly specialized task was re-

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* This practice could be justified by the fact that many given names were identified with the Hindu religion and the missionaries were convinced that every such bond must be broken.

quired in advance of their outgoing. Consequently from one to three years of a missionary's time had to be given to language and history study. Inquiry into the motive and purpose of candidates was not as thorough as it should have been. Durbin's insistence upon a life dedication was not adhered to. No vigorous health examination was required. As a result there were many health breakdowns. Within two or three years more than a few men or their wives became unable or unwilling to remain on the field. As early as 1868 this was stated bluntly in an article on the missionary program as a whole, which appeared in the *Methodist Quarterly Review:*

> A very large proportion of those sent abroad return within a few years, without having accomplished much in the missionary field; while a rigorous inquiry might possibly disclose the fact that not a few of those who remain are less efficient than the importance of the work demands. In some cases fifty per cent of a reinforcement prove failures; while, taking all societies together, it would perhaps be safe to say that twenty-five per cent of those sent abroad fail to spend their lives in efficient service on the mission field.

"No Church," it was added, "has greater cause of solicitude in this respect than our own." [384]

The expense involved in sending out men and their wives and bringing them back within one, two, three, or five years made a heavy draft on funds sorely needed on the field. The problem was not insoluble. Yet little improvement was made and even in the later years of the period the tenure of service of many was brief. In August, 1888, Parker wrote to the Missionary Secretary a strong letter of protest against the wastefulness of sending out ill-prepared and unfit men. "If you were to look up the record you would be astonished at the amount of money paid out for passages during the past five years." He cited cases of three men who came to the field to see whether they liked it and to stay only if they did. He specially stressed the importance of "sending out healthy men," and "strong men who will take India as their life work." [385]

The record of the W.F.M.S. in these respects was better than that of the Board, particularly as regards training in advance for the work. Their representatives were practically all teachers or physicians. Almost without exception no teacher without college or normal-school training was sent to the field. No doctor was sent without graduation from a reputable medical school.

It must be said that of those who remained in India for a considerable period of time—and in the aggregate there were many of these—the majority were able missionaries, an honor to the Church, and worthy of the tribute paid to India's Christian missionaries by James B. Pratt, of Williams College, in testimony to their astuteness and devotion.*

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* James Bissett Pratt: "I made a point in India . . . to get acquainted with the missionaries and see their work at close quarters; and I do not hesitate to say not only that they are the most devoted group of men and women I have ever known, but also that a large portion of them impressed me as liberal-minded, far-seeing, and surprisingly wise. . . . Moreover, the endless variety of work and responsibility that falls to the lot of most missionaries in a land like India develops in many of them, after ten or twenty years' training, a practical wisdom, a soundness of judgment, and an ability to

While many of the men thought of schools as a necessary adjunct to their preaching ministry, for most of the women they were the primary objective. Probably the ecclesiastical denial of ordination to women made for the progress of the Gospel, for the intimate, person-to-person contact of teacher with pupil, repeated day after day, was more conducive to the understanding and acceptance of the Christian message than any other method of evangelization.

Success in organizing schools was amazing. Within the first two decades of the India Mission, Methodist women had fully controverted Alexander Duff's contention that it was impossible to establish and maintain girls' schools in India. Their determination and their persistence were astonishing. They insisted that the need of education was as great for girls as for boys. They scoffed at the contention that Indian fathers could not be made to realize the need and to approve the enrollment of their daughters in schools. Everywhere they encountered difficulties—lack of facilities, indifference of many of the parents, lack of interest and irregular attendance on the part of pupils—but they refused to despair. Among all the many missionaries sent to India by the W.F.M.S. only one became so discouraged that she returned home. By no means all of the schools that were begun became permanent but in 1895 numerous schools for girls were being maintained which developed into outstanding institutions.

The great majority of the day schools were primary schools. They outnumbered by far all other schools for the obvious reason that they were the necessary foundation of an educational system. They were the easiest to establish and the cheapest to maintain. Wherever missionary work was begun, in city, town, or village, whether or not interest was shown a primary day school was begun. But there were certain factors which limited the effectiveness of the primary schools. Bishop Thoburn went so far as to say at the fifth India Central Conference (1894) that the primary schools were not only the weakest link in the educational system of India missions but probably the weakest point in all the work. The cause was not far to seek. Experience demonstrated that unless a child completed a primary course of at least four years he did not become permanently literate. A very small proportion of the children enrolled in the first-year classes continued in school for that length of time. No effective system of supervision of the primary day schools was established in any of the Conferences. Many schools lapsed by reason of the limited tenure of the missionary, the missionary's wife, or the Indian helper in charge. Regular and continued attendance for more than a year or so was difficult to secure. Without much persuasion parents could be led to assent to their children's initial enrollment. But to convince them of the importance of continuous schooling for three or four years was a much more difficult matter. Besides all of this the unavoidable diminution in number from class to class because of prolonged

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understand and deal with men, and to influence and direct whole communities, rarely met with at home."—*India and Its Faiths, A Traveller's Record,* pp. 430 f.

malaria or other illness, and because of death, was an important factor. Years later than the end of the present period a government report showed that for British India as a whole, of every hundred pupils enrolled in the first primary in a given year only eighteen were in school three years later. For the years 1860-95 the proportion was without doubt considerably larger.

Another element of serious weakness in schools of all kinds was the shortage of Christian teachers. The prevailing policy dictated hiring any teachers obtainable on the grounds that it was better to have some or, if necessary, all pagan teachers, than to have no school. Bishop Edward Thomson called attention to this practice on the occasion of his visit to India:

> After breakfast we visited our school at [Najibabad]. . . . It is taught by Mohammedans and Pagans, the head master being a Brahmin. I proposed prayer, but was told it was not admissible; called for a class in the Bible, but there was none prepared; asked a large class if any one could recite the ten commandments, but found none . . . . Since my visit the missionary assures me that the school is on more Christian foundations.[386]

The Bishop described a number of other schools where similar conditions prevailed.* In 1872 T. J. Scott in his report of the Bareilly District lamented "the want of Christian teachers" for the schools and declared that a "Christless education . . . [was] making a nation of skeptics of India." [387] His feeling of regret was shared by other missionaries but in many areas if the maximum number of schools were to be maintained there was little that could be done to change the situation.

In 1889, with the number of baptisms increasing with great rapidity, Thoburn raised a question whether day schools might not better be established only on a Christian basis. The Church was bound, he said, "to provide a simple, inexpensive school . . . within reach of every village in which Christians live." In the face of the emergency he questioned whether the Church was justified in continuing to spend large sums of money for the education of non-Christian children who could be as well provided for in government schools.[388] A practical difficulty lay in the fact that on many of the Circuits the Christians were scattered in small groups over wide areas and to provide a school for every such group was impossible. Boarding schools were few in number as compared with the number of Christian groups and were too expensive to provide for more than a mere fraction of the children. For the most part Sunday schools existed only where there were day schools. The Indian preachers on their rounds of the Circuits endeavored to gather the children into classes, tell them Bible stories, and teach them to read. Some teaching of children was also done by the Bible women who in their rounds in the villages, in addition to their teaching of adults, frequently gathered groups of children with whom they sang and told Bible stories. Such teaching was for the most part desultory but all such efforts had some effect. As years passed a gradually increasing number of Christian graduates of the secondary schools were available, some as pastor-teachers and others as full-time teachers, but in 1895 the religious effectiveness of primary schools still suffered from the deficient supply of Christian teachers.

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* C. L. Bare, missionary-in-charge of the Shahjahanpur Circuit, North India Conference, in 1881 had twenty-six day schools on the Circuit, eighteen for girls and eight for boys, with 930 pupils, taught by forty-six teachers of whom only eleven were Christians and thirty-five were Hindus or Mohammedans.—*Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1881), p. 145.

Instruction in religion in the primary schools was necessarily limited in scope and content. Major attention had to be given to teaching the pupils to read and write. The schools as a rule were opened daily with a Bible reading and prayer, and Christian reading books were used. The method of religious teaching was chiefly memorization of selected verses, of parts of the Psalms, and of Christian hymns and bhajans. This process was varied by telling Bible stories which often were also memorized by the pupils.

Zenana teaching carried on by women missionaries and Indian converts trained by them did not conform to any set pattern since continued admission to the homes depended upon maintaining the interest of the women, and this required tact, ingenuity, and adaptation of methods and materials.

The instruction of inquirers was chiefly doctrinal in content and of limited compass. The core of the teaching consisted of the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Shorter Catechism. P. M. Buck wrote in 1893: these "are being drilled into the people with great persistency." [389]

The Methodist tradition of itinerancy influenced appointments, although it was not as tenaciously adhered to as in the American Conferences, and less rigidly in the case of Presiding Elders than of pastors. This operated to the disadvantage of the work. The influence of the missionary—a foreigner—increased in proportion to the extent that the people of his Circuit made his acquaintance and became convinced of his integrity, his selflessness and purity of motive. Yet not infrequently he had only fairly begun to win respect and affection when he was picked up and sent to some distant area where he was unknown.

Missionaries organized churches on the model of American Methodism. They can scarcely be criticized for this since it was what the Missionary Society expected them to do. In the churches the religious services were patterned after those familiar in America. An unnecessary amount of organization was developed, practically all on the home model. The Methodist periodical, the *Lucknow Witness,* protested against this tendency as early as 1874. The machinery of the Church, it said, "must be very greatly simplified, its expenses reduced, and it must be trusted to develop itself freely, in the conditions in which it is being tried." Yet the tendency continued.[390]

Before the advent of William Taylor there were few English language churches in India. When he left after four years many English Societies had been established. Before his coming the Methodist work was confined to three provinces: Rohilkhand, Oudh, and Garhwal. When he left Societies had been established over the whole of India. Before his arrival the mission of Methodism was thought of almost wholly in terms of Indian evangelization. As a result of his campaign evangelism among the English-speaking people was considered to be one of the chief objectives of the missions, in some centers on a par with evangelism among the Indian population. Work with the English was so much emphasized and absorbed so much of the time of some missionaries in the South India Conference that others felt it was standing in the way of the Indian missionary work.

Although many of the British regiments had Anglican chaplains who were government appointees, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society considered work among the troops to be one of its responsibilities, some of the Methodist missionaries felt themselves called to undertake a ministry to the soldiers. This conviction led to the holding of special services for them in a number of centers where English churches were maintained.*

Many of the English Societies were very small, never having more than ten, twenty, or thirty members, although most congregations, made up in large part of people of Anglican antecedents, were considerably larger. A few Societies, notably the Calcutta Dharamtala Church; Bombay; Lucknow; Madras; Vepery; and Kanpur became strong and influential churches. The English work brought into the Church a number of eminently successful ministers and enlisted the cooperation of many laymen who made large contributions, by their influence and financial support, to the missionary program. It was largely instrumental in widening the geographical boundaries of Methodism to embrace the whole of India.

A great proportion of converts came from the depressed classes and aboriginal tribes.† A few Brahmins and other high-caste people were won to discipleship but these were the exceptions. Most of the high-caste converts became Christians through the influence of the schools. Upper-class people were quicker to recognize the values of education for their children than the depressed classes and in many local areas the only schools available, particularly for girls, were mission institutions. At Aligarh, Northwest India, in 1893, for example, when the W.F.M.S. missionary proposed to open a boarding school for girls of the lower castes several high-caste people asked that their daughters might be admitted. In a number of the girls' boarding schools high-caste girls mingled with depressed-class pupils.

Christianity appealed especially to the depressed classes because it opened to them doors of opportunity that for a hundred generations had been closed. It alone offered them education, a self-respecting status, and improved conditions.

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* The activity of Methodist missionaries among the British troops resulted in antipathy of some Anglican chaplains who felt that their prerogatives were infringed upon, and also some hostile feeling on the part of Wesleyan missionaries.

† It is to be noted that in the early days of Islam in India most of its converts also were drawn from the same social strata.

While caste was considered intolerable by the missionaries the Church did not completely eradicate caste distinctions. In the schools and churches all were treated alike and all were given to understand that no privilege on account of caste would be allowed to anyone. In the school dining rooms the same food was served to all and plates and drinking cups were used interchangeably. In classroom, church, and public place the declaration that in the sight of God rich and poor, high caste and low caste, all were one was constantly reiterated. But no requirement of an absolute break with caste was laid upon converts. This was left to the individual conscience. Among those who became helpers, Exhorters, Local Preachers, Bible women, and members of Conference, caste was not recognized. But some who acknowledged their faith in Christ, attended Christian services, joined in the hymns and prayers, and maintained family prayer in their houses were unwilling to break their caste. They declared that in their hearts they were Christians. But they said should they break their caste they could not continue to live in their houses, their customers would leave them, the village wells would be closed to them, and they would be in constant trouble.

To Hindus baptism was a symbol of breaking caste. J. L. Humphrey wrote in his *Twenty-One Years in India* that baptism has a significance not attached to it anywhere else.

> [People] may think as they will, and call themselves by whatever name they please: so long as they are not baptized their relation to their own people remains unchanged; but as soon as baptized, they are cut off . . . and known as Christians.[391]

As the mass movement began to get under way groups of the depressed classes, scores and hundreds in number, as we have seen, came to the missionaries begging to be baptized. Some who strenuously adhered to the Methodist tradition of individual conversion resisted the demand. Others, believing that group committal was evidence of the moving of God's Spirit in the hearts of the multitude and holding that it offered the best possible opportunity of breaking the hold of caste, granted requests and on some occasions baptized as many as several hundred in a single day. Pastors were adamant against receiving baptized candidates into full church membership until they had gone through a course of instruction and had attained an understanding of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. As a result in numerous places there was wide discrepancy between statistics of baptism and reports of increase in church membership. On the Phalera Circuit, Ajmer District, for example, there were in 1893 almost 1,200 baptisms, but the increase for the year in number of probationers was only 109. The Meerut District reported 1,726 baptisms during 1893, and a probationary membership of 3,225. A year later probationers numbered 4,221, an increase of 996. The increase of members for the year in full connection was 503.

The motives which led increasingly large numbers of depressed people to seek baptism and thus identify themselves with the Christian community were varied. In famine years many outcastes undoubtedly turned to Christianity primarily as a means to save themselves from starvation. Many others in less desperate circumstances were obviously motivated chiefly by a hope to improve their economic condition. They wanted for themselves and for their children something more than the barest necessities of living. They saw others of their class after becoming Christians more nearly satisfy their hunger, acquire a little property, provide themselves with living quarters more decent and better furnished, and in other ways make themselves more comfortable and secure. But this is not the whole picture. For many, baptism meant ostracism from those nearest and dearest, in some cases even from wife and parents. While the convert stood to gain economically, at the same time he was paying a price. Again, what might be interpreted as an economic motive may have been, and often was, accompanied by a realization of the powerlessness of his former religious faith, of the helplessness of the idols to which he paid obeisance, and a disgust for practices associated with their worship. As he had listened—indifferently at first but later with increasing interest—to the Christian preachers and the Bible women who had visited his village, new conceptions had been formed of a God of power and love, of a Christ who could save from sin, and of an indwelling Spirit who was an ever-present Comforter and Friend. These conceptions, dim at first, became clearer and more definitely defined as the people, who tended always to act by groups, talked together in the evenings and at their places of labor.

A secret of Christianity's power in gaining adherents in great numbers among the Chamars, the Sweepers, and other depressed people was the simplicity of Jesus' teaching. Hinduism has a finer side, a spiritual element, which is a closed book to all except those who are sufficiently learned to comprehend its philosophy. Mohammedanism and Zoroastrianism, as also Buddhism, are in a way simple, but they lack the definite and all-pervading moral emphasis and the spiritual content which characterize the Christian religion. Christianity, too, historically viewed, has had associated with it numerous theologies and philosophies, and the Christian message as preached in India had profound theological and philosophical content. But the heart of the Gospel as presented to the illiterate masses could be readily understood by a child.

Many elements of the Christian religion dealing with human behavior and moral purpose, the poorest and most ignorant of India's masses could understand. Of the converts great numbers became stable, devoted disciples. By their prayers, their testimonies, and their daily living, they exemplified in their lives the beauty and strength of the Gospel. It could not be expected, considering the pit from which they had been dug, that all would measure up to the highest standards of Christian experience and life. Even as in New Testament days many of the early converts from heathenism failed to come up to the ideals set for them by the Apostles, so also in India in the nineteenth century there were those who were unable entirely to cast off unchristian customs, beliefs, and superstitions inherited from an agelong Hindu environment. Some of the most resistant customs were associated with birth, marriage, death, and a belief in spirits. Other converts continued to exhibit in greater or less degree mercenary and servile attitudes.*

Christianity lifted men out of a hopeless and endless round of servility to a new order of life in which freedom of the human spirit could be realized. Thoburn lived to see the second generation of Christians rise to a level of which their ancestors never dreamed.

> In regions where two or three generations ago it would have been considered an outrage for a man belonging to any one of these depressed classes to presume to learn to read or to seek an education in any form whatever, I have seen the Christian convert not only acquiring knowledge, but imparting it without exciting either indignation or surprise. . . . [In] . . . a high-school in North India, my attention was called to a young man who was pronounced the most successful teacher in the institution. . . . he passed more boys at the annual examinations than any other teacher; and . . . I noticed among his pupils, not only Brahmans and other Hindus of high rank, but also Mohammedans of the better class. This successful teacher was the son of a sweeper, . . . yet I saw him in the very act of preparing Brahman boys for admission to the university. . . . We have probably now more than a hundred teachers at work in North India, all of whom belonged by birth to the depressed classes.

Before 1895 sons of Sweepers were also employed in government offices, had important positions on the railways, and were in law and engineering as well as theology and medicine.[392]

Along with the schools and Sunday schools the orphanages for boys and for girls were important means of benefiting the young. In times of famine hundreds of children were rescued from starvation, placed in a Christian environment, and educated. In a single year (1889) seventeen boys went from the Shahjahanpur orphanage: three to the Moradabad Central High School; one to the Lucknow High School; one to the Agra Medical College; two to positions as teachers; two to the Lucknow mission press; three to engage in farming at Panahpur; one to Lodiana as a shoemaker; two to Bareilly Theological School; and two to be orphanage employees. This record was fairly typical of the types of service rendered to orphans.

True to Methodist tradition India missionaries were active in many lines of social service. The 1887 North India Conference, aroused by a government Excise Report which indicated an alarming increase in the consumption of intoxicating liquors "among Mohammendans and Hindus," warned that the nation was in great peril because of "the measures adopted by Government for the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors and other destructive drugs." The sanction of the state authorities for the use of strong drink, the cheapness of the locally distilled liquors, the influence of social custom, and the desire for stimulants intensified by the hot climate and the undernourishment of the populace, the Conference declared, called for increased vigilance and applied effort on the part of the Church to counteract the threatening evils.[393]

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* Strangely, William Taylor apparently did not believe that it was possible for members of the lowest castes to rise above an attitude of mercenary servility. In an article in the *Christian Advocate* in 1873 he argued against "the regular plan of mission appropriation and disbursement of funds" on the ground that it attracted "many of these obstructives, as certainly as that a carcass attracts the eagles," and that they would be "a great hinderance to the spread of the Gospel among the better classes."—*Christian Advocate,* XLVIII (1873), 20 (May 15), 153.

Persistent efforts were made to combat the opium traffic despite the attempts of government to justify it. Among other instances, A. W. Prautch of the Bombay Conference in 1894 suffered a prison sentence for exposing illegal sales of opium, and in 1895 other missionaries in India were imprisoned for informing on some opium agents.

Missionaries also contributed to reforms in sanitation and to measures for improving public health. They discouraged polygamy and by every means in their power endeavored to do away with child marriage. They strenuously opposed prostitution in its various forms, and vigorously condemned the infamy of its association with the Vishnu temple worship. Among their converts they permitted the remarriage of widows and provided homes for widows to whom Hinduism made remarriage impossible. The suffering of Indian women because of the lack of skilled medical care strongly appealed to the Christian womanhood of America, and the W.F.M.S. made a remarkable record sending to the field women doctors who were permitted free entrance to the zenanas. These and various other forms of social service were not thought of as something separate from the missionary program but rather as an integral part of it. The missionaries conceived of religion as having to do with man in his entirety and in all his relationships. There were some, it is true, who had a narrower conception, but taken as a whole this represented the viewpoint of Methodist missions.

Slow but steady progress had been made over the years in self-support. While William Taylor's plan of a self-supporting Annual Conference had not succeeded there were a number of self-supporting English language churches and some Indian Societies which—other than for the missionaries' salaries—likewise were self-supporting. In 1892 C. B. Ward summed up the goal for the future: "The end of all missions in India," he wrote, "is an *indigenous self-supporting* Christian Church able to *propagate* itself." [394]

Malaysia Mission*

At the session of the South India Conference on November 25, 1884, William F. Oldham was appointed as missionary to Singapore. Several weeks were required for preliminary arrangements but late in January, the plans completed, Oldham embarked for Singapore, accompanied by Thoburn. Mrs. Oldham, for the time being, was left behind with her mother. Thoburn's account read:

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* The General Missionary Committee on Nov. 15, 1888, voted to "constitute a Mission to be known as the Malaysia Mission" and made an appropriation of $6,500. for the first year's support.—"Minutes of the General Missionary Committee, M.S.," Nov. 15, 1888, Vol. C, p. 335.

> It was decided . . . [to go to Singapore], begin to preach to the English-speaking people, [and] organize a self-supporting church . . . . As we expected to hold continuous services for several weeks, and needed help, especially in conducting singing, we took with us . . . [Mrs. Thoburn] and Miss [Julia] Battie, who was at that time chorister of our Calcutta congregation.[395]

The party arrived at Singapore on Saturday morning, February 7, 1885. By a happy coincidence Charles Phillips, in charge of a Seamen's Institute, who months before had sent an appeal for a missionary, was at the pier when the boat came in and invited the little group to make his house their headquarters. The next day a meeting, described by Oldham, was held in the Town Hall:

> A little Estey organ—the gift to Mrs. Oldham of her fellow-students at Mt. Holyoke—was unpacked and pressed into service. Miss Battie sat at the organ; Dr. Thoburn sat on a small improvised platform at a table; Mrs. Thoburn led the singing; while I played usher, and handed round the hymn-books. After singing and prayer, the text was announced: 'Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord'; and Dr. Thoburn proceeded to preach the first Methodist sermon ever preached in Malaysia.[396]

Thoburn related that the following day the series of meetings planned in advance was begun in the Town Hall. On the following Sunday the first Class meeting was held, and on the third Sunday a Methodist Society of twenty-six members and probationers* was organized. The organization of the Quarterly Conference followed on Monday evening, and a Sunday school planned for. The membership included three Englishmen, John Polglase, assistant municipal secretary, F. J. Benjafield, and Maurice Drummond; several "Eurasians, a few Tamils, and one Chinese." Mrs. Oldham soon arrived from Calcutta; the municipality made a grant of land for a church site and by the end of the year the first Methodist church was erected on Coleman Street. Thoburn wrote to the Missionary Society late in 1885 expressing his gratification over the cooperation Oldham had received:

> He has secured a valuable site for a mission house, church, and school building, and has met with extraordinary success in collecting funds for his enterprise. The Chinese alone have given him $3,750, and will probably increase the amount

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* This was not the first Protestant mission established in Malaya. About 1815 Robert Morrison and Robert Milne under the auspices of the London Missionary Society established at Malacca an Anglo-Chinese College and from it as a center sent missionaries to Penang and Singapore. At Singapore an extensive printing plant was set up with fonts of type of Malay and several other languages. Within a few years this institution collapsed. In 1834 a Singapore Mission was founded by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The missionaries purchased the fonts and foundry and in 1836 had twelve printers in their employ. Two schools—one for Canton Chinese boys—a dispensary, and a seminary were established but in 1841 the Board discontinued the mission. In the meantime the London Missionary Society had resumed operations and the American Presbyterian Board had begun a mission.—C. Silvester Horne, *The Story of the L.M.S., 1795-1895,* pp. 132 ff., 137 ff.; Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,* pp. 293 f., 323, 363 f., 434 f.

> to $4,500 in a short time. I have never heard of an instance of equal liberality towards missionary work on the part of non-Christian natives, either in India or China.[397]

Oldham was quick to see that the largest educational opportunity in Singapore, as in all of the Straits Settlements, was with the Chinese. He was successful in winning the friendship of some of the most influential men, whom he persuaded to underwrite a boys' school. Within a week the school had enrolled thirty-six pupils and soon it had outgrown the rented quarters. One of the patrons suggested that a building be erected on the site already provided by the municipality. The enterprise was at once begun, the cost "paid by the Chinese, one . . . heading the subscription with five hundred dollars." Demand soon arose for a boarding school and one was opened, the Oldhams making place in their home for the young Chinese boarders.

> This, too, increased so rapidly that it became necessary to buy a new property, and the proposal was made that the Chinese should contribute one-half of the amount [required] if the Missionary Society in America would contribute the other half. The . . . enterprise was intrusted to an influential Chinese banker, Mr. Tan Jiak Kim, and the missionary had simply nothing to do except state the amount necessary to be collected. . . . in the course of six weeks Mr. Jiak Kim reported that the amount of six thousand two hundred dollars—four hundred more than had been asked for—had been collected among the Chinese, Mr. Jiak Kim himself heading the subscription list with a splendid donation of fifteen hundred dollars.

Oldham wrote to Secretary McCabe of the Missionary Society, asking for the needed appropriation. McCabe replied, "I have just put through the Board a donation of $6,000 for the Singapore School, but please tell your Chinese that we cannot keep up the pace they are setting." The purchase was made and the boarding school was moved to "Bellevue," Orchard Road.[398]

There were many Tamils, immigrants from India, in Singapore and vicinity. Oldham, who had previously acquired some knowledge of the language, began work among them by holding regular Sunday services with prisoners in the jail. A catechist was sent from Rangoon who established (1885) a Tamil boys' day school. Within a year forty-five pupils were enrolled. Early in 1887 a Tamil preacher, C. W. Underwood, came to Singapore from the American Board Mission at Jaffna who soon was abundant in labors among the Tamil population. A Methodist Tamil Society was organized which after a few months gave promise of permanence.

While encouraging progress was made in the Chinese schoolwork, all was not easy-going. J. E. Robinson, Presiding Elder, in his report in January, 1886, had said that at Singapore he had found "Oldham immersed in work . . . of an amount almost sufficient to give two ordinary men as much as they could be expected to do well and survive many years." He urged that he be "reinforced without delay, so that he may not break down from overwork, as is by no means unlikely." Despite the timely warning Bishop Ninde at the February, 1887, Conference appointed Oldham to Singapore and the Burma District. George A. Bond, sent out by the Board to reinforce the lone missionary, became seriously ill within two weeks after his arrival and returned at once to America. At the close of the year Oldham wrote, almost in despair:

> This left me alone with church, Chinese school, and district correspondence on my hands. I hope never to have such another year of fatigue and anxiety. Cut off from all Methodist missionaries, with much to oppose and none, or but few, to counsel with; teaching from five to eight hours a day; preaching five times a week, etc., etc., and all this in a spiritually malarious atmosphere, makes it hard work to keep enthusiastic and spiritual.[399]

A year later Oldham's double appointment was repeated. In the meantime, however, additional reinforcement had come. In January, 1888, Ralph W. Munson* was appointed to the Singapore Anglo-Chinese School.

At the 1887 South India Conference Oldham strongly advocated separation of Singapore from India and the organization of a separate, independent Malaysia Mission.† On his motion the Conference so voted.‡ The 1887 Central Conference concurred with South India. It recommended that the work in Singapore and vicinity be organized into a mission to be "administered directly by the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, according to the rules for Missions." When the matter came before the 1888 General Conference the body took no decisive action but referred the question back to the General Missionary Committee with the recommendation that "the Peninsula of Malacca, with the adjacent territory and islands in which the Malay language is spoken, be constituted the Malays; a Mission under the administration of the Missionary Society." In November, 1888, the General Committee took this action.[400]

Dr. Benjamin F. and Mrs. Letty G. West of the Upper Iowa Conference arrived in 1888. Dr. West had learned to read and speak Malay and during the year preached regularly "on the streets of the . . . 'Kampongs,'" the Malay quarters. Early in 1889 the mission was further reinforced by the coming of Charles A. Gray§ of the Ohio Conference, and William N. Brewster, Cincinnati Conference.

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* The transfer of Ralph W. Munson and his wife, Carrie G. Munson, from the Central Ohio Conference, was announced at the February, 1887, South India Conference.

† Oldham advanced three reasons for setting off Malaysia as a separate mission: (1) the unusual opportunities and peculiar difficulties attending missionary work at Singapore; (2) the majority of the population, made up of Malays and Chinese, have little in common with the people of India because of differences in race, language, and religion; (3) the distance between India and Singapore creates insuperable difficulties of administration.—*Minutes, South India Conference,* February, 1887, p. 11.

‡ The South India Conference resolution read: "that the delegates to the Central Conference be instructed to request that Conference to recommend to the General Committee that they take over the management of our Malaysian field, and that they speedily occupy the needy territory around Singapore in strong force."—*Ibid.*

§ Charles A. Gray suffered an attack of acute typhoidal dysentery less than two months following his arrival in Singapore and died after six weeks' illness.—*Seventy-first Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1889), p. 233.

On April 29, 1889, Bishop Thoburn convened the first annual meeting of the mission. In addition to the four men, three missionary wives, and one W.F.M.S. missionary,* four Local Preachers were present: John Polglase; Alexander Fox to work among the Malays; C. W. Underwood whose work was with the Tamils; and Oh Ai-toh, a Chinese preacher. Brewster was appointed to the English church; Munson to the Anglo-Chinese school; and Dr. West to medical and evangelistic ministry among the Chinese. West opened a dispensary where within a few months hundreds of cases were treated. The Anglo-Chinese School had an average enrollment of three hundred and fifty boys. By 1890 two additional recruits reached Singapore: William T. Kensett, a layman, from the United States, and Dr. H. L. Emil Leuring from Kiel, Germany. The first of December Leuring began services for the German residents of Singapore which soon were well attended.

In the fall of 1889, Oldham was obliged to leave Singapore for the United States for recuperation. Five years of overwork in a tropical climate (Singapore is only slightly above sea level, less than two degrees north of the Equator) had caused a serious breakdown in health. W. N. Brewster transferred to the Foochow Conference.† C. W. Underwood, the Tamil-speaking preacher, died of pneumonia on February 3, 1890. Despite these disconcerting losses in personnel encouraging progress was registered during the year. Three lines of work were carried on simultaneously by Dr. West. Two experienced Chinese catechists were employed and preaching services maintained in a rented house and by open-air meetings. A literary society, a Sunday school, and an evening Bible class were attended by English-speaking Chinese. In the dispensary not less than 1,500 patients were treated. By April, twelve men were waiting to be baptized.

At the second annual meeting of the mission, April 3-5, 1890, the Anglo-Chinese School reported an average attendance for the year of 285 boys. The school building was outgrown and a second large building rented for the five lower "standards" (grades). A small strip of property adjacent to the boarding school and a $3,000. building grant were given by the government to make extension of the school possible. Miss Blackmore had had the help of four assistants as teachers in the Chinese Girls' School, the Tamil Girls' School, in zenana work, and in visiting and teaching in the homes. In all, including missionaries' wives, thirteen persons were appointed to women's work. Alexander Fox continued his Malay work but was handicapped by ill health.[401]

For two years the commanding officer of the Royal Engineers in Singapore had been attending Methodist services and assisting in the missionary work among the Malays. On July 29, 1890, Bishop Thoburn wrote to Missionary

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* The W.F.M.S. missionary was Sophia Blackmore. For account of the beginning of Miss Blackmore's work in Singapore see p. 601.

† See p. 392.

Secretary J. O. Peck asking special action of the Board approving Captain William G. Shellabear* as a missionary:

> He is a rare linguist, a rare Christian, and is giving up everything, in a worldly sense, to join us. He comes from the Church of England to become a Methodist . . . . He has lived in the East and is 'seasoned,' so that there is no experiment in his case. He has passed much more rigid examinations than you ever exact from your candidates. He knows the Malay language, and can begin work the day he arrives. . . . We will receive him . . . and admit him on trial in January next.[402]

In a circular, "Mission to the Millions of Malaysia," issued in England, August 28, 1890, Shellabear explained that in Singapore he had become acquainted with the Methodist missionaries and when he saw the spirit by which they were animated he felt that God would have him join them.

> . . . I have already spent two years and a half among the Malays, with whom I was brought into the closest contact through being in command of a company consisting partly of European soldiers and partly of Malays. This made it necessary for me to learn the Malay language, and I worked very hard at it in the hope that I should be able to tell the people in their own tongue of the great love of God. My spare time was thus spent for fifteen months, and then the way opened for me to begin street-preaching, which I was able to continue till I returned home last summer. The desire of my heart, that I should resign my commission and become a missionary to the Malays, God has now fulfilled, and on September 20 I am going to start for Singapore with my wife, who from her childhood has longed to be a missionary.[403]

Oldham had suggested to Shellabear that he acquaint himself with the mechanics of printing, and purchase equipment in England for the publication of Christian literature in the Malay language, preparatory to establishing a mission press in Singapore. He arrived in Singapore at the end of October, 1890, and spent most of the next six months in installing the machinery and getting the press in operation. In 1891 a monthly publication in English, *The Malaysia Message,* was begun.

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*William Girdlestone Shellabear (1862-1947) was born in Wells, Norfolk, England, Aug. 27, 1862, the son of the agent of the estates of the Earl of Leicester. He decided early on a military career, and attended Hailsbury College (1876-79) and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich (1880-82). Commissioned a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, he transferred to the School of Military Engineering at Chatham. In 1885 he was appointed to the 23rd Company of Royal Engineers. Here, through the influence of a group of young nonconformists, he experienced a religious awakening which gave him a "consciousness that he was a new man facing life with a new purpose." In the fall of 1886 he was transferred to Singapore, where he met the Oldhams, began to attend the Methodist church, and to cooperate in its work among the Malays. He returned to England, resigned his commission in the army, and prepared to return to Malaya as a missionary. On July 30, 1890, he married Fanny Kealey and on Sept. 20 they sailed for Singapore. For the next twelve years his chief work was the mission press, writing, translating, and publishing Malay Christian literature. From 1903 to 1909 he was in charge at Malacca, an important Malay center, and from 1909 to 1912 Superintendent of the Federated Malay States District and during 1913-14 Superintendent of the Malacca District. Returning then to Singapore he was District Superintendent, teacher in the Jean Hamilton Training School, and editor of the *Malaysia Message* and of Malay publications. Fanny Kealey Shellabear lived for only five years after her arrival in Singapore. In 1897 Dr. Shellabear married Elizabeth E. Ferris (1861-1923), and after her death he married E. Naomi Ruth, W.F.M.S. missionary in Java, who survived him. In 1919 a health breakdown compelled Dr. Shellabear's departure for America. In 1921 he was appointed to the chair of oriental languages in Drew Theological Seminary, and in 1925 to the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., where he continued to teach until his death on Jan. 16, 1947. He was a distinguished linguist and author, an authority on the Malays and the Malay language, a wise and devoted missionary, and a sincere Christian.—Raymond L. Archer, Memorial Address, ms., in the Board of Missions Library.

Bishop Thoburn presided at the third annual meeting of the Malaysia Mission, April 6-10, 1891. Strong reinforcements had arrived during the year. J. C. and Myrtle H. Floyd * had come from the Michigan Conference; D. Davies Moore and Mrs. Moore in the middle of the year from the Methodist Church of Canada, also Benjamin H. Balderston, a young layman. The teaching staff of the Anglo-Chinese School had been strengthened by the addition of A. J. Watson from India, and three teachers from the United States.† Henry L. Hoisington, a Local Preacher, had come from Ceylon and had been in charge of the Tamil boys' school and had also preached weekly to the Tamil people. An especially noteworthy addition was George F. Pykett ‡ from England. Although he had been on the field only about a month Floyd, who had been sent out under appointment as Superintendent, made a comprehensive report of mission affairs. Dr. West had been in China for several months engaged in study of the language and had returned able to preach to the Chinese in their own tongue.

Singapore appointments were made to the English church, the Chinese mission—which by this year had attained the status of a Methodist Society—the Malay mission, the Tamil mission, and the Anglo-Chinese School.§ H. L. E. Leuring was appointed to open a mission in Borneo, and Malacca was listed as a mission but left to be supplied. Moore and Balderston were appointed to establish a mission at Penang, the oldest British settlement in Malaysia, founded in 1786, approximately four hundred miles north of Singapore.

The Penang mission was immediately launched. The city at this time had a population of approximately 100,000. Europeans numbered only five hundred, and Eurasians 1,500, mostly Roman Catholics. Of Malays and Tamils there were about 20,000. Some 50,000 were Straits-born (or Baba) Chinese, the elite of the Chinese community. The remainder, some 8,000, were a mixture of many races. On May 28 (1891) the Anglo-Chinese Boys' School was opened by Balderston with one boy present. Before the end of the Conference year sixty boys were enrolled, but as a missionary institution it was regarded with considerable suspicion by the Mohammedan

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* J. C. Floyd's missionary tenure in Malaysia was very brief. During the Conference year 1891-92 he became ill and returned to the U.S.

† The three teachers were: C. E. Copeland, R. C. Ford (who remained but one year), and A. E. Breece.

‡ George Frederick Pykett (1864-1932) was born in Brandon, Grantham, England, on Dec. 20, 1864. After attending a local school he studied for a year in St. John's Training College, York, and then became assistant headmaster of All Saints' School, London. From here he went to Singapore (1891). After two years' teaching in the Anglo-Chinese School he was transferred to Penang. To this city and the surrounding region his entire missionary career was devoted, except for four years (1915-19) in Kuala Lumpur, always having charge of a school and of a District. He came to be regarded as a leading educational authority, not only by the Methodist Church but also by other Churches. In 1894 he married Mrs. Amelia Towers Young (1864-1932), a widow with six children, who had founded the Penang Girls' School. They retired in 1932 and died within a few weeks of each other.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

§ The Singapore appointments were: English church, J. C. Floyd; Chinese mission, B. F. West, Lam Hoai To (Local Preacher); Malay mission, W. G. Shellabear, A. Fox (Local Preacher), H. Norris (Exhorter); Tamil mission, H. L. Hoisington (Local Preacher); Anglo-Chinese School, principal, R. W. Munson, assistants, C. E. Copeland, A. J. Watson, R. C. Ford, A. E. Breece, G. F. Pykett.

element of the population. Immediately on his arrival (in July) Moore began to visit in wealthy Chinese homes and had made the acquaintance of a prominent Chinese citizen, Mr. Cheah Teck Soon. His sister was persuaded to allow her little girls to be taught. A school was begun in the missionaries' home, No. 1 Penang Road, the beginning of the Anglo-Chinese Girls' School. English Sunday evening services had also been begun—at first held in the Town Hall and later in the Armenian church—and a Society organized with three members.[404]

In May, 1890, a W.F.M.S. home for the Singapore women workers had been opened, a small bungalow in Sophia Road. By 1891 this had become too small and a more commodious house was secured. At the mission meeting that year, in addition to Miss Blackmore—the one W.F.M.S. missionary—and four missionary wives, appointments were given ten teachers and zenana visitors. The women's home served not only as a hostel for the women's staff but also as a meeting place for the Epworth League, and for school pupils. The Tamil girls' school in 1891 had fifty pupils. Maintaining the Chinese Girls' School in Telok Ayer, the Chinese section of Singapore, was proving to be an uphill task but Miss Blackmore was determined to persevere. At Shellabear's suggestion an effort was made to hold a Sunday afternoon Malay service in the girls' dining room of the W.F.M.S. home. Workmen from the mission press, some of the servants in the home, and a few boarders constituted a nucleus. "Blessed services they were," Miss Blackmore recorded in her book of recollections.[405]

E. W. Parker of North India presided at the fourth annual meeting of the Malaysia Mission (February, 1892). Leuring had found it impracticable working as a lone missionary to establish a mission in British North Borneo. He was assigned to work with West in the Singapore Chinese mission. Copeland was appointed principal of the Anglo-Chinese School and Munson was associated with Shellabear in Malay mission work. Sixteen women—three missionary wives and twelve unmarried women—were given appointments. Later in the year the mission staff was increased by the arrival of William H. B. Urch of the Michigan Conference, who was assigned to the English church; and Elizabeth E. Ferris, Columbia River Branch, and Josephine M. Hebinger, Northwestern Branch, both deaconesses—Miss Ferris to be superintendent of the W.F.M.S. home, and Miss Hebinger to engage in deaconess work among the Chinese women and children in Singapore.[406]

The 1892 General Conference gave approval for the organization of a Mission Conference.* With this authorization Bishop Thoburn convened the mission on April 1, 1893, and organized the Malaysia Mission Conference, with five full members and five probationers.* After eight years of earnest effort as a mission the Malaysia Mission Conference at its organization was able to report at Singapore sixty-six full members and nineteen probationers in the English church and thirty-four full members and twenty-nine probationers in the Chinese church. In Singapore six Sunday schools had 181 pupils. The four day schools reported a total enrollment of 552 pupils. Penang had six full members and eight probationers; one Sunday school with twenty-seven pupils; and three day schools with 252 scholars.

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* *G. C. Journal,* 1892: "The Malaysia Mission may, at any time during the next four years, if the Bishop presiding concurs, be organized into a Mission Conference." Boundaries were defined as including "the Malay Peninsula and all the adjacent islands inhabited by the Malay race."—Pp. 415, 417.

The Anglo-Chinese School in Singapore had steadily advanced in enrollment, prestige, and influence. By virtue of government grants-in-aid it had become entirely independent of missionary support. The number of Christian students was increasing. On June 2, 1893, Munson opened an orphanage and training school in his home and within a short time was caring for twelve boys. The Chinese church was now increasing rapidly in membership, with a weekly addition of from one to a score of persons. The year witnessed more than a hundred accessions to the membership, "mostly from the Hokchiang and Hinghwa community."

Because of the many different races represented by the pupils the name of the Tamil Girls' School had been changed in 1892 to Methodist Girls' School, with most of the instruction in English. The school was continuing to grow.[407]

The Methodist Girls' School this year enrolled ninety-five pupils. As it had outgrown its quarters the W.F.M.S. purchased a building in a central location. Eva M. Foster had opened in the Deaconess Home a school for English-speaking girls. Since enrollment had risen to thirty-three pupils within a year other facilities became necessary. A very desirable property adjoining the mission location became available and was purchased by the Society.†

The Anglo-Chinese School at Penang reported remarkable progress, with an increase in 1893 of eighty-seven pupils. How to provide sufficient buildings to accommodate the rapid rise in enrollment had become an acute problem. At the 1894 Conference George F. Pykett was appointed principal.[408]

In 1893 Dr. West made an exploratory trip to Sumatra. Entering at Siboga he traveled on foot sixty-seven miles to Padang Sedempuan, visiting the Rhenish missions. He found an extensive tract of country south of the missions, inhabited by Bataks, where no missionary work was being done. On the entire coast there was but one missionary. An Englishwoman of means desired the establishment of a Methodist mission, but no action ensued. In 1894 Miss Blackmore and Miss Ferris entered Sumatra at Palembang and received permission from the Dutch authorities for the sale of Christian literature. They carried a stock of seven hundred books and tracts, most of which were soon sold, and a hundred and fifty Gospels, which were more difficult to dispose of. Later, evangelization of Sumatra was made a definite project.

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* The members were: Ralph W. Munson, Benjamin F. West, Daniel D. Moore, Henry L. E. Luering, and William H. B. Urch; probationers, Benjamin H. Balderston, William G. Shellabear, William T. Kensett, John F. Deatker, and Charles C. Kelso. At this first session George F. Pykett and William J. Wager were received on trial. Two months later John F. Deatker, an Anglo-Indian, was transferred to the Northwest India Conference.

† This enterprise was short-lived. Miss Foster, Columbia River Branch, arrived in 1893, became ill and returned to the United States in 1895. The school failed to receive the support which had been expected and in 1897 the pupils were transferred to the Methodist Girls' School and the school closed.—*Twenty-ninth Ann. Rep., W.F.M.S.* (1897-98), p. 38.

At Penang Tamil evangelistic work was increasingly successful in 1894. A Tamil Methodist Society was organized, growing in twelve months from a membership of twenty-three to fifty-two. A chaplaincy to the British troops was maintained, of whom twenty-five were Wesleyans. There were girls' schools in both Chinese and Tamil, as well as in English, Tamil, and Baba for the boys. Four missionaries received appointments there.[409]

At its second session, February 2-5, 1894, the Conference personnel was reinforced by the reception on trial of William T. Stagg, Edward T. Snuggs (who in 1895 married Josephine M. Hebinger), Arthur J. Watson, and William E. Horley, all of Malaya. Miss Foster was also welcomed at this time. Stagg, Watson, and Horley were assigned to the teaching staff of the Singapore Anglo-Chinese School. The Conference had taken over the management of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home and to it E. T. Snuggs was appointed as manager.

Shellabear reported that on January 25 the Christian members of the Malay congregation had been organized into a Methodist Society of twenty-two members and probationers. While it was a Malay-speaking church the members were almost all Chinese, with Malay as their mother tongue. The congregation, largely made up of boys from the orphanage and girls from the Deaconess Home, numbered between fifty and sixty. The mission press had this year twenty employees, and had printed Scripture portions, tracts, and other literature in English, Malay, Arabic, Javanese, Chinese, German, and Dutch. A salesroom had been opened in connection with the press.

The Woman's Malaysia Mission Conference—organized 1893—also met on February 4-5, 1894, attended by six members of Conference and six others. Nine schools were reported under women's auspices: one boarding school, two day schools, and six home schools. The establishment of Sunday schools was recommended in connection with the day schools, in the homes of Christian women, and in "the homes of Malay-speaking people in general." Reports of progress were made on numerous phases of the work of missionary wives and deaconesses.[410]

Encouraged by the progress and growth that had taken place, the 1895 Mission Conference (February 14-20) undertook further expansion. Penang was organized as a separate District and Dr. West appointed Presiding Elder with instructions to press evangelistic work among the Chinese. Three new appointments were listed: Teluk Anson, Batu Gajoh, and Ipoh, the administrative capital of Perak in the Federated Malay States, some hundred miles southeast of Penang, but missionaries to supply them were lacking. W. T. Stagg was appointed to Ipoh but within a few months left for England.

Several personnel changes were reported at the Conference session.* Fred H. and Gusta W. Morgan of the New Hampshire Conference had arrived on the field, as also J. E. Banks, a layman. Morgan was assigned to the pastorate of the Singapore English church. Miss Blackmore reported that there had never been a time in the history of the mission when the women had been so aggressive. Nineteen Sunday schools, under Miss Ferris' general supervision, enrolled some two hundred and seventy pupils. There were eleven day schools, staffed with fourteen teachers, of which the Methodist Girls' School was one, and still another girls' school for younger pupils. The Chinese Girls' School in Telok Ayer enrolled fifty-three pupils. Thirty-three girls were in training in the Deaconess Home and all but two had been baptized. Josephine Hebinger (now Mrs. Snuggs), who was the only woman missionary in Singapore able to converse in Cantonese, was engaged in rescue work and had made some hundred and fifty visits in brothels where there were more than three thousand Chinese women and girls. She had taken six of the girls into her own house for rehabilitation. A monthly periodical for women in romanized Malay—*Sahabat* (*Friends*)—had begun publication under Miss Blackmore and five hundred copies were distributed free.

In Penang the two missionary wives were equally active. Their program had so broadened in scope that a full-time missionary, in addition to the missionary wives, was needed. At the two schools for girls marked improvement in the pupils' schoolwork was evident.[411]

In his first report as Presiding Elder, West told of developments at Ipoh. W. E. Horley† had taken Stagg's place. English services were held regularly with about twenty-five in attendance, and a Tamil congregation of fifteen to fifty met every Sunday. A Chinese church had been organized and services were attended by thirty to forty persons. Two schools were in operation, one Anglo-Tamil, the other Anglo-Chinese. Both had Sunday schools.[412]

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* Ill health continued to necessitate administrative adjustments. Dr. H. L. E. Leuring was obliged to request the supernumerary relation. Mrs. Shellabear had been compelled to return to England earlier and in 1894 her husband was called home by her continued serious illness. Balderston was forced to leave because of ill health and in the 1895 *Minutes* his name was entered as withdrawn. W. H. B. Urch returned to the United States in broken health and was transferred to the Michigan Conference.

† William Edward Horley (1870-1931) was born in Bloxham, England. He attended Hulme Cliff College and Harley College (Theology). Here he met William G. Shellabear, who interested him in Malaya. He arrived in Singapore on Jan. 12, 1895, and in June was appointed to Ipoh. To this region he gave his entire life as a missionary, except for the two last years spent in Singapore. He was instrumental in opening no less than eight Methodist schools, in addition to the one at Ipoh, in the Federated Malay States. The government conferred upon him the honorary order of M.B.E. (Member of the British Empire), the only missionary to receive this distinction in more than a century of British rule. He was said to be "the most beloved missionary in Malaya." He died suddenly of a stroke, on April 2, 1931.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

Central Conference of India and Malaysia

The second Annual Conference had no sooner been organized in India than need was realized for a coordinating body with power to deal authoritatively with common issues. It was felt that the General Conference was too far removed to deal understandingly with, and too preoccupied with domestic issues to give necessary attention to, India's local problems. Attendance for one week at the 1876 General Conference convinced Thoburn that "a legislative body, with carefully defined powers," was required in each major foreign field.

> . . . it was manifest at a glance that the new and strange questions which must from time to time arise in twenty or more foreign countries, could never obtain a fair hearing, to say nothing of a proper solution, from such a body. In the next place, it was quickly evident that all questions from abroad would be pressed into American molds, and that antipodal legislation would not in every case adapt a proper means to a desired end. Lastly, it was constantly evident that every proposed measure would be, first of all, weighed in the balance with American interests, and if it were found to interfere with these it would stand a very poor chance of adoption.[413]

The first approach to such an organization was made by the holding of a joint meeting of the North India and the South India Conferences at Allahabad on January 13, 1880. The assembly at its third session constituted itself "a corporate body for the management and control of our common interests in India" to be named "the Delegated Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India"; fixed the date for a first meeting; established a ratio of representation; and petitioned the General Conference to assign to the Delegated Conference "all those interests of our Church in India embraced in part IV of our Discipline, entitled 'Educational and Benevolent Institutions,' " with the proviso that the rights and interests of the Missionary Society should in no wise be interfered with, and that the principle of self-support "wherever it obtains" also should not be interfered with. The South India Conference made the second part of this proviso a condition of its participation.[414]

On January 20 E. W. Parker wrote to Corresponding Secretary J. M. Reid telling him of the plan for a delegated Conference, promising to send him the *Minutes,* and assuring him that the object was not to form a separate Indian Church but "to control and unite and steady all in connection with the Church at home." "The danger," he said, "is not in *organization* but in independent action while our work is so scattered." [415]

The memorial sent to General Conference asked authorization for a central body but the petition got no further than the Standing Committee on Missions.* This failure on the part of the General Conference to act, however, did not stop the India Conferences. In accordance with the action of the joint meeting the first Delegated Conference met as planned in Allahabad, July 14-18, 1881. Six ministerial and two lay delegates were present from the North India Conference. South India Conference sent seven ministers and two laymen. The Conference approved a constitution; formulated a memorial to the viceroy on marriage and divorce, of which one of several provisions called attention to "the hardships created by treating child marriage as bona fide marriage"; established a Board of Education made up of the Boards of the two Conferences; and elected a general Board of Publication and Management, authorized to register with the government and to establish a central publishing house and branch depositories. A report on episcopal visitation asked for "more constant and direct superintendence and leadership, such as Bishop Asbury gave to our Church in America when it was new," and suggested that "the Bishops who may visit us in the future . . . remain two years, or at least through two cold seasons in India, during every four years." A detailed statement on the "Official Relation of Lady Missionaries" was adopted which later was incorporated in the by-laws of the W.F.M.S. Officers were elected for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India. Finally, an Executive Committee, which had been elected, was instructed to fix the time for the next meeting.[416]

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* See p. 170 *n.*

The 1884 General Conference, prompted by the action which had been taken in India, made provision for the organization of a Central Conference in all mission fields which had two or more Annual Conferences, as has been previously noted.*

On January 13, 1885, now on firm ground by virtue of General Conference authorization, the first Central Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India met in Bareilly with Bishop John F. Hurst presiding. This was not a delegated Conference. Fifty-one persons were present, all ministers, of whom twenty were Indian. A constitution, drafted by the General Conference, stated the object of the Central Conference to be "the supervision of the educational, publishing, and such other connectional interests and work as may be committed to it by the several Annual Conferences and Missions in India." A Board of Publication was authorized, with Publishing Houses at Lucknow and Calcutta (already in existence) and branches and depositories "at such other places as the Central Conference may from time to time determine." A book committee was also authorized "to have general supervision of the Publishing interests of the Church in India," and two agents for the Publishing Houses in Lucknow and Calcutta. A Board of Education was established, to consist of six members—three from the Board of Education of each Conference—to approve the courses of the schools and to have general supervision of them. The report on education favored limiting boarding schools for Europeans to one for each sex in each of the leading provinces. Editors of the various publications were elected. Action was taken for the formation of an India Methodist Sunday School Union. Seven years later the Union was reported to have been "little more than a name." [417]

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* See pp. 170 f.

The Second Central Conference was convened in Bombay, February 17, 1887, by Bishop Ninde. This was a delegated Conference with eleven ministers (one of whom was Indian) and four laymen (two of whom were women missionaries) from North India, and nine ministers and six laymen (one a woman missionary) from South India. A special committee on resident Bishops presented a memorial, which the Conference approved, asking for a resident Bishop for India. It deprecated "the sending or coming from America" as missionaries any persons not sent "by the proper appointing authority of . . . [the] Church." The Boundary Commission defined the boundaries of the North and the South India Conferences, and of the new Bengal Conference. A resolution approving the separation of "the Singapore work, with the work of that entire vicinity," and its organization into a mission to be administered directly by the Missionary Society, was approved.[418]

Between 1887 and 1895 three meetings of the Central Conference (beginning with the third meeting in 1889, the Central Conference was extended to include both India and Malaysia) were held.* Few actions of major importance were taken at these meetings. The Conferences offered opportunity for consideration of the various phases of the missionary program and were doubtless a stimulus to the work as a whole. The fourth meeting memorialized General Conference to authorize five Annual Conferences in India. At the fifth meeting a Financial Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India was created "to hold and control for the benefit of the . . . Church in India, all donations, bequests, funds—and properties [including churches, parsonages, schools, and other properties acquired without aid from the Missionary Society] . . . for such purpose as may be contemplated by the donors or purchasers." Reports were received from four Publishing Houses, Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras, and Singapore. Three separate courses of study were approved for missionaries, and also courses for Exhorters, deaconesses, and trained nurses. At each Conference the Publishing Agents and editors of periodicals and books were elected. At the fifth session sixteen editors and four agents were chosen.[419]

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* The third meeting was held in Kanpur, July 27-31, 1889; the fourth in Calcutta, Jan. 19-21, 1892; and the fifth in Allahabad, Feb. 22-26, 1894. Each was a delegated Conference, with both ministerial and lay delegates, and each had both men and women delegates. Bishop Thoburn presided at all three Conferences.

VII

Expanding Program of Foreign Missions— Japan and Korea

THE FIRST TREATY made by Japan with any Western nation was negotiated by Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the United States Navy on March 31, 1854. He had been sent to Japan to arrange, if possible, for "friendly commercial intercourse" but in any case for assurance of protection for American navigators in Japanese seas. The treaty permitted entrance of American ships and citizens to two ports—Hakodate on the northern island of Hokkaido, and Shimoda on the main island of Honshu, with a consul for Shimoda—but had no provision for permanent residence of American citizens.* A beginning had been made toward opening the doors of a hitherto closed nation.[1]

There is no evidence that the Missionary Society recognized a great missionary opportunity opening to the Church † but there were others whose imagination and concern were kindled. A minister in Oregon wrote in 1854 to the Society's Treasurer:

> I propose to be one of one hundred to raise *ten thousand dollars* for the purpose of establishing a mission in JAPAN. I think that one hundred persons can certainly be found who will contribute $100 each for this enterprise. We must have a mission in Japan as soon as possible. Who will come up to this work? [2]

We find no record of official action stimulated by this proposal.

Townsend Harris arrived at Shimoda in 1856 as the first American consul and very soon by display of a courteous, tactful, and sympathetic attitude, without threats or display of force, succeeded not only in securing extension of the Perry treaty but also, in the covenants of 1857 and 1858, the designation of six open ports,‡ the right of consuls to reside at the ports and to travel freely throughout Japan, the privilege of other American citizens to reside permanently at the open ports, lease land and erect buildings (including dwellings), and to practice freely their own religion, even to the extent of building suitable places of worship for their own use. The propagation of Christianity, however, was prohibited.[3]

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* See p. 35.

† Other denominations acted much more promptly and decisively than the Methodists in establishing missions in Japan. In 1859 missionaries of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian, U.S.A., and the Dutch Reformed arrived in Japan. The Baptists followed in 1860. The Church Missionary Society (Anglican) sent its first missionaries in 1869.—John H. DeForest, *Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom,* p. 94.

‡ The six open ports were Shimoda (later replaced by Tokyo), Hakodate, Kanagawa (later Yokohama), Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hyogo (Kobe and Osaka).

Oregon ministers continued to show special interest in Japan and in 1859 the Oregon Conference asked that a mission be established. Bishop Osmon C. Baker reported the action to the General Missionary Committee which went no further than "to say that this Committee look favorably upon a mission to Japan so soon as the condition of the treasury will permit." [4]

The sixties and early seventies constituted a momentous era in Japan's history. Crosscurrents of modern and medieval ideas were making themselves felt, and extremists of liberal and conservative views struggled for the nation's leadership. But by 1868 a clear sense of direction had been attained. The shogun, feudal *de facto* military ruler of the realm, had yielded in the revolution of 1867-68 his palace and his rule in Yedo to the young emperor, Meiji Tenno, who renamed the city Tokyo, and set up the framework of constitutional government. The "Charter Oath" which he took when he assumed the throne contained such revolutionary phrases as "the rights of all classes shall be assured. . . . The uncivilized customs of former times shall be broken through . . . . Intellect and learning shall be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the Empire." Within five years legal inequality among the classes was abolished, distinctive insignia of caste and class outlawed, laws against alienation of land abrogated, the outcastes emancipated, and Buddhism disestablished. A half eager, half reluctant people were plunged headlong into the modern world. Under the new regime Shinto, which had helped pave the way for the emperor's restoration to power, was officially revived as a means of increasing and maintaining emperor veneration.[5]

Stimulated by fear of propagation of Christianity the authorities in 1868 revived the custom of posting proscription boards outside all public offices. These usually bore the inscription: "The evil sect, called Christians, is prohibited. Suspicious persons shall be reported to the proper officers and rewards will be given." This was a much modified form of the drastic mid-seventeenth century efforts* for the extinction of the early Roman Catholic communities.[6]

Numerous deputations were sent to Western nations during these years to study their political and social institutions. Guido Verbeck, a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church of America, who had come to Japan in 1859, at an opportune moment dropped the suggestion to the young statesmen of the new Japan, "Before starting a school system, send an embassy abroad to study the systems in different lands and select the best for Japan." This was one of the influences which led to the sending to the United States and Europe in 1871 the Iwakura embassy which included, together with Prince Iwakura, a group of men whose members were to be among the most prominent statesmen of Japan during the next quarter century. Their report resulted in the passing of a law setting up a complete system of public schools from the primary grade to the university, with provision for compulsory primary attendance. Immediately foreign teachers, particularly teachers of the English language, were in strong demand.

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* The long story of these efforts is recounted in detail in Otis Cary's *History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Missions,* and in condensed form in I. W. Wiley, *China and Japan* . . . (pp. 452-62). The deep suspicion, hatred, and fear that was a permanent deposit of the Roman Catholic "Christian Century" has been a continuing hindrance to the acceptance by the Japanese of either Roman or Protestant Christianity in modern times.

This opened up a golden opportunity for the American missionaries. They were quick to see that daily contact in government schoolrooms with students eager not only to learn English but also to acquaint themselves with American institutions and ways of life was one of the best possible means of exerting a positive Christian influence.* Teachers soon gathered about themselves groups of eager students, holding occasional meetings for acquaintance and fellowship. It was from these "bands" that the first Christian churches grew. Except for the regard in which these American teachers were held there could not possibly have come into existence as there did in 1872 a Christian Protestant church openly organized and with public services of worship.†

In 1873 the official attitude toward religion suddenly changed in Japan. In February orders were issued for the removal of the proscription boards against Christianity. A Kobe newspaper article, after criticizing Buddhism, Shinto, and Confucianism, proceeded to advocate the general adoption of the Christian religion. Missionaries felt free to rent store fronts and engage in public preaching services in both Kobe and Osaka. Their day schools taught Christian truths without official objection. In Nagasaki the Dutch Reformed missionaries opened a private school in their house, and soon after added a school for girls. An American Board missionary doctor received permission from the central government to teach anatomy in a provincial hospital where he was also allowed to preach. The dawn of a new day had come in Japan.[7]

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* M. L. Gordon: Up to this time "the missionaries could do little else than make preparations for the future, ... They studied the language; they prepared grammars and dictionaries, and portions of the Bible were translated, though not published. . . . They ministered to the sick and unfortunate, and by kind deeds and pure and upright lives showed the Japanese that they were not such foes to mankind as they had been represented."—*An American Missionary in Japan,* pp. 44 f

† This first Protestant church in Japan was organized in Yokohama by the Rev. James Ballagh of the Dutch Reformed Mission on March 10, 1872. It consisted of eleven members, nine of whom were students. On Sept. 20, 1873, seven of the members became the nucleus of a church in Tokyo under American Presbyterian auspices. In 1874 a church was formed in Kobe, consisting of seven men and four women, and another in Osaka, with seven men as members. Both of these were organized in connection with the Congregational missionaries.—Otis Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Protestant Missions,* pp. 97 ff.; J. H. DeForest, *op. cit.,* pp. 102 f.

JAPAN MISSION

On June 1, 1873,[*] Robert S. Maclay[†] with his wife arrived at Yokohama, commissioned by the Missionary Society to establish a Methodist mission in Japan. Before the year ended four other missionaries with their wives arrived: Julius and Mary Frances Soper of the Baltimore Conference; John C. and Mary S. Davison, Newark Conference; Merriman C. and Flora Best Harris, Pittsburgh Conference; and Irvin H. and Sara L. Correll, Philadelphia Conference.

Maclay was influential in the establishment of the mission. Before leaving China he had written the Missionary Society (December 16, 1870, as previously stated[‡]) urging the beginning of missionary work in Japan. On furlough in the United States he zealously advocated speedy action and in an impassioned address at the annual meeting of the Missionary Society on November 30, 1872, emphasized the opportunity and responsibility of the Church. The necessary authorization was given by the General Missionary Committee in November, 1872,[§] and $25,000. appropriated. Before the committee meeting adjourned Bishop Peck placed in the hands of Maclay "his commission as Superintendent of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Japan." [8]

The mission was organized on August 8-9, 1873, by Bishop William L. Harris, in Maclay's residence, the Mission House, No. 60 Bluff, Yokohama. Four of the missionaries (all except M. C. Harris) were present,[#] with their wives, and also a number of visitors. The Bishop presented a projected program of work, and at the close of the second session announced the following appointments: Superintendent (to reside at Yokohama), R. S. Maclay; Yokohama, I. H. Correll; Tokyo, Julius Soper; Nagasaki, J. C. Davison; Hakodate, M. C. Harris.

It is to be noted that the places to be occupied were not arbitrarily designated by the Bishop. Harris, writing later, says that the "centers chosen by the Mission at this first meeting were the result of much investigation and consideration." He continues:

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[*] The year 1873 was noteworthy for a large increase in the Japan Protestant missionary personnel, which was more than doubled by the accession of twenty-nine new members, and by the addition of three new missions: the Methodist Episcopal; the Canadian Methodist; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The ten missionary societies, with their personnel including missionary wives, at the close of the year were: A.B.C.F.M., nine men, eleven women; Baptist Union (U.S.A.), three men, three women; Church Missionary Society (England), three men, three women; Protestant Episcopal (U.S.A.), eight men, two women; Presbyterian (U.S.A.), six men, seven women; Dutch Reformed, five men, six women; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (England), two men; Methodist (Canada), two men, two women; Woman's Union Missionary Society (U.S.A.), five women; Methodist Episcopal (U.S.A.), five men, five women. Total, eighty-seven. These were distributed as follows: Yokohama, thirty-three; Tokyo, sixteen; Osaka, sixteen; Kobe, twelve; Nagasaki, eight; Aomori Ken, two. The Roman Catholic Church reported fifteen missionaries and the Greek Orthodox Church one at Tokyo. The Greek Church was "represented also in Hakodate."—O. Cary, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 f.

[†] See p. 375.

[‡] See pp. 383 f.

[§] A year earlier, Nov. 16, 1871, an appropriation of $12,500. had been made "contingent on opening a mission in Japan," which was not used, presumably because the Bishop had not found a suitable man willing to undertake the commission.—"Minutes of the General Missionary Committee, M.S.," p. 292.

[#] Julius Soper: "Rev. J. C. Davison (my brother-in-law) and wife, and Mrs. Soper and I reached Yokohama on Friday, August 8, 1873 . . . . Dr. R. S. Maclay . . . and wife, and Rev. I. H. Correll and wife were already on the field, having arrived . . . a few weeks in advance [June 1]. Rev. M. C. Harris and wife did not arrive until the 14th of December following."—"Personal Reminiscences of By-Gone Days in Japan," ms., pp. 1 f.

> Yokohama was the commercial city of the Empire, and here it was deemed wise that the superintendent and treasurer should reside. Tokyo, being the largest city of the Empire, as well as the capital, . . . was the second place selected. The intention was to occupy Kobe and Osaka, but our brethren of the American Board had already entered this field, and they suggested that we take instead Kiushiu [Nagasaki], agreeing to leave South and North Japan to other Missions. . . . Hakodate was the chief and only open port north of Tokyo, and, as at that time there were no Protestant Missions north of the capital, this city was chosen.[9]

Other considerations influencing the choice of mission centers were stated by Maclay in his first report to the Missionary Society, dated August 18, ten days after the organization of the mission:

> Every station selected is now fully open to us, and every facility for the efficient prosecution of the work indicated is already at command. Foreign communities exist at all the points we have named; steam transit connects them with each other and with the headquarters of our mission at Yokohama; United States consuls are there to afford protection to our missionaries and extend to them all proper encouragement in their work. . . . All these cities possess a national reputation, and as centers of foreign trade they are destined to exert a powerful influence on the future of Japan.
>
> In all the cities we have selected there is an imperative demand for missionary laborers. At Nagasaki there are only two missionaries, at Hakodati none at all, in Yedo only two, and in Yokohama, where the supply is the largest, there is ample room for additional laborers. . . . The call to each of these cities was so direct and urgent that we could not hesitate in giving to it a favorable response.

On September 6 Maclay wrote, "our Japan mission is entering promptly on its great work . . . ." On October 21 the Board authorized purchase of a lot at Yokohama for $5,000.; one at Tokyo for $1,500.; and land in Nagasaki for $2,000.[10]

The first annual meeting* of the mission was held at the mission house, Yokohama, on June 27, 1874, attended by all of the missionaries. It was given over to reports from the members and to general discussion of the mission program. The importance of procuring translations of the *Discipline,* of the Methodist *Catechism,* and of hymns was emphasized. An interdenominational committee had already been formed for the translation of the Scriptures and authorization was given for Maclay to cooperate in the work.[11] The missionaries had been chiefly engaged during the first year in the study of the Japanese language. So eager had they been to begin preaching in the vernacular that they had plunged ahead and some had made first attempts

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* Mission meetings were intended to be held annually. Strangely, Maclay's reports to the Missionary Society give no account of proceedings of the annual meetings. J. M. Reid lists meetings following 1874 as follows: (1) June 30-July 5, 1875; (2) June 30-July 5, 1876; (3) July 10-16, 1877 (4) July 1-8, 1879; (5) June 29-July 6, 1880; (6) Aug. 25-30, 1881; (7) July 6-12, 1882; (8) July 20-26, 1883.—J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* III, 424-59.

By July, 1874, Julius Soper* was preaching in Japanese. I knew, he wrote, that "it was pretty 'poor preach.' [But] . . . I was wise enough not to attempt too much. . . . I stuck pretty close to readings from the Gospels† . . . and making comments and explanations as I went along." The Japanese were accustomed to listening to their Shinto priests mumbling prayers in ancient Japanese and the Buddhists intoning the sutras in dog-Sanskrit, so if they failed to understand all that the missionaries were saying they no doubt attributed it to the esoteric nature of the subject matter.[12]

On October 4, 1874, Correll, in Yokohama, baptized two converts—the first fruits of the Japanese Mission. In his report for the first year Maclay cited other evidences of progress:

> In Yedo [Tokyo] . . . mission property has been secured, daily instruction is given to a regular class of intelligent young men, and Sabbath services are held. As the result of this work a number . . . have already united with the Church on probation. At [Yokohama a] . . . chapel for daily preaching has been opened. . . . At Nagasaki mission premises have been secured in a very desirable station, and at all the services are seen men of high rank . . . .[13]

Before the establishment of this mission the W.F.M.S. had shown interest in Japan and impatience because the Missionary Society had not opened the way. The General Executive in 1872 instructed its Committee on New Work to consult with Board authorities "upon the feasibility of sending missionaries to Japan . . . as soon as Methodist Missions are established" there. And again in the same year, "We advise the establishment of missions in . . . Japan as soon as the Parent Board approve." In the next year's *Report* a similar statement was recorded: "We look forward with hope to the speedy entering and occupancy of Japan." In 1874, the Japan Mission having been established, the Society felt free to proceed and the General Executive at its fifth annual meeting took action and entered in its *Minutes,* "Appropriation, Northwestern Branch, Japan, 'Missionary Teacher, outfit and salary,' $1,500." On October 28, 1874, Dora Schoonmaker,‡ the Society's first missionary to Japan, arrived on the field.[14]

The mission's second year showed progress, more particularly in material ways. In addition to the property purchased in Yokohama and Tokyo, lots had been donated on lease by the Japanese government in both Nagasaki and Hakodate. In each of the four stations buildings suitable for chapels had either been rented or were in process of construction. The hoped-for edicts for religious freedom had not been issued but the attitude of the government was not unfriendly and no instances of violent persecution had occurred. A few converts had been made, Maclay having baptized one person; Correll, one; Harris, two; and Soper, two; and there was a "most promising class of inquirers." All of the building projects reported in 1875 were completed or well on their way to completion in 1876, and the number of converts and inquirers was increasing.

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* Julius Soper (1845-1937), born in Poolesville, Md., graduated from Georgetown College (A.B., 1866; A.M., 1867) and from Drew Theological Seminary (B.D., 1873). He was principal of a private academy in Georgetown for five years (1867-72). In 1873 he was admitted on trial in the Baltimore Conference and appointed missionary to Japan (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1873, pp. 28, 33). On May 20, 1873, he married Mary Frances Davison, and together they sailed to Japan on July 16, 1893. After ten years in Japan ill health in the family caused absence from the field for three years (August, 1883-September, 1886). He was Presiding Elder of the Tokyo District, 1886-92, and of the Hakodate District, 1892-95. From 1896 to 1907 he served as dean and professor of systematic theology in the Philander Smith Biblical Institute. He was twice elected (1892, 1900) as delegate to General Conference. In 1913 he retired. His ability, energy, and devotion enabled him to make a major contribution in laying the foundations of Methodist institutions in Japan.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *The Japan Christian Year Book,* XXX (1937), 346 ff.

† When the Methodist missionaries began their work only a part of the New Testament had been translated. In 1871 Goble, a Baptist missionary, ventured to print an edition of the Gospel of Matthew, and in 1872 J. C. Hepburn and S. R. Brown published Mark and John.—O. Cary, *op. cit.,* pp. 85 f.

‡ Dora Schoonmaker was for several years a teacher and principal in the Morris, Ill., public schools before she was sent to Japan by the Northwestern Branch. In 1879 she married Prof. H. M. Soper of Chicago.—Louise Manning Hodgkins, *The Roll Call . . . ,* p. 11.

In 1876 the government officially adopted the Christian calendar with the observance of Sunday as a day of rest and worship. Presumably a contributing motive was a desire for prestige in the West. This immensely aided missionaries as it gave tacit approval to Christian worship in chapels and homes. Before the government action it was impossible for Christians to attend church services with any regularity.[15]

While the missionaries had reason for encouragement the going was not easy, as they discovered in three years' time. Soper wrote:

> The work of the Christian missionary in Japan is more difficult than at first we supposed, and far more difficult than dreamed of by the Church at home. The circumscribed limits for open and active work, only a small portion of the empire being yet thrown open to foreigners; the uncertain attitude of the Government toward Christianity; the lack of moral backbone in the Japanese character, [*] and their dislike of any thing that savors of foreign dictation and supremacy, whether of Church or State; all these, besides other difficulties and hindrances, rise up before the missionary almost mountain high. Already not a few of the Japanese Christians have left the Churches in which they were instructed and baptized, and have established independent Churches of their own. And not a few interested in Christianity, and convinced (mentally) of its truth, are unwilling to take a decided position until Christianity is publicly tolerated by the Government.[16]

The sermon at the third annual meeting (1876) was preached by Maclay in the Japanese language and the proceedings, as far as possible, were conducted in Japanese. A course of study was planned for Japanese helpers.

At the end of four years Superintendent Maclay was able to report significant achievements in the mission's work of evangelization: the beginning of a Christian community; the founding of Christian schools for both boys and girls; the introduction of Christian instruction into other private, and into some public schools; a creditable array of translations and original writings in the Japanese language, including a Japanese hymnal; and a start of itineration to outstations. His report read, in part:

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[*] If he had been writing after long years of contact and a more intimate acquaintance with the Japanese, Soper surely would have modified his broad generalization about "lack of moral backbone," for he would have found many examples of nobility and strength of character among Japanese converts.

> During the four years of our service in Japan the members of our mission have acquired the Japanese language, so as to be able to use it with a fair degree of fluency and accuracy; . . . have baptized and received into the Church over one hundred converted Japanese, while more than an equal number are under their instruction as probationers; have trained for the Christian ministry nine Japanese, who . . . having been licensed as local preachers, were duly recommended by the last annual meeting of the Japan Mission for admission on trial, in . . . Annual Conferences in the United States, preparatory to their ordination to the work of the Christian ministry . . . ; have organized . . . [Classes] in connection with all our stations, and one . . . at a place two hundred miles in the interior of Japan; . . . and, best of all, . . . have contributed something toward laying in Japan the foundations of that kingdom which shall never be destroyed.[17]

A notable event at the fourth annual meeting of the mission (1877) was the recommendation, after examination, of five Japanese preachers for admission on trial in Annual Conferences in the United States, and arrangements for the recommendation, after examination by the Quarterly Conferences with which they were connected, of four others.* Significant also, at this annual meeting, was the joint conference with members of the Canadian Methodist Mission for consideration of preparation jointly of a hymnbook for use by both missions, and a uniform translation of those parts of the *Disciplines* of the two Churches in which the English texts agreed. The joint group favored cooperative arrangements wherever possible.

In 1878 Bishop I. W. Wiley made an extended tour of Japan, visiting all of the missionary centers with the exception of Hirosaki, and counseling with the missionary of each station (February 7-March 30). He also met representatives of other missions. He was much impressed by the character of the personnel and their achievements:

> The missionaries of Japan are a body of scholarly and cultured gentlemen and ladies. They have already accomplished a great work. . . . In 1870 there were not ten Protestant Christians in the empire. There are now more than a score of Churches, with a membership of more than fifteen hundred.

The Bishop felt that the Methodist plan of wide distribution of missions was "wisely determined," on the expectation of speedy increase of personnel, but he was distressed, as was Maclay, that "six years have passed and they have not come yet." This statement was not strictly accurate for two families had been added to the mission,† but much larger reinforcement was sorely needed.[18]

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* The nine Japanese preachers to be admitted were: Saehachi Kurimura, Bunshichi Onuki, and Yekichi Ohara to the Baltimore Annual Conference; Kenjiro Asuka to the Newark Annual Conference; Tomonari Kudo to the Philadelphia Annual Conference; also, after examination, Takuhei Kikuchi to the Newark Annual Conference; Kenro Abe to the Philadelphia Annual Conference; and Riyohi Kosugi and Yeiken Aibara to the Baltimore Annual Conference.

† John Ing and family of the China Mission, after a furlough, had arrived in Japan in December, 1874. (See p. 398. Also, later account in this chapter.) W. C. Davidson (whose name is frequently spelled Davisson or Davison in the records) and his wife, of the Northwest Indiana Conference,

Problems of finance were of major concern at the 1881 annual meeting of the mission. A finance committee was elected consisting of three missionaries, three Japanese members of Conference, and three church stewards, with the president of the annual meeting as chairman, to fix the rate of salary for the preachers, and to apportion to the charges the amount each would be expected to contribute. The annual meeting recommended that each local church meet in full its expenses other than pastor's salary; that each member of the church contribute as a minimum ten sen per month toward pastoral support, and that wherever possible each Society pay two-thirds of the cost of erection of its church when built.

The year 1883 witnessed the most widespread spiritual awakening that had occurred since the opening of Japan to Christian missionaries. It was not confined to any one denomination or locality but was experienced throughout Japan.* Fifteen conversions took place in the school of Aoyama, and many believers were quickened. Twenty students in the girls' school in Tsukiji were baptized on March 18, and twenty-seven more later. Eighteen students of the girls' school in Nagasaki were baptized on one Sunday. The religious life of many pastors was deepened and their preaching took on a new note of assurance and power.[19]

THE FIRST FIVE CENTERS, 1874-83

At Yokohama the foreign concession† was on a high bluff looking out to sea. It was here that Maclay and Correll found places to live. For the first few months Maclay was apparently occupied with the general work of administration and of public relations.

Correll's‡ first converts, referred to as "Kichi and wife," were apparently helpers in the missionary's house. In his report for 1874 Correll says:

> Yesterday (October 4, 1874) we were permitted to administer the holy ordinance of baptism to two persons who, we have reason to believe, have not only made a profession of religion, but have a saving trust in Jesus Christ. After their baptism they were received into full membership in the Church, having served their six months of probation before their baptism.[20]

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had arrived in 1877. Miss Olive Whiting, W.F.M.S. missionary, was sent by the New York Branch in 1876 to assist Miss Schoonmaker in her schoolwork at Tokyo. In June, 1880, she married Charles Bishop.

* The report of the Evangelical Alliance for January, 1884, showed an increase of 2,745 church members in 1883.—J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, III, 459.

† The foreign concessions at the port cities in which foreigners were permitted to reside were strictly limited, rather isolated areas. The concessions at Nagasaki and Hakodate, like that at Yokohama, were on bluffs at the seaside.

‡ Irvin H. Correll (1851-1926) was born near Easton, Pa. In 1871 he graduated from the Millersville (Pa.) State Normal School. In 1872 he was pastor of the Village Green Circuit and in the following year was admitted on trial in the Philadelphia Conference (*Gen'l Minutes*, 1873, p. 17). His appointment was to Foochow, China, but when he and his wife arrived in Japan the severe illness of Mrs. Correll made it impracticable for them to proceed farther and the assignment was changed to Yokohama. Within a year he acquired ability to preach in Japanese, an acquisition which served him well in his twenty-five years of evangelistic and administrative work in the mission. For brief periods he was related to the Publishing House, to the Aoyama Anglo-Japanese College, and to the editing of the first Japanese Methodist periodical. He was Presiding Elder in turn of the Yokohama, North Tokyo, West Tokyo, and Nagasaki Districts. After withdrawal from the Methodist Church he returned to Japan as a missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in charge of their publication agency.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *Gospel in All Lands*, October, 1897, pp. 465 f.

On June 20, 1875, the first regular worship services were held in the building on the bluff which had been designated by the authorities as available for a chapel. The building—the first Methodist church in Japan—accommodated three hundred people and the attendance was good. A Sunday school was also prospering, and Mrs. Correll had started a school. Correll had managed also to rent a house down in the city which, after a time, the missionaries began to use for religious services, naming it Furocho Chapel. This was taken in charge by Maclay. On October 11, 1875, he established a day school in the chapel under a Japanese Christian teacher. He reported this year: members, one; probationers, two; day school pupils, seven; weekly preaching services, five; average attendance, thirty.[21]

The next year (1876) saw expansion into outlying communities. Correll first visited Kanagawa, three miles north of Yokohama, where he preached a number of times. Then on October 17 he and his teacher went to Hachioji twenty miles to the northwest, where arrangements were made for services which were continued for several days and later a Society formed. A well-to-do gentleman living in a village five miles distant invited Correll to come to his house and preach, which he did. Meantime Maclay had enlisted four new members at Furocho, and a second chapel had been opened at Aoicho (Yokohama) where nine had been received into membership and a second day school opened. Another Society had been formed at Uraga, seventeen miles south of Yokohama, where Perry had made his landing in 1853, and a "Brother Makino"—whom Maclay called his assistant—had been placed in charge. The assistant reported six probationers.[22]

The Bluff Chapel was in a very undesirable location and as the mission possessed an unoccupied lot, well located, in 1877 the chapel was moved and remodeled, and all the Methodist groups united in a single worship service on Sunday mornings. The Hachioji Society now had a chapel with a Japanese, Tomonari Kudo, in charge of the work. He reported twenty-four probationers and had begun services in Mizonokuchi, some eighteen miles from Yokohama.[23]

The most remarkable and daring outreach of all was made into the Shinshu country, a hundred and sixty miles into the mountains west of Yokohama. This involved an arduous journey, presumably by jinrikisha, possible only after long negotiations with the government for a passport. Pressing invitations had come at intervals from people in the city of Matsumoto. Finally, a passport having been received, Correll visited the city in 1877 and for ten days held meetings with the people, who described themselves as without a religion of any kind. A few years before they had destroyed their idols, torn down their temples, and determined to abjure religion. But they had come to feel the necessity of a faith and, having heard of Correll's religious teaching, had decided that it would meet their need. About three hundred persons, representing all classes, gave their names to the missionary as desiring

Christian instruction. On a third visit in June, 1878, Correll baptized thirty-three adults and four children.[24]

The Yokohama charge was now (1878) divided into two Circuits. The Tenan Circuit had four appointments: Tenan, with both the Bluff Chapel and a native chapel; Hachioji; and in the Shinshu region Matsumoto and Matsushiro. The Furocho Circuit had one appointment in the native section, Sumiyoshi, and three out-appointments—Hodogaya and Kanagawa; Nishio; and Nagoya. I. H. Correll, missionary-in-charge of the Tenan Circuit, held combined Sunday services for Yokohama in the Bluff Chapel within the compound and maintained a day school of some seventy pupils. Hachioji had a Japanese pastor, S. Abe; as also did Matsumoto, K. Kurimura. Maclay was missionary-in-charge of the Furocho Circuit. The appointment in the native city, Sumiyoshi Chapel, also had a Japanese pastor, Saehachi Kurimura, and here also a day school was conducted. Yekichi Ohara preached at Nishio. When he was living in Yokohama in the autumn of 1876 he was converted and immediately felt that he ought to return to Nishio, his native town, near Nagoya, about two hundred miles southwest of Yokohama, to preach the Gospel. He resigned his position as a teacher, went to Nishio, and began to preach. Maclay visited him there in June, 1877, baptized five adults, organized them into a Class, and when he returned to Yokohama arranged to have Ohara granted a license as a Local Preacher.[25]

Hodogaya, a suburb of Yokohama, and Kanagawa, appeared in the report for 1878 with Father Suzuki, a converted Shinto priest, in charge. That year R. Kosugi joined Ohara in taking charge of Nishio and Nagoya.[26]

The W.F.M.S. made its first appropriation for Yokohama in May, 1877, "for one day school and two Bible women," and the school was opened in September under the supervision of Mrs. Correll, with a Christian Japanese teacher and five girls as pupils. In February there were nine in attendance, and a Sunday school had been organized in connection with the day school. In 1878 the New England Branch sent out Miss Susan B. Higgins, who arrived in Yokohama on October 20. She entered the school at once as English teacher, with four children and three adults in her class. The attendance rapidly increased until on March 1 fifty-two pupils were enrolled. Miss Higgins also organized a class of women to meet once a week. Unfortunately, within a year her work was brought to an end by her death on July 3, 1879. The Society decided against a replacement until a missionary home could be provided and two women sent. Provision was made in 1882 for a home by the purchase of the house used for the theological seminary,* and Emma J. Benton of the New England Branch and Anna P. Atkinson of the New York Branch were sent out. In June of the next year Rebecca

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* *Minutes, B.M.*, May 16, 1882: "That we hereby authorize the sale of the Theological Seminary building situated on Lot No. 221 Bluff, Yokohama, together with that portion of the lot . . . on which the building stands, to the WFMS . . . for the sum of $3500. or failing in this, the selling of it to any other party on the above conditions [.]"—VIII, 371.

J. Watson of the Topeka Branch arrived and Miss Atkinson was transferred to Tokyo. In 1884 Mrs. Caroline W. Van Petten[*] of the Northwestern Branch, a widow, was transferred to Yokohama to establish a Bible-training school. A beginning was made the same year in operation of the missionary home.[27]

These years were auspicious for Christian work among the women and girls of Japan. They had shared the nation's awakening and were eager to learn of the new Western ways. The feudal system had allowed them little freedom and few educational advantages. The hour for the cultural emancipation of Japanese women had now come. The government had sent several young women to the United States for study and its educational department was maturing plans for women's education. The opposition to girls' schools which the missionaries in China and India had encountered had no parallel in Japan. While more or less apathy existed among the common people and many Japanese men were skeptical of woman's capacity for learning, the government placed no obstacles in the missionaries' way. Even parents who were not prepared to enroll their girls in mission schools were influenced by their interest in Western ways to welcome instruction in cooking, knitting, and sewing. Often it was possible to introduce Bible study along with domestic arts.[28]

In 1879 the Mission Seminary and Training School was established and a building completed at a cost of $5,000., including the land.[†] On September 13, Milton S. Vail [‡] of the Maine Conference arrived in Yokohama and on October 1 the school was opened with twenty students. Miss Jennie S. Vail, sister of Milton S. Vail, who came to Japan in 1880, gave full time to the English department, and there were also two Japanese teachers. In March, 1880, Gideon F. and Mira H. Draper[§] of the Central New York

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[*] Mrs. Caroline W. Van Petten was a member of the first class to admit women at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and later graduated from Mt. Union College in Ohio. After the death of her husband, a minister who was preparing for missionary work, she went to Japan as a result of a "direct call from the Northwestern Branch." She arrived Sept. 26, 1881, and for three years taught at the girls' school in Tsukiji. After nine years as principal of the Training School in Yokohama she was appointed superintendent of Bible women in Nagasaki.—L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[†] A gift of $10,000. had been received from J. F. Goucher for permanent investment "to advance some special form of mission work." The mission decided to apply one-fourth of the interest from the fund toward a seminary library and three-fourths for student scholarships.—J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, III, 452, 454.

[‡] Milton Smith Vail (1853-1928) was born in Concord, N. H., of Puritan ancestry, was converted at thirteen, and studied at Pennington Seminary and in Mannheim, Germany. While in Germany he served for a time as American vice-consul. He graduated from Boston University (A.B., 1877) and in 1879 was received on trial in the Maine Conference (*Gen'l Minutes*, Spring, 1879, p. 83). After graduation he became principal of the preparatory department of Ohio University (Athens, Ohio) and instructor of German and Greek in the college. He sailed for Japan on Aug. 15, 1879. When in 1882 the seminary was moved to Tokyo he continued there as instructor. On Jan. 1, 1885, he married Emma C. Witbeck, principal of Ferris (Girls') Seminary. From 1895 to 1900 he was professor of theology at Cobleigh Seminary (Chinzei Gakkwan), Nagasaki. In 1900 he returned to the United States broken in health. During 1903-25 he was principal of the Anglo-Japanese School in San Francisco under the Pacific Japanese Mission. Always sympathetic, genial, thorough, deeply devoted to the Japanese people, he made a truly great contribution to the cause of Christian missions.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; anon., art., *California Christian Advocate,* Sept. 14, 1904, p. 24.

[§] Gideon F. Draper (1858-1951) was born in Lakeville, Conn. He was admitted to the Central New York Conference in 1879 (*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1879, p. 58). In 1880 he received the A.B. degree from Syracuse University. On March 20, 1880, with his bride (Mira E. Haven) he arrived in Japan and began teaching in the seminary. He became ill and was obliged to leave Japan in feeble health early in 1882 with little thought that he would ever be able to return. His heart, however, was in missionary work and in the spring of 1886 he again reached Japan and entered upon a long career as Presiding Elder and educator. He was recognized as one of the most able

Conference landed at Yokohama. The next year the school was moved to Tokyo.[29]

In 1879 Correll reported three Circuits in the province of Shinshu, where "the work of the Lord has surely progressed in a very remarkable degree." Progress continued the next year, a number having been added to the Church, and several important Stations opened. These Circuits and Stations were not named in either Correll's or Maclay's reports but they were in the same general region as Matsumoto and were probably begun as outstations of that center. Maclay in 1879 stated that the Society in Nishio had sixteen members and Nagoya fifteen. In 1880 a new appointment was listed at Uye-no-Hara, in the same District.*

In the spring of 1881 Maclay and Correll were ordered home on furlough by their physician. Their absence during 1881-82 made a number of administrative changes necessary. Julius Soper was transferred to the Yokohama District, where he continued as treasurer of the mission and began to teach theological classes in the mission seminary.

> I have aimed to teach two hours per day . . . . Still, with the work of superintending Churches, preaching the Gospel, translating, and performing the duties of treasurer of the mission, my hands have been so full that I fear my teaching has not been what it should have been. Teaching under such circumstances is neither satisfactory to ourselves, nor advantageous to the work.

Needless to say, the lack of intensive supervision combined with shortage of Japanese pastors caused the work of the local churches to suffer. Soper managed during his two years on the District to make two visits to the interior. He found the churches for the most part to be in a prosperous condition financially, and he felt hopeful, while it would be difficult to say how rapidly the charges would develop, that in a few years several would become self-supporting. In 1883 there were eight Methodist day schools in Yokohama in successful operation (one under the Missionary Society; two maintained by the W.F.M.S.; and five operated by members of the churches). Pupils numbered about seven hundred.[30]

While Maclay and Correll were laying foundations in Yokohama and vicinity, the Sopers were equally busy in the much larger city of Tokyo. Almost immediately after their arrival they opened their home for daily classes in English, using this as a means for getting students to come on Sunday for religious instruction. In June, 1874, a larger house was rented which had a room large enough to seat forty or fifty persons. This was fitted up for chapel and school purposes and in September Sunday services were begun, entirely in Japanese, with hymns, prayers, and Scripture reading with comments.[31]

Soon after Mrs. Soper's arrival in Tokyo, a Secretary of the Imperial

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and successful of Methodist missionaries in Japan.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

* In his 1880 report to the Missionary Society Maclay said: "For the sake of clearness we now use the word 'district' to indicate our charges, instead of the word 'circuit' which has heretofore appeared in our Annual Reports."—*Sixty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1880), p. 170.

Household called, asking if she would instruct his young wife, the Princess, in English. Arrangements were made for her to come to Soper's house two or three times a week. She was always accompanied by at least two attendants, more often by three.

> While giving the Princess her lesson, I tried . . . to sow a little seed in 'Caesar's Household' by furnishing Bibles for the attendants to read, which they did diligently. Whether it . . . ever . . . [bore] any fruit or not we do not know. God knows and it is not necessary that we should.[32]

In 1872 the Japanese government, as already mentioned, had sent five girls to the United States, under the care of the wife of the U.S. minister, to study. One of these girls, Miss Yoshimasu, while in Washington heard of Soper and his plan of going to Japan as a missionary. She and one other of the five returned early in the summer of 1873 and a few weeks after the Sopers' arrival Miss Yoshimasu brought her young brother and sister, and a neighbor's little girl, to the parsonage and asked to be taught the Bible. This was the beginning, in November, 1873, of the first Methodist Sunday school in Tokyo.[33]

One of the three girls whom the Sopers had met in Washington at the home of the Lanman's was Ume Tsuda. After she had been in Washington for a year and a half she wrote to her parents telling them of her decision to become a Christian and to be baptized, and expressed her wish that they too would become Christians. By a strange coincidence a letter to Mrs. Tsuda arrived at almost the same time from Mr. Tsuda, who was one of the commissioners of the Japanese government to the International Exposition at Vienna, telling of his interest in a display of books:

> Being interested in books I stopped and inquired what books these were. The answer quickly came: 'These books are all one Book, the Christian Bible, translated into many languages of the world, and printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society.' This deeply impressed me. While I know very little about Christianity, I feel there must be something good and real in such a religion, to induce its followers to spend so much time and money in translating their Sacred Writings into the languages of the earth and scattering them broadcast throughout the world. And now, wife, I think it would be well for us, on my return, to seek out a missionary and begin the study of such a religion.[34]

In December, 1873, Mr. Tsuda* returned home and in January he and his wife called upon the Sopers and a plan for Bible study was immediately arranged. Every Sunday they came across the city for Bible instruction. On January 3, 1875, they were both baptized and through the years Soper baptized twelve of the thirteen Tsuda children. The Tsudas introduced a friend, Masao Furukawa, and his wife, and on January 17, 1875, Soper began to hold worship services regularly in their home in Kanda, later a great student center. On January 26, 1876, Mr. and Mrs. Furukawa and, on

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* Merriman C. Harris: "Prominent among the [Japanese Christian] laymen is the Hon. Sen Tsuda. In age and membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church he ranks first. The first convert of our mission in Tokyo, ... He is the pioneer of the new scientific agriculture of Japan, opened the first school for agriculture, and published the first Agricultural Magazine . . . . He . . . represented the government in an important mission at Chicago World's Fair."—*Christianity in Japan*, pp. 73 f.

February 6, Shizuok Ikushima, a relative of Furukawa's, were baptized. By June, 1875, Furukawa had erected a building for a day school which he had started and in this school of thirty boys and girls Soper taught on weekdays, utilizing it on Sundays for worship services. There on September 16, 1875, the first Methodist Class in Tokyo was formed and on October 2-3, the first Quarterly Meeting and Love Feast were held. On October 12 a second Class was organized at the Tsuda home.[35]

In the meantime important developments were under way in Azabu, the western section of the city where the Tsudas lived. On May 9, 1875, the worship services were moved from the Sopers' home in Tsukiji (the Tokyo foreign settlement) to the Tsuda residence. Since her arrival in Japan Miss Schoonmaker had made her home with the Sopers. Shortly after her arrival, with Mr. Tsuda's help, she opened a day school with eight or ten pupils.* During the first eight months she found it necessary to move the school from house to house in Azabu not less than five times. Finally, on June 17, 1875, a part of a Buddhist temple on North Temple Street was rented—an arrangement of expediency on both sides, as the priest needed additional income—and in it Miss Schoonmaker set up quarters of her own† and for the school. At first adult women were received but, beginning with November, only girls were admitted. At the same time the school was opened the Sunday afternoon services were transferred from the Tsuda home to the Buddhist temple as it offered facilities for a congregation of a hundred and fifty people.[36]

In December, 1876, Miss Schoonmaker, who had been joined by Miss Olive Whiting, moved to a boarding school building and home which had been erected on one of the two lots in Tsukiji which Soper had purchased from the government. The building, somewhat to Miss Schoonmaker's disappointment, was located within the limits of the foreign concession. In a few months twenty-one boarders and eleven day pupils had been enrolled in the school, later named Kaigan Jo Gakko.

> At first the girls received were of a class able and willing to pay their tuition, but the condition of the poor weighed so heavily upon the minds . . . [of the missionaries] that they determined to care for the girls from this class, even though the others must be dismissed. These girls are under bonds to remain in the school from four to six years, and two years thereafter as assistants, if desired. . . . The girls who pay their own tuition do not object to this new element in the school, so the two classes work harmoniously side by side.

Miss Schoonmaker had also been holding a meeting for women on alternate Fridays at a place several miles distant and one woman had handed in her name as a candidate for baptism. Miss Matilda A. Spencer* and Miss Mary J. Holbrook † arrived in Japan on October 21, 1878, to reinforce the school program.[37]

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* See p. 189.

† "Seventh Ann. Rep., W.F.M.S." (1876): Miss Schoonmaker says: "My house is a part of an old temple, the other portion of it being still occupied by the priest and his hideous idol, ... The street is lined with temples its whole length, and I see men and women prostrating themselves before their idols every day. I have twenty-eight scholars, five of whom, after their six months probation,—now nearly out,—will be baptized. They give good evidence of saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ."—As printed in *Heathen Woman's Friend,* VIII (1876), 1 (July), 21.

On the second of the two lots purchased by Soper a missionary residence and a chapel were erected. On January 27, 1877, the chapel—the first Methodist Episcopal church built in Tokyo—was dedicated. A Sunday school was begun, the house crowded on the first Sunday. On either side of the entrance to the chapel was a small room. In one of them lived the janitor, who was also book salesman, and in the other were all of the Christian books that had been translated into Japanese. A missionary home was also built this year in Tokyo by the W.F.M.S.

The year 1877 brought some disappointments. Several of the members became disheartened and turned back to their old paths. But Soper was not discouraged. The church, he reported, "has steadily grown, not only in numbers, but in activity and progressiveness." [38]

By 1877 two Japanese evangelists had been raised up. One of them, Bunshichi Onuki, accompanied Soper on the missionary's first evangelistic trip outside the city in November, 1877, to Ajiki, in central Honshu, about thirty-five miles to the north. He found there a goodly company ready to receive the Gospel. On a second trip in April, 1878, he baptized on Easter Day and Monday sixteen adults and one child. These few Christians rented a neat building and at their own expense converted it into a chapel, and furnished it with a pulpit and seats.

Health conditions brought Harris and his wife from Hakodate to Tokyo in 1878 making possible the formation of two Tokyo Circuits. First Tokyo Circuit had four preaching points: Tsukiji (the foreign settlement), Fukama, Tsuchiura, and Mita, of which the last three were in large towns in the country. Tsuchiura and Mita were established in 1877 and both were put in the charge of resident Japanese evangelists. At Fukama the members of the church, some forty in number, with the help of a grant from the Missionary Society had built a chapel, the people themselves contributing one-third of the cost.

Second Tokyo Circuit, assigned to Harris, included Azabu where in February, 1878, a hired chapel had been secured, and Shiba, in another section of the city, where also a small chapel had been rented in which services were held on Friday evenings. Harris was successful in securing a preaching place in the Ginza section and services were instituted there. Correll had followed a lead some three hundred and fifty miles northeast to Yamagata, a large and prosperous city, and this distant station was also attached to Harris' Circuit. The Tokyo missionary staff was increased in 1879 by the arrival of Charles Bishop* of the North Indiana Conference.[39]

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* Matilda A. Spencer (1848-1933), of English parentage, was educated in Germantown, Pa., private schools. Through the Philadelphia Branch there came to her "a clear and direct call" to mission work in foreign fields. She had a long and fruitful career in W.F.M.S. work in Japan.—L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

† Mary J. Holbrook (1852-1912) was born in Somersetshire, England. She graduated from Wyoming Seminary and taught for several years before going to Japan under the auspices of the Cincinnati Branch. In January, 1890, she married Benjamin Chappell of the Aoyama Anglo-Japanese College.—*Ibid.*, pp. 17 f.

On December 26, 1879, a disastrous fire swept downtown Tokyo and destroyed all Methodist buildings in Tsukiji—the chapel, the missionary residence, and the girls' school so recently built with such high hopes. Within nine months a new church was dedicated (September 11, 1880) on the former site, and comfortable parsonages built for Harris and Bishop, while the W.F.M.S. had in process of erection "a spacious and substantial building" for a missionary home and school.[40]

Soper's transfer to Yokohama left the Tokyo District in 1881 in the hands of Harris and Charles Bishop. Harris was appointed Presiding Elder. Previously, in 1878, Soper, Aibara, and Yoshimatsu had established a boys' and youths' school in Tsukiji in which they composed the teaching staff. The next year Bishop was made the teacher in charge. By 1881 the school enrolled "sixty-five young men, all self-supporting." In the fall, with an additional house rented for a dormitory, the enrollment increased to fifty boarders and twenty-seven day pupils. Among them there was one Christian but Bishop reported "great discussion among the boys" concerning Christianity.

In January, 1882, John F. Goucher proposed to the Missionary Society the organization of an "Anglo-Japanese University" at Tokyo, and, conditional on the transfer of the seminary and training school from Yokohama, offered to contribute $5,000. for the purchase of a site for a building, and an additional sum for professors' salaries. Later in the year the transfer was made and in 1883 twenty-five acres of land in Aoyama, Tokyo, were purchased and the schools united. The "Anglo-Japanese College" was listed in the Missionary Society *Report* with three instructors, M. S. Vail, James Blackledge, and John O. Spencer.†

At the annual mission meeting of 1882 Correll was appointed Presiding Elder of the East Tokyo District which included this year two appointments in the city (Tsukiji and Kanda); one thirty-five miles out, the Kazusa Circuit; Morioka, four hundred miles to the north; and Tendo and Yamagata, also north 250 miles. Since after his return from furlough he was unable to visit the points farthest out Soper made the journey in his stead and "baptized and received into the Church quite a number of persons." The West Tokyo District this year was in the charge of Soper.

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* Charles Bishop (1850-1941) was born in Troupsburg, N.Y., attended Northwestern University, and graduated (1879) from Garrett Biblical Institute. In the same year he went to Japan, beginning his missionary service in Tokyo. Later he was at Nagasaki, Sapporo, and Hirosaki, and served as Presiding Elder of the North Tokyo District for one year. (1884-85). For years he was a member of the faculty of Aoyama Gakuin, and at various periods, besides his professorship, he was mission treasurer, Publishing Agent, treasurer of the Methodist Publishing House, and editor of *Tidings from Japan.* He was finally retired in March, 1926 ("Minutes of the Executive Committee, Board of Missions," March 18, 1926, Item 4007). In appreciation of his many useful years, Ambassador Joseph C. Grew wrote to him: "Your constructive work through the years, especially your work at Aoyama Gakuin, will not be forgotten, for our Japanese friends do not readily forget such selfless service as you have rendered."—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

† James Blackledge, Philadelphia Conference, an Englishman, arrived in Japan in 1882. He left on furlough in 1886 and in 1887 transferred to the Southern California Conference. (*Gen'l Minutes*, Spring, 1882, p. 27; *ibid.*, Fall, 1887, p. 286.) John O. Spencer was received by transfer from the Wyoming Conference in 1883 (*Minutes, Japan Conference*, 1884, p. 5), and remained in Japan until 1899. Later he was president of Morgan College, Baltimore, Md.

At the annual meeting in July, 1883, Correll was transferred to the West Toyko District, which included the three large Circuits in the province of Shinshu; Hachioji, which for several years had not had a pastor; and Azabu and Aoyama in the city. The next year Azabu was transferred to the Canadian Methodist Mission which had established their educational center nearby. Correll then opened work at Yotsuya, a part of the city where no missionary activity was under way, and placed Tenju Kanamura in charge. In November, 1883, a Society was organized at Aoyama and in December a dwelling house was rented for a chapel.

A pastor was appointed (1884) to Iida but about the middle of the year charges were preferred against him and he was discontinued. Two new Societies were organized in Shinshu Province, at Sakashita and at Takato—about six miles apart. Both proposed to pay their chapel rent, all incidental expenses, and some part of the pastoral support.[41]

At the Tsukiji church, where Bishop lent assistance in 1883, the members had a meeting on the morning before the first Quarterly Conference was held and on their own part agreed to double the amount paid toward church support during the preceding year. This was done despite the fact that several who had previously borne a part of the church expenses had removed to another part of the city, and also that the women of the church—many of them servant women—were themselves supporting a new project. The average attendance at Tsukiji was about eighty and during the year forty-seven were baptized. On September 23, 1883, David S. and Mary Ann Spencer of the Wyoming Conference landed in Yokohama. Soon after their arrival Spencer began teaching a class of young men at the Tokyo Kanda church. Apparently their only object was to learn English, but their teacher "determined to make their thirst for English the means of bringing the Gospel to bear upon their hearts" and soon a number of them were converted and united with the Church. Beginning on April 1, 1884, he began to teach in the theological department of Aoyama.[42]

At Hakodate* M. C. Harris† and wife arrived on January 26, 1874, a most inhospitable time on the cold, windy, snow-blanketed island of Hokkaido (Yezo, Yoso, Yeso). Not until April were they able to find a house for rent in the foreign concession. On August 1 they located an available site and contracted for the building of a residence. Very soon after their arrival they accepted several pupils for the study of English and within a few months several young men became deeply interested in study of the Bible. The feeling against "foreign barbarians" was strong in Hakodate, and frequently broke out in violence. After a particularly vicious outbreak the American consul called Harris and his wife to his office and after warning them handed them a pistol and cautioned them never to be without it. They thanked him and left, walked together to the seashore and threw the gun into the sea. In October, 1875, Harris succeeded in renting a preaching place in a good location by a down payment of one hundred dollars and a promise to pay one dollar a month thereafter. He employed as an assistant a Christian young man,* formerly connected with the government schools, with the idea of training him for the ministry.[43]

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* When Harris arrived in Hakodate the only other Protestant missionary was a Church of England clergyman. Two French priests ministered to about a score of Roman Catholic Church members. A Russian chaplain of the Orthodox Church, Father Nicolai, was also located there. Later he went to Tokyo and almost single-handed founded a Japanese national branch of that Church with some 30,000 members.—O. Cary, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 f.; *idem, A History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Missions,* pp. 376 ff., 392 ff.

† Merriman Colbert Harris (1846-1921) was born in Beallsville, Ohio, and at seventeen joined the 12th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, in which he served for two years. He was admitted on trial in the Pittsburgh Conference in 1869 and appointed to Urichsville (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1869, pp. 45, 50). While engaged in preaching he entered Allegheny College, graduating in 1873. On Oct. 23 he married Flora L. Best of Meadville and on the same day he and his bride started for Japan, arriving on Dec. 14, 1873. He was the first Protestant missionary in Hakodate. His work in Japan was chiefly evangelistic. In 1886 he was appointed Superintendent of the Japanese mission on the Pacific coast where he continued until elected in 1904 Missionary Bishop of Japan and Korea. In 1916 he asked to be retired. He was three times decorated by the emperor, on the third occasion with the Second Order of the Sacred Treasure. No higher decoration had ever been given to a foreigner. His greatest

In 1877 Harris had organized a small but vigorous church in Hakodate and a building was in process of erection, toward the cost of which the Board had made a grant of $1,200. Harris already had in hand from local receipts an amount sufficient to cover the balance. On February 17, 1878, the chapel—"excellently located on one of the more quiet and retired streets"—was dedicated by Bishop Wiley.† This year, as previously reported, it became necessary for Harris and his wife to move to the milder clime of Tokyo. He had labored, Maclay reported, "faithfully and successfully," and had won "in a high degree the respect and confidence of the Japanese and the members of the foreign community." The vacancy caused by his removal was filled by the transfer of W. C. Davidson from Hirosaki. Within a year, on December 7, 1879, a terrible conflagration, which reduced almost the entire city to ashes, destroyed the newly completed church and school. From the ashes a new building quickly arose. Maclay wrote in his 1880 report to the Board that Davidson had already rebuilt the church and school building, had begun public religious services in the auditorium, and had reopened his school with an attendance of twenty-six pupils.[44]

Miss Mary A. Priest, sent by the New York Branch, arrived in Hakodate in 1878, the only Protestant woman missionary in all of north Japan. She studied the Japanese language diligently and soon opened a girls' school.

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strength as a missionary was in his understanding and sympathetic disposition and his deep interest in the moral, social, and religious welfare of the Japanese.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

* Harris does not name his assistant. Presumably he was Takuhei Kikuchi, who in 1877 was licensed as a Local Preacher and recommended for admission on trial.—R. S. Maclay, in *Fifty-ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1877), pp. 156 f.

† I. W. Wiley: "The exercises consisted first of a baptismal service at half-past nine A.M. I addressed the candidates in English, and Mr. Harris translated into Japanese. Then he read the baptismal service in Japanese, and I performed the baptism of four adult males. After this, at eleven, I preached in English . . . . At three P.M. Dr. Maclay preached and the new chapel was dedicated, all the services being in Japanese except the dedicatory prayer."—*China and Japan* . . . , p. 340.

When the big fire burned the house occupied by the school of eleven girls she taught them in her bedroom. Miss Kate Woodworth, sent out by the Philadelphia Branch to assist her, arrived in December, 1880, but before she reached Japan, Miss Priest's health had failed and she had left for home.

In the spring of 1881 the New York Branch sent Miss Mary S. Hampton, who took over the school, named the "Caroline Wright Memorial." In her first report she stated that the buildings were completed and that the school had sixteen boarders and a few day pupils. "The fact that it is a Christian school," she said, "is an attraction to very few." Pupils were drawn to the school because it taught English and because the charge for board was very low.[45]

On October 6, 1881, Lee W. Squier from the North Ohio Conference arrived in Hakodate and was appointed to the Hakodate Station, with Itsuki Honda as his associate. The next year Squier succeeded Davidson as Presiding Elder, Davidson having removed to Yokohama because of his wife's ill health. Charles W. Green of the Philadelphia Conference arrived in August, 1882, and was appointed to Hakodate. In his first report (1883) Squier pictured a District growing in membership, in spiritual strength, in new Circuits, and in promise for the future. Two new towns had been entered—Esashi on the west coast of Hokkaido, and Aomori on the tip of Honshu, Japan's main island, across the strait from Hakodate and capital of the Aomori Prefecture in which Hirosaki is located. Financial stringency, brought about by unfavorable currency exchange, necessitated closing the day school in Hakodate, an action which Squier was confident would be only temporary. It reflected, however, a situation which was not to continue long. A few years later it would have been almost impossible for any private individual or group to obtain the privilege of opening a primary day school for general education or, having once started a school, to discontinue it.[46]

In 1883 the W.F.M.S. established a medical mission, and a suite of rooms had been made available for a dispensary. At Christmas, 1883, Florence N. Hamisfar, M.D., arrived and took over the medical work. Her day's schedule very soon became crowded.

> Day begins here at three in the morning. . . . At four o'clock people are astir, and at five o'clock the work of the day has commenced in earnest. Often as early as six my door bell sounds, and patients begin to come. I have hardly time for breakfast, ... I am usually very busy all the forenoon in my dispensary, occasionally slipping away to visit a very sick person about whom I am anxious. I return to find the waiting room well filled. At 12 o'clock each day we have a prayer meeting in my study for the Missionaries. . . . I am falling more and more in love with the Japanese. . . . . . . The Governor of Hakodati is my friend, and has appointed me teacher of English in the Imperial Normal School of Hakodati . . . .[47]

Sapporo, the capital of Hokkaido, the northernmost of the four main islands of Japan, is first mentioned in the records in Maclay's 1877 report:

Brother Harris . . . , at the cordial invitation of all the parties concerned, has recently administered baptism to fifteen of the students in the Agricultural College at Sapporo.

Back of this casual mention lies a story of the remarkable results of a Christian layman's influence. The governmental "Colonization Department for Yezo" proposed to establish as one of the imperial universities of Japan a college of agriculture in Sapporo. William S. Clark, president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, was appointed as president and director *pro tem.* On weekdays he was busily engaged in the work of teaching and administration and on Sundays he preached to the students. By his magnetic personality and his Christian witness in the classroom[*] and by his preaching, in the one year he remained in Sapporo he led a goodly proportion of his students to become Christians.[†] In 1879 Sapporo was listed as an appointment on the Hakodate Circuit, "to be supplied." Again, in 1880, the situation was the same, Maclay reporting that the "great needs . . . [were] a resident helper and a church building." The student converts had been organized as a Methodist Society and funds had been provided for the erection of a church building. Some of the students had graduated but "eight members and one probationer" remained. In 1881 "gratifying development" of the Society was reported. The next year, still without a pastor, the little church was self-supporting, as it had been from the beginning. On January 1, 1883, the Society was dissolved. A basis of union had been previously drawn up by some forty Christians, representing four denominations, in the belief that as a united group they could exert more influence for Christianity. In the meantime a Methodist chapel had been built and the new organization, the Sapporo Union Church, paid to the mission treasury nearly $500., the cost of the chapel.[48]

Hirosaki, at the northern end of Honshu, was some sixty miles south of Hakodate across the Tsugaru Strait. It was a city of about 38,000 inhabitants, formerly the Daimio Tsugaru's capital. Methodist missionary work in the city was unofficially begun by John Ing[‡] in 1874. His account of the mission and his connection with it, written in 1877, is as follows:

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[*] When Japanese officials on one occasion reminded President Clark that he had been brought to Japan to teach agriculture and morality, not Christianity, he is said to have replied, holding up a Bible, "If I am to teach morality here is my textbook."—H. Ritter, *A History of Protestant Missions in Japan,* p. 97.

[†] Among Clark's converts were several who became influential in national and international affairs. One was Inazo Nitobe, the Quaker essayist and Japanese representative in the League of Nations. Another was Kanzo Uchimura, founder of the movement called "Churchless Christianity" which through the years has had a considerable following among university professors and other Japanese of culture. A third was Shosuke Sato, later president of the university, regarded as Hokkaido's first citizen—a dedicated Methodist layman till his death.

[‡] John Ing, the son of a Methodist minister, was received on trial in the St. Louis Conference in 1870 and in the same year went to China as a missionary (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1870, p. 29; *ibid.,* 1871, p. 35). He graduated from Indiana Asbury (later De Pauw) University in 1868 and later received the A.M. degree. He left China in 1874 (see p. 396). That same year he responded to a call to go to Hirosaki as a teacher of English in the school of the daimio, the Tsugaru clan school, To-O-Gijuku. In 1876 the Missionary Society again placed him on the missionary list. Because of Mrs. Ing's ill health the family left Japan in 1878. In 1880 Ing was made supernumerary by the St. Louis Conference and in 1882 he was located.—*Ibid.,* 1880, p. 61; *ibid.,* 1882, p. 33; Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

> the Daimio still maintains a school here (the 'Ancient School') for his old knights, with which institution we have been connected since December, 1874, the time of our first arrival in this city. This school is now in a very flourishing condition, having in all, between three and four hundred pupils, both sexes being represented. . . . Foreign text-books on the sciences, history, etc. have been introduced into the Japanese department, while in the English, over which we have had the honor of presiding for almost three years, we use the same text-books as used in our academies and colleges at home.
>
> The Rev. Y[oitsu] Honda, our native preacher, is the president of the institution . . . . [He] came with us from Yokohama in December, 1874, at which time the first regular missionary work was commenced in this place, and as a result of this, fourteen young men, all students, save one, were baptized at the Sabbath service here in our dwelling on June 6, 1875. For several months Brother Honda preached in the school buildings every Sabbath afternoon . . . . Mr. K. Kikuchi, a member of our Church, and late president of the school, purchased houses and grounds in another part of the city, into which he and Brother Honda moved their families. A portion of these buildings was set apart for a chapel, and the Gospel has there been faithfully preached to the present.
>
> The Society here was first organized as a 'Union Church.' On December 26, 1876, the writer received a neatly written paper in English, informing him that the Society had, for reasons set forth in the documents, . . . determined to identify themselves with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and requesting him to communicate the same to the proper authorities. The document was signed by nineten persons . . . .
>
> . . . During all this time Brother Honda has labored gratuitously, and no member of the Church has received any financial assistance from the Missionary Society.[49]

Ing and his wife were devoted, resourceful, and wise in counsel. Their home and their lives were focal points of the Hirosaki movement. Yoitsu Honda, also, sturdy, responsible, independent, and a born leader, was possibly even more influential in the development of the movement. As a youth he had already won his spurs in the clan struggles of the Restoration period. Later he was sent by the daimio to Yokohama to discover the vital center of Western culture and to master the English language. There under S. R. Brown, J. C. Hepburn, and James Ballagh he came into a satisfying Christian experience and in the summer of 1874 began to preach in villages near Yokohama. In October he was elected an elder of the Kaigan Church of Christ in Yokohama, the first Protestant church in Japan. When he and Ing met in Yokohama they became comrades at once. Late in 1874, accompanied by Ing, Honda returned to Hirosaki. By this time their friendship had been sealed. Honda* became the interpreter and the sponsor of the

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* Yoitsu Honda (1848-1912), a *samurai,* was regarded from childhood as a genius. After graduating from the school of the Tsugaru clan at Hirosaki he was sent in 1869 to Yokohama to study English and Western learning. There under the influence of missionary tutors he became a Christian and in May, 1872, he was baptized by James Ballagh. When he returned with John Ing to Hirosaki he became a teacher in the Tsugaru clan school, To-O-Gijuku, and later on its president. He became interested in politics and in 1881 was elected a member of the Aomori Prefectural Assembly and from 1882 for four years was its speaker. When the Hirosaki Methodist Church was organized he was made a Local Preacher. On Feb. 17, 1878, he was ordained a Local Deacon, and on Sept. 3, 1884, a Local Elder. For one year he served as pastor at Sendai (1885-86). At the 1890 session of the Japan Annual Conference, his credentials were recognized and he was received into full member-

American missionary-teacher who soon, however, was on his own. Seventy years later the elder statesmen of the Hirosaki church would recall the thrill of their first experiences of prayer in the Ing household, as well as the strange fascination of the Western world with which Ing was surrounded.

After Honda went back to Hirosaki he organized a branch of the Union Church of Tokyo and Yokohama. The dozen whom he and Ing led into the Christian life were truly a tiny Pentecostal community, as later recalled by some of them. When the Ings knew that they were soon to return they asked the little group whether they wanted to continue as a local autonomous church or desired to associate themselves with the worldwide Methodist Church of which Ing was a representative. It was Honda's wisdom and self-effacement, we are told, that led the Hirosaki church—now with nineteen members—in December, 1876, to change its relation and become a Methodist church. Meanwhile the property, chapel and ground, was purchased by the mission. Honda was Methodism's ablest son in Japan. No one person could claim him as his trophy, but in God's leading of him John Ing played a noble part.[50]

Bishop Wiley was greatly impressed by developments at Hirosaki:

> I scarcely know how to write about this remarkable work . . . . There is a large school, venerable in its history . . . ; entirely free from government competition; with nearly four hundred pupils, . . . ; Christianity thoroughly tolerated . . . ; its officers thorough Christians and most of the teachers; . . . its course of study equaling that of our highest conference seminaries; its prepared students going to our colleges in America to complete their education; its whole tone and tendency as thoroughly permeated with Christian influence as any school in America, and fifty of its students, young men and young women, members of our Church.[51]

Fortunately, when it became necessary for Ing to leave Hirosaki W. C. Davidson had arrived in Japan ready to take his place.* In his first report (1878) the Hirosaki Circuit was said to have three preaching places in the city of Hirosaki; one in Kuroishi, a town of 6,500 people, eight miles distant; and three in Aomori, with 10,000 inhabitants, twenty-seven miles from Hirosaki. The Hirosaki services were attended by about five hundred people; those at Kuroishi, where T. Wakayama preached, by about two hundred.

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ship in the Conference. (*Minutes, Japan Conference*, 1884, p. 12; *ibid.*, 1890, p. 13.) He was next elected principal of Tokyo Ei-wa Gakko, Aoyama. He then went to America and studied at Drew Theological Seminary. Returning to Japan he resumed the presidency of Tokyo Ei-wa Gakko and continued as president and professor until 1907. Largely through his influence the three Methodist bodies united to form the Japan Methodist Church and in 1907 its General Conference elected him as its first Bishop. He was also the first president of the Gospel League of the Christian Church Federation, and likewise the first chairman of the Japan Y.M.C.A. He held various important governmental posts, and was frequently chosen as president or chairman of interdenominational committees and associations. When offered degrees by two American universities he declined them, declaring that he was unworthy of the honor. At sixty-five he was fatally stricken with typhoid fever. His monument on the main street of Hirosaki bears the inscription, "A man of great statesmanship . . . a spiritual leader of Japan."—Yoshimune Abe, "Yoitsu Honda," ms. in Board of Missions Library; Benjamin Chappell, obituary in *The Christian Movement in Japan, Tenth Annual Issue* (1912), John Lincoln Dearing, Ed., pp. 395 ff.; I. W. Wiley, *China and Japan . . .* , account of Honda's conversion and early Christian life, written by himself, pp. 355 ff.

* The precise date of Ing's leaving Hirosaki is not given in any available source. Davidson arrived on Nov. 8, 1877.

Work had just recently been begun at Aomori. Most of Davidson's time was devoted to teaching in the college.[52]

Davidson's transfer in 1879 to Hakodate necessitated considerable readjustment. Hirosaki, with Honda assigned as pastor, was made an outstation on the Hakodate Circuit of five appointments.* Robert F. Kerr, a layman and a graduate of Indiana Asbury University, who had come from the United States to teach in the school, was a real help both by precept and example to the young preachers. During the year sixteen persons were baptized at Hirosaki. In 1880 Hirosaki was reported to have had "fair success during the year" under Honda's leadership as pastor, who was "proving himself to be a true man of God, 'rightly dividing the word of truth.' "[53]

During the years 1881-83 the Hirosaki church failed to advance. Honda became absorbed in political activities as a member—later as speaker—of the Prefectural Assembly; Davidson was transferred to Yokohama and his place was taken by C. W. Green, a new, inexperienced missionary. As a result, for lack of aggressive leadership, a kind of apathy, deadly in its spiritual effect, developed among the members of the church.[54]

Nagasaki was in the southwest part of the island of Kyushu, in the oldest part of Japan. The people of Kyushu had a long history of intractability to central government and of stubborn pride and independence.† John C. and Mrs. Davison‡ were assigned to this unwelcoming field in 1873. After twelve months he wrote to the Missionary Society:

> Our labor during the year has been mostly devoted to preparation for pulpit work, although regular classes have been maintained in Scripture reading and in the study of English. Since the annual meeting regular preaching exercises have been sustained with interest at two P.M. on Sundays in the chapel-room fitted up in our house. The average attendance so far has been eleven natives. Two persons have applied for baptism, both young boys.

Within his second year Davison had a church building under way, and on June 30, 1876, a "fine chapel, capable of seating over three hundred persons," was dedicated. Five persons had been baptized during the year.

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* The five Hakodate Circuits were: Hakodate; Hirosaki; Matsumaye; Aomori; and Sapporo.—*Sixty-first Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1879), p. 153.

† The espousal of Roman Catholicism three hundred years earlier by several of the feudal chieftains was viewed as virtually an alliance with Portugal and Spain and resulted in decades of bloody civil war as well as in the savage extermination of Christians. When the restoration of 1868 took place two of the strongest clans, Satsuma and Choshu, headed it but not in the name of internationalism. They were among the most fervidly nationalistic of all the clans. The open port of Nagasaki was forced on them and the arrival of Westerners was opposed. When thousands of Japanese Catholic Christians, thinking it safe to come out of hiding, revealed their faith, they were snatched up by government authority and deported to a barren island to the south of Kyushu.—O. Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Missions,* p. 82 *et passim; idem, History of Christianity in Japan: Protestant Missions,* pp. 71 ff.

‡ John Carroll Davison (1843-1928), born in Harmony, N. J., graduated from the Harmony Academy and Drew Theological Seminary (B.D., 1875). He was admitted on trial in the Newark Conference in 1873 (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1873, p. 36). On May 20 he married Mary E. Stout and together they sailed for Japan, where they arrived on Aug. 8. Nine years (1873-82) were spent in pioneer work in Nagasaki and in the province (Kyushu). Following a brief furlough they were assigned (1883) to Yokohama. For thirty-seven years, following the organization of the Japan Conference, Davison served as Presiding Elder (1884-1921). Hymnody was one of his major interests and he prepared the first Methodist Japanese Hymnal.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

The Satsuma rebellion against the new government in Tokyo during the latter part of 1876 and the first six months of 1877, "in which the resources of the country to the extent of fifty millions of dollars and the lives of probably fifty thousand Japanese were sacrificed," seriously interfered with all missionary activities in Kyushu. Davison, in his annual report, tells how the civil war affected his program:

> In consequence of this disturbance we have not been able to visit any part of the surrounding country, and have also experienced a great falling off in attendance upon our weekly congregations; more especially has this been the case during the last two months, in which time quite a large number of the people, including the Governor of the Ken [prefecture], have fallen victims to the cholera. At the beginning of the war the Government school was closed, and the foreign teachers dismissed; since which time the opening of a school for young men and boys in connection with our work would doubtless have been attended with good, but for want of necessary force to carry it on it could not be undertaken. Though regular preaching services have been sustained throughout the year, and a few have been baptized and received into the Church, yet the tangible results of our labor have been far short of what we had hoped to see.

During these months Davison gave much of his time to the writing and translation of hymns, and some time also to teaching private classes.[55]

On Tuesday, March 9, 1878, Bishop Wiley presided at the Nagasaki Quarterly Conference and on the following Sunday morning he preached in the chapel to a congregation of thirty-four persons, and conducted a baptismal and sacramental service. Two persons were baptized and four Japanese partook of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. At all services a Local Preacher, Kenjiro Asuka, who had been recommended to the Newark Annual Conference for admission on trial, was present.

Two W.F.M.S. missionaries, Miss Elizabeth Russell from the Cincinnati Branch and Miss Jennie Gheer from the New York Branch, arrived in Nagasaki on November 23, 1879. They rented a house and on December 2 opened a girls' boarding school with one pupil and soon had enrolled thirteen—all that the house could accommodate. The Society was confident that schools could be opened throughout the province if teachers could be found, and Nagasaki was believed to be a suitable location for a teachers' training school.[56]

On April 4, 1880, Carroll S. Long arrived in Nagasaki and at once became active in schoolwork. He was convinced that the greatest need was "a school in which to train helpers and young men desirous of a Christian education." He had in hand, "gathered from various sources," about $500. He and Mrs. Long began three English language classes—one of Chinese pupils, one of Japanese, and one of "foreign children"—and contributed the proceeds, about $25. per month, to the building fund. These classes were the nucleus of Cobleigh Seminary (later Chinzei Gakkwan; still later, Chinzei Gakuin) which in time became one of the most widely and favorably known Methodist schools in Japan. For the first year Long* was principal. In 1882 W. C. Kitchin of the Detroit Conference arrived and was appointed head of the school.

By 1881 the W.F.M.S. missionaries, Miss Russell and Miss Gheer, agreed that their greatest contribution could be made by a normal school. It was organized in 1881 with two departments—preparatory and normal—and eighteen pupils. Miss Russell wrote to the Society:

> We have an enthusiastic school and have been very fortunate in securing a Japanese teacher, a graduate of one of the government normal schools, who is devoted to his work; best of all he has become a Christian and will be baptized at our approaching Quarterly meeting. Two of our girls have been baptized, and give evidence that they are trying to live a better life. We have a Bible class each Sabbath afternoon . . . . The girls know most of the catechism and commandments and are now learning lessons in the life of Christ.

The school was named the Kwassui Jo Gakko (Living Waters School). Despite the gloomy prediction made at the beginning "that many years must pass before any Japanese in Nagasaki would consent to place a daughter in a Christian school," by 1883 the institution had reached the limit of its accommodations and of the girls enrolled thirty were from Nagasaki.[57]

The Japan Conference: 1884-95

At the 1884 General Conference the Committee on Missions recommended "That the Mission in Japan be organized as an Annual Conference, the boundaries of which shall be those of the Empire of Japan." Pursuant to this authorization Bishop I. W. Wiley convened the mission in Tokyo on August 28, 1884, and organized the Annual Conference.† After devotional exercises, including prayers, hymns, and Scripture readings in English and Japanese, the Bishop addressed the Conference at some length, explaining the General Conference action. He then read the names of fourteen elders, four deacons, and fourteen probationers transferred from their respective Conferences, and announced the Japan Conference duly organized.[58]

The Conference continued in session for six days. It is to be noted that of the thirty-two Conference members thirteen were missionaries and nineteen were Japanese ministers. Five Japanese were admitted on trial. Eight organized Districts‡ were reported. Forty-two appointments were listed, of which twenty-two were "to be supplied." There were 1,148 church members, including 241 probationers. Sunday schools enrolled 1,203 pupils.[59]

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* In Davison's absence on furlough (1882) C. S. Long served as Presiding Elder of the Nagasaki District, and later (1887-90) of the Nagoya District.

† The charter members of the Conference were: *Elders,* R. S. Maclay, J. C. Davison. M. C. Harris, I. H. Correll, Charles Bishop, C. S. Long, L. W. Squier, James Blackledge, C. W. Green, Yeiken Aibara, Saehachi Kurimura, Bunshichi Onuki, Kenjiro Asuka, and Takuhei Kikuchi. *Deacons,* M. S. Vail, Tenju Kanamura, Sogo Matsumoto, and Keinosuke Kosaka. *Probationers,* W. C. Kitchin, D. S. Spencer, J. O. Spencer, Chiujo Nakayama, Yasutaro Takahara, Toranosuke Yamada. Genjiro Yamaka, Heizo Hirata, Itsuki Honda, Hatanoshin Yamaka, Sakaye Hiranuma, Totaro Doi, Yajizo Kamijo, and Kyukichi Nakada.—*Minutes, Japan Conference,* 1884, pp. 4 f.

‡ The eight Districts were: East Tokyo; West Tokyo; North Tokyo; Yokohama; North Yokohama; Nagasaki; Yezo (later Hakodate); and North Hondo [Honshu].

A Woman's Conference was organized on August 28, and continued in session for seven days. All members were W.F.M.S. missionaries or the wives of missionaries. Although no provision was made for Japanese membership a course of study for Bible women was adopted. In the local churches W.F.M.S. auxiliaries were being organized, one in Yokohama in 1886, affiliated with the New England Branch; and one in Tokyo in 1887, associated with the Northwestern Branch. Within six months there was $25. in the treasury of the Tokyo auxiliary, pledged toward the support of a Bible woman in the Yokohama training school.[60]

Substantial growth had been made during the preceding year. At the final meeting of the mission (1883) church members numbered 708; probationers, 235. At the first Conference 907 full members were reported; probationers, 241.

The organization of the Japan Conference coincided with a new spirit in the nation and a changed attitude of many Japanese toward Christianity. Prominent national leaders were advocating the official adoption of Christianity, though their reasons were almost wholly those of expediency in adaptation to Western culture and in seeking advantage in dealings with the "Christian powers." Officials were required to wear the European style of dress while on duty and women were even urged to exchange their costumes for Western dresses. In 1884 a prominent national leader, Yukichi Fukuzawa, who only a few years earlier had opposed Christianity as dangerous, published an essay declaring that European nations and America excelled all others, not only in political institutions, but also in religion, customs, and manners.

> Any nation therefore which lacks this distinctive badge of Western civilization stands in the position of an opponent, and is not only unable to cope with the superiority of enlightened Americans and Europeans, but is directly exposed to their derision. . . . The adoption of Western religion, along with institutions and customs, is the only means by which the social colour can become so assimilated as to remove this bar to intercourse and this cause of opposition.

In a later article Fukuzawa stated that too much importance could not be attached "to Japan's entrance into the comity of Christian nations." There was a measure of hypocrisy in his position since he made it clear that he was not advocating that the majority of his fellow countrymen become genuine Christians but only that the nation assume the title of a Christian country, and that a sufficient number of representatives of the upper and middle classes accept baptism to give substance to the claim.[61]

The leader of the Liberal Party, Itagaki, visited Imabari, Shikoku Island, in 1884 and in an address said that Christianity was a need of the times and that Japan could not expect to rank with Western nations until it possessed their religion. In Kochi, the city in which he lived, he asked the leading merchants, bankers, and politicians to meet the missionaries of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches whom he had invited to visit the city. He delivered an address advocating the adoption of Christianity at one of the public gatherings held. He did not himself become a professed Christian but others whom he influenced—including some who later held important political offices—became believers. When a few months later a church was organized, Itagaki presented a building to it and offered to pay one half of the pastor's salary.[62]

On an official visit to America, Mr. Kentaro Kaneko, secretary of the Privy Council, stated that the Christian missionary idea had failed to penetrate the upper classes. "They report a large number of converts," he said, "but we see little or no sign of their influence." This contention stimulated Dr. D. C. Greene to make a study of the extent to which Christianity was making headway among the influential classes. He found that while the *shizoku* (the class of knights), which included most of the leaders of thought, constituted less than six per cent of the population they furnished about thirty per cent of the church members. He continued:

> Not less than thirty students of the Imperial University are avowed Christians. Among the members of a single Congregational church are a judge of the Supreme Court of Japan, a professor in the Imperial University, three Government secretaries (holding a rank hardly, if any, inferior to Mr. Kaneko himself), members of at least two noble families; while in a Presbyterian church are the three most prominent members of the Liberal Party, one of them a count in the new peerage. Two influential members of the legislature of the prefecture of Tokyo, one of them the editor of the *Keizai Zasshi*, the ablest financial journal in Japan, are also members of a Congregational church. In the prefecture of Gumma, the President and Vice-President and three other members of the legislature are Christians, and in the Executive Committee, out of a total of five, three are Protestant Christians.[62]

Among the many evidences of this new attitude of the Japanese there were two which deserve special mention. In August, 1884, the government abolished the "Shinto and Buddhist official Priesthood," and transferred "the power of appointing and discharging incumbents of temples and monasteries, and the promotion and degradation in rank of preceptors" to the religious superintendent of these sects. By this proclamation the connection of these religions with the State was almost completely dissolved, and the government relieved from all responsibility for the conduct of religious affairs. This long step in the direction of religious liberty did much to loosen the hold of Buddhism and Shinto upon the loyalty of the people.

Previous to 1883, while mutual good will and considerable cooperative effort had prevailed between the Protestant missions, each was a small group working within a limited area and had not conveyed the impression of constituting a Christian movement of large dimensions with common aims and purposes. This year, however, an event occurred which deeply impressed many of the Japanese people and had a wide influence. On April 16-21 in

Osaka a Conference of 106 missionaries, representing sixteen missionary societies, four Bible societies, and two seamen's missionary societies, was held in the Municipal Hall of the foreign concession. The spirit of unity clearly evident, together with the enthusiasm and hope of the missionaries, was a revelation to the Japanese who were present and to those who read the reports in the newspapers. The Conference marked the beginning of a series of revivals which exerted a powerful influence upon Christians and nonbelievers. Maclay wrote:

> A spirit of religious revival . . . is spreading in Japan, both among the foreign community and among Japanese Christians. I have not before seen anything like it since coming to Japan . . . .[63]

Churches everywhere were purged and refreshed. Lay leadership in the prayer meetings was conspicuous. The whole revival movement seemed to rest on the shoulders of the church members rather than being induced by the ministers.

Two trends evidenced throughout the history of Christianity in Japan became observable at this time. One was the appeal it now readily made to the upper middle class, to professional men, and to men and women of affairs and social standing. This had marked advantage in the possibility which it offered of promoting the growth of a vigorous Christian Church, but it left the masses largely unreached. The other tendency was that some took an instrumental view of religion. Numbers became Christians in order to set forward public morality, good citizenship, or national prestige. There were few "rice Christians," few who sought baptism in order to gain material benefit, but some were not motivated by a desire for a personal experience of God's presence and power to save.

While the growth of the Church was accelerated for several years, difficulties still remained. Though Buddhist priests, no longer possessing the authority of government officials, could not enforce legal measures against Christians, nevertheless they did continue to put obstacles in the way of Christianity. In this they sometimes had the connivance of local officials. In one instance cited by Otis Cary in his volume on the history of Protestantism in Japan a Christian underofficial near Kobe "was forbidden by his superior to attend Christian services, to have family worship, or even to read the Bible." In protest he resigned his office but later was given a better position. In a few places chapels were stoned and windows broken, and even personal injury inflicted.

> After a while the efforts of the Buddhists against Christianity took the form of . . . [a] Movement for the Extermination of the Religion of Jesus. Priests and others visited different parts of the country delivering lectures, and stirring up the people to resist the progress of Christianity. One of the leading arguments they advanced against it was that it required its followers to abstain from

war, and, therefore, in case Japan should be attacked, they would do nothing for the defence of their country.[64]

Despite a considerable measure of hostility on the part of some of the people the widely prevailing eagerness to possess the benefits of science and Western learning, which generally prevailed, caused Europeans and Americans to be regarded with favor. Missionaries had no difficulty in getting a hearing. Church membership steadily increased and some enthusiastic leaders expressed confidence that if reinforcements were sent in sufficient numbers the evangelization of Japan could be accomplished within another decade.

As early as 1881 Soper had begun the translation and publication of the Berean series of Sunday-school lessons, and even earlier of the *Smaller Catechism* and portions of the *Discipline*. The publication met a widely felt need in the churches and demand steadily increased. The 1885 Conference asked for the appointment of a Publishing Agent and Squier was appointed. Within a single year depositories for the sale of publications increased from four to fourteen. Consignment of books to Peking, Hawaii, and San Francisco was made. Sunday-school supplies were used in such volume by other denominations that the publications became self-supporting. Publication of literature was supported by annual appropriations from the Sunday School Union and the Tract Society.

A distinctive type of missionary activity which was begun in Yokohama in 1884 later spread to other centers. Eight persons, some of whom had been in San Francisco, planned to reproduce in Japan some of the features of the Chinese and Japanese missions on the Pacific coast. They organized the Gospel Society* (Fukuinkwai) for Christian work among young men, which offered education for the poor, a library, a reading room, a dispensary, and a hospital. The success of the Yokohama Society inspired the organization of similar Societies in other cities which in turn were the forerunners of the English night schools held later in connection with a number of downtown churches.

At the second Annual Conference (September, 1885) two Japanese were admitted on trial and one missionary, Dr. Herbert W. Schwartz,† was received by transfer from the Colorado Conference. Prominence was given to the educational work as a most important factor in evangelization and the Missionary Society was asked to send more missionaries to meet the demand for teachers in educational centers. Mission institutions included two theological schools, two high schools, twelve common schools (ten day schools, two night schools), four girls' schools, and several vernacular schools in which all instruction was in the Japanese language. Besides these there were a large number of schools of lower grade. In response to calls for missionary teachers in schools not under Conference control W. C. Kitchin was appointed to the Kei-O-Gijuku in Tokyo, and Dr. Schwartz to educational work in the chiu gakko in Sendai (Miyagi Prefecture). Two W.F.M.S. institutions had been opened during the Conference year, the Bible women's training school at Yokohama, and a girls' day school at Fukuoka. At the 1886 Conference five Japanese were admitted on trial.

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* The stated objects were, first, "To gather the young men who return from America, and who may be wandering about . . . homeless and friendless; to make a Christian home for them . . . to assist them to procure employment, and to encourage them to attend church and come under Christian influence. Second, To gather together the young men of . . . [the city]; to give them opportunity for education and self-culture by means of a night school, and to instruct them in virtue and the Christian faith."—W. S. Worden, in *Gospel in All Lands,* March, 1889, p. 108.

† Herbert Woodworth Schwartz (1857-1921) was born at Woodstock, Ill. He attended the Cortland State Normal School (New York) and Syracuse University Medical College (M.D., 1884). In 1884 he was received on trial in the Colorado Conference and in 1885 was transferred to the Japan Conference (*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1884, p. 221; 1885, Spring, p. 229). On Aug. 22, 1884, he married Lola Reynolds, and in October they sailed for Japan, arriving at Yokohama on Oct. 29. His missionary service covered a wide range of activities. In addition to teaching in several schools he held positions with the Tokyo Gospel Society, the Methodist publishing agency, and the American Bible Society. He served also as Presiding Elder and medical evangelist. For several years while on furlough he was connected with the Pacific Japanese Mission. He retired in 1918. Few, if any, missionaries had a stronger hold on the affections of the Japanese people than Dr. and Mrs. Schwartz.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

Bishop H. W. Warren presided at the fourth session of the Conference (August 12-18, 1887). Three missionaries were received by transfer: Joseph G. Cleveland from the Mississippi Conference; Epperson R. Fulkerson, Nebraska Conference; and Whiting S. Worden, Northwest Indiana Conference. W. C. Davidson of the Northwest Indiana Conference, formerly a member of the Japan Mission, who had been on furlough, returned this year. Three Japanese preachers were admitted on trial. Districts were increased from four to six by the addition of Aomori and Nagoya.[65]

The rapidly increasing Japanese interest in Christianity reached high tide in 1888.* At the fifth session of the Conference (August 22-29, 1888), at which Bishop C. H. Fowler presided, the number of full members was reported to be 2,854, probationers, 849; an increase for the year of 884 members and 325 probationers. There were twenty-five churches; ten parsonages; and seventy-seven Sunday schools with 4,198 pupils. Charges numbered forty-eight. Members of Conference totaled thirty-eight—sixteen missionaries and twenty-two Japanese—and seven probationers. There were also thirty-three Local Preachers. The Conference was reinforced this year by the coming of four missionaries: Herbert B. Johnson, Wyoming Conference; John Wier, Troy Conference; D. N. McInturff, Blue Ridge Conference; and Milton N. Frantz, Philadelphia Conference. Two Japanese were admitted on trial. However, the net gain of missionaries was small. L. W. Squier had left in 1887, and this year W. C. Kitchin transferred to the Troy Conference and W. C. Davidson to Northern New York. The loss of R. S. Maclay, the founder of the Japan Mission, was most keenly regretted. While in attendance upon the 1888 General Conference he had been offered and had accepted the position of dean of the newly founded Maclay School of Divinity in connection with the University of Southern California. For fifteen years he had been the foremost leader of Japan Methodism—for eleven years the Superintendent of the mission; for seven years its treasurer—and for the first four years of the Japan Conference filled numerous offices. In the absence of a Bishop he was elected president of the Conference and guided the sessions in a way eminently satisfactory to his colleagues. For several years he was a member of the committee for the translation of the New Testament into Japanese and by his scholarship contributed much to the excellence of the translation.[66]

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* O. Cary: "The period of rapid development may be considered as closing with the year 1888. . . . The statistics of the Protestant missions for 1888 show something of what had been accomplished up to that time. There were 150 male missionaries, 27 unmarried male missionaries, and 124 unmarried female missionaries; making a total, including wives, of 451. Of 249 churches, 92 were wholly self-supporting. The church-members numbered 25,514. . . . 15 boys' schools had 2,709 pupils, while 39 girls' schools had 3,663. There were also 47 day schools with 3,299 pupils, 14 theological seminaries with 287 students, 3 schools for Bible-women with 92 pupils, and a school for nurses with 14 pupils. There were 142 ordained Japanese ministers, 257 unordained preachers and helpers, 8 colporteurs, and 70 Bible-women . . . .—*A History of Christianity in Japan: Protestant Missions,* pp. 208 f.

At the 1887 session of the Japan Conference J. O. Spencer had asked and received a location. In 1888 he raised a question with the Board as to the status of a missionary under appointment by a Bishop who, by taking a location, was no longer subject to episcopal appointment. Spencer this year was principal of the preparatory department of the Anglo-Japanese College. Since his work was entirely educational he felt that he should not continue "to sustain the relation of a minister." The Board appointed him "a lay missionary to Japan." [67]

During 1889 the Church barely held its own. When the Conference met in its sixth session (August 14-22, 1889), under the presidency of Bishop E. G. Andrews, it was faced by the fact that the net gain in membership was only 119—108 full members and eleven probationers. National politics were turbulent. In February a new constitution was promulgated and the populace was troubled by questions affecting treaty revision. Political meetings were frequent and often noisy, sometimes marked by violence. The prevailing mood affected religious meetings. When, for lack of church buildings, religious services were held in rented halls and theaters they were characterized by inattention and occasionally by disturbances. Plans for unification of the several Methodist bodies,* strongly urged by prominent members of the Conference but by no means favored by all, took up much of the time of the Conference session. The missionary force was increased by three: J. W. Wadman, transferred from the Montana Conference; G. B. Norton from South Kansas; and J. F. Belknap, admitted on trial. Three Japanese preachers were received.[68]

Yoitsu Honda at this time was at the Northfield, Massachusetts, seminary but evidently was in close touch with conditions in Japan. Under date of July 6, 1889, in the course of a frank letter to Bishop Andrews he made a number of statements which throw light on the situation prevailing in the Church. A closer, more harmonious relationship between the missionaries and the native workers, he said, was needed. Few of the missionaries were able to converse in Japanese and this made it impossible for them to understand the people and their ideas and to sympathize with them. In the past the Bishops visiting Japan had been "too busy" to confer personally with the Japanese workers and he ventured to suggest that the Bishop take time to talk with preachers, teachers, leading church members, and students; also that he visit eleven of the prominent centers, most of which had never been visited by a Bishop. It was most important, Honda felt, for the Bishop to visit Hirosaki. "[A] majority of the native members of . . . [the] Conference" had come from Hirosaki yet in fourteen years "neither Bishop nor superintendent of Mission" had visited the city. One could not acquaint himself with the real situation of Methodism in Japan merely by seeing Tokyo for it was not representative of Japan as a whole.[69]

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* The several Methodist bodies were: the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; the Canadian Methodist Church; the Methodist Protestant Church; and the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Reports of pastors at the seventh session of the Conference, convened by Bishop J. P. Newman at Aoyama, Tokyo, on July 10, 1890, indicated a net loss in membership of 288—146 full members and 142 probationers. Nevertheless, Districts were increased from six to seven by the organization of a Sendai District. For the first time a Japanese was appointed as Presiding Elder. The loss in membership, together with other unfavorable conditions, made the year the most critical that the Church had experienced. A strong reaction against foreigners had set in, resulting in social antagonism hard for the native Christians to endure, and many no longer attended religious services. Unequal treaties remained in force and middle- and higher-class people chafed bitterly under the aspersion of political immaturity and the discriminatory treatment of the nation by the Western powers. Within the Church there were many who had become members without a real spiritual awakening and wholehearted committal and these were winnowed out by the winds of popular disapproval. Japanese students returned from study in the universities of Europe and America where they had come into contact with widely variant views of the relations of science and religion, and of the "higher criticism" of the Bible, and spread abroad the doubts that had been created in their minds. Among the rank and file who had the impression that all Westerners were Christians the anti-social and immoral conduct of many Europeans and Americans discredited the Church and the Christian religion. Add to all of these influences the effect of an aggressive organization by the Buddhists of the "Great Association for Honoring the Emperor and Preserving Buddhism," and it is not difficult to account for the recession in religious interest and Church growth.

The "Imperial Rescript on Education" issued on October 30, 1890, had a profound effect upon the thinking and attitudes of the Japanese people.* Copies were widely circulated, especially among teachers and students. On national holidays school pupils were assembled to listen to its reading. Commentaries upon it were written by Japanese scholars in which they declared that Western nations were unacquainted with the principles of loyalty and filial piety and that Christian teachings were contradictory to those inculcated by the Rescript. Opinions of missionaries concerning it were divided. Some conservatives interpreted it as an attack upon the religion of the West while others—and these were a majority among the Methodists—lauded its emphasis upon filial love, harmony, and benevolence, and saw in it nothing that was not in accord with Christian teachings. As interpreted by many Japanese it undoubtedly tended to strengthen the traditional foundations of the father-centered family and the emperor-centered nationalism of Japan and insofar as it did this it weakened the effect of Christian teaching.[70]

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* The Rescript read, in part, "Know ye, Our subjects: Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue . . . .

The anti-foreign feeling was manifested in many ways. One manifestation was increased resistance to the holding of property by foreigners. Japanese law forbade legal ownership of land by citizens of other nations. From the beginning the mission had difficulty in renting suitable residences for missionaries and buildings for chapels and schools and under these circumstances the only alternative was to purchase real estate and register it under the name of a Japanese. This was done by foreigners employed by the government, with the approval and frequently by the assistance of officials. But about this time outcry arose against the practice and the charge was made that the best land in the country was being bought up by foreigners and that Japanese who held land in trust for them were traitors. A few repudiated the relationship and even went so far as to mortgage or sell property and retain the proceeds. Against this procedure there was no legal redress.

Antagonism was also manifested in official interference, direct and indirect, with Christian work. In one city certain military captains and lieutenants who had become Christians were ordered to cease efforts to promote the propagation of Christianity. Such government officials were told by their superiors that profession of the Christian religion stood in the way of their promotion and foreign teachers in government schools were discontinued as fast as their contracts expired. Some who lost their jobs believed that their religion was the real cause.

Notwithstanding these various evidences of anti-Christian propaganda and antagonism, in the first Diet elections under the new constitution (November, 1890) following the change from an absolutist government to a constitutional monarchy, thirteen of the members elected were Christians and two of the highest offices—the speaker, and the chairman of the Committee

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. . . Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts; and thoroughly develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers."—O. Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Protestant Missions,* pp. 226 f.

of the Whole—were filled by Christians. By nomination of the House of Representatives and confirmation by the emperor, a prominent Methodist layman, Mr. Sen Tsuda, was made vice president.[71]

To add to the complications of the year the first serious dissension since the founding of the mission occurred in 1890. To some of the Bishops it appeared to be a feud between two groups of missionaries, which threatened to create division between missionaries and Japanese members of the Conference. It seems from a communication sent to the Board from the field that when the Japan Conference was organized Bishop Wiley advised the formation of a "Mission Council" separate from the Conference, which should hold meetings, consider matters "not properly belonging to the Annual Conference," make decisions and keep minutes.[72] Such an organization held meetings from year to year at the time of the Conference sessions and gradually took upon itself increased responsibilities and powers. Bishop S. M. Merrill, who for a number of years had episcopal supervision of the Japan work, was not at all happy over the development. On May 28, 1890, he wrote to Secretary Leonard:

> There appears to be a Conference within the Conference—the interior Conference being . . . almost an unauthorized and irresponsible power. That is, there is a something, distinct from the Conference called the 'Mission,' which has officers of various sorts, which votes, and does other things that belong to a regularly constituted body. The powers of this Mission, or whether it is entitled to exercise any powers where the work is organized into an Annual Conference, should be determined with some definiteness. . . . I can not but feel that not a little jeopardy attends our interests in Japan . . . . Some vigorous administration is the demand of the situation.[73]

Bishop Merrill's letter was written too late for the Missionary Secretaries to confer with Bishop Newman in advance of the Japan Conference session. The dissension reached its climax in a meeting of the "mission," convened on July 9, 1890, which continued in session through at least a part of the day, and throughout the evening and night until 2:45 A.M. It reconvened at three o'clock on the afternoon of July 11 for final action, the "mission" then voting that "all reference to this investigation be stricken from our minutes." *

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* The matter at issue at this meeting chiefly concerned the action of J. O. Spencer, dean of the college department, in writing independently to the Missionary Secretaries for approval to appoint Benjamin Chappell, a Canadian of acknowledged ability and high character, to a position on the college staff without consultation or approval of the "mission." Letters to the Board written by Spencer, H. W. Schwartz, as Corresponding Secretary of the Conference, and three other members of the Conference (G. B. Norton, W. S. Worden, and D. N. McInturff) were read and the writers interrogated. Letters from the three last-named persons made insinuations against Spencer, *e.g.*, "troublesomeness," "political trickery," and "untruthfulness." A committee of five was appointed which brought in a series of four resolutions from the entire committee; and on a fifth resolution majority and minority reports. No resolution was unanimously adopted and on the committee report as a whole the vote stood: aye, 14; no, 5; excused from voting, 2. While all who had participated in the irregular correspondence signed a statement confessing "mistakes and . . . wrongs," and agreeing to live as brethren in peace and harmony, two (McInturff and Norton) within a short time left the field. Some months earlier (Jan. 14, 1890), Milton N. Frantz had written to the Missionary Secretary asking for a "recall." (Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.) He gave several reasons for his dissatisfaction, of which one was his "utter lack of confidence" in Spencer whom he charged with intrigue. The withdrawals, the number of negative votes on the committee report, and the number who asked to be excused from voting, revealed existence of a minority dissident group and a cleavage within the "mission."

Bishop Newman cabled to New York, "glorious reconciliation." Actually, however, two or three of those most intimately concerned were not really reconciled and within a short time left the field. The first to act was G. B. Norton who on July 23 wrote to the Bishop asking for a transfer from Japan. The unfortunate episode could not possibly have occurred if from the beginning all the matters at issue had been brought before the Annual Conference to be fully discussed and settled according to its accepted rules of procedures.

The proceedings of such a meeting could not be kept secret and it inevitably increased the disquiet, uneasiness, and dissatisfaction among Japanese pastors and laymen. Latent ill feeling toward missionaries already existed on the grounds that they were keeping the control of the churches too much in their own hands; that the Japanese were not given a voice in the location and forms of work of missionaries; and that they had no part in the control of funds appropriated for schools and evangelistic work. Bishop Andrews had discerned what he described as "the self-assertive tendencies of the native preachers" and had written Newman that his appointment of Matsumoto as Presiding Elder the preceding year had been "partly by way of satisfying . . . [these] tendencies." These matters of financial independence, the administrative autonomy of churches and schools, and the placing of Japanese in positions of initiative were problems encountered by all the denominations. John H. DeForest, veteran missionary of the American Board, stated the situation as he understood the Japanese to see it.

> We seemed to our Japanese brethren to be carrying our work, not as co-labourers with them on equal terms, but as a band of foreigners who acted together, as it were, with closed doors, and who, after forming plans, asked them to help carry them out. . . . Doubtless we were not so sympathetic and considerate as we might have been. . . . We rapidly adapted ourselves to the situation, and not only learned to respect their autonomy, but also to glory in it. We recognized their right to be wholly independent of us in forms of faith as well as in methods of work.[74]

Methodist polity did not admit the extent of independence "in forms of faith" allowed by Congregationalism. There were areas of difference between the Methodist missionaries and some Japanese members of the Church in matters of faith and doctrine* as well as in administration of the schools and churches. This was one of the factors in the rapid growth at this time of Kanzo Uchimura's "Churchless Christianity." Large numbers of persons who had sincere appreciation of Jesus and His teachings but were unwilling to accept some of the doctrines which they asserted were taught by missionaries no longer cared to be considered adherents of any Western-related organization. "There is such a thing," Uchimura asserted, "as Christianity outside the churches":

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* Some years earlier Joseph Cook, American author and lecturer, on a visit to Japan addressed a number of inquiries to missionaries and Japanese. In answer to the question, "What are the chief objections made by educated . . . [Japanese] to the acceptance of Christianity?" four persons in Tokyo replied: (1) The supernatural element—*e.g.,* miracles and divinity of Christ; (2) opposition of Christianity to ancestral worship; (3) the doctrine of future existence; (4) its supposed disadvantage to the growth of national spirit and to the independence of the country; (5) alleged conflicts between Christianity and modern science; (6) supposed hindrance of Christianity to the progress of civilization.—O. Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Protestant Missions,* pp. 161 f.

> it is taking hold of the Japanese people far more strongly than the missionaries imagine. The western idea, that a religion must show itself in an organized form before it can be recognized as a religion at all is alien to the Japanese mind. With us religion is more a family affair than national or social, as is shown by the strong hold that Confucianism has had upon us without showing itself in any organized societies and movements.[75]

At the eighth session of the Japan Conference (July 8-15, 1891), Bishop D. A. Goodsell, presiding, nine Japanese were admitted on trial—the largest number, up to that time, ever received at one session. Frank T. Beckwith came by transfer from the Des Moines Conference and was appointed instructor in the college and preparatory departments of the Philander Smith Biblical Institute. C. W. Green was transferred to the Philadelphia Conference. A memorial to General Conference was adopted, asking for an episcopal residence in Tokyo or Shanghai. The memorial stated that a more accurate knowledge of the field was necessary for successful administration than any Bishop could have who stayed only a short time and departed expecting never to return. In almost twenty years as a mission and Conference no Bishop—with one exception—had presided over the Conference more than once. Pastors' reports showed a gain in membership, for the year, of 246 full members and seventy-four probationers. Baptisms numbered 536—seventy-four children and 462 adults. This year thirty-five missionaries' wives and W.F.M.S. missionaries were appointed to schools and evangelistic and industrial work. Yasuji Ninomiya was elected as lay delegate to the 1892 General Conference.

Soper was much encouraged by the Conference and by general conditions.

> The relation between the Japanese brethren and the Missionaries is closer and firmer than ever before. . . . Our work is more solid and hopeful than a year or two ago. . . . The Government . . . will afford us all the protection possible. The Government *will* preserve *order* . . . . The Police simply ask us—in the troubled Districts—to let them always know in advance, when we propose to hold public Preaching services, and advise us to be as careful and prudent as possible, so as to give our enemies no pretext for putting a stop to our evangelistic movements.[76]

During 1891 Nagoya was a chief center of antagonism to Christianity. On one occasion several Japanese brought placards which they proposed to paste on the walls of the church but the police prevented them. At another time a stone was thrown against a window of the missionary's house which crashed through the pane and fell into a bedroom. For a while from one to a dozen policemen were constantly on guard for protection of the house and the church. W. S. Worden, the missionary, was fearful that antagonism to foreign control might spread to the Japanese preachers: "if we can prevent the Japanese brethren from combining and arraying themselves against the foreign members of the conference it will be a great victory for our church." [77] His fears proved to be groundless.

Bishop W. F. Mallalieu presided at the ninth session of the Conference (July 14-21, 1892). The 1892 General Conference had not given favorable consideration to the proposal for an episcopal residence in the Orient. In view of this fact the Conference requested that the same Bishop "come to . . . [the Japan Conference] at least two years consecutively," and that Bishop Mallalieu be assigned to preside over the 1893 session. Fourteen Japanese preachers were admitted on trial.

While 484 baptisms were reported—436 adults and thirty-eight children—the net gain in membership was negligible, only fifty-three full members and thirty-seven probationers. There were thirty-one church buildings, four more than the preceding year. J. C. Davison felt an urgent need for more chapels, even though they must needs be small. He was also convinced that too much dependence was placed upon preaching as a means of winning converts and that too few of the preachers realized the importance of direct personal work with individuals. The discrepancy between number of baptisms and net gain in membership was explained by the fact that many indifferent or unworthy persons left the Church. On the Nagasaki District, for example, 117 persons were received into full membership while seventy-two who had shown themselves unworthy were either expelled or discontinued.[78]

A different Bishop presided at the 1893 Conference (July 6-13), Bishop Randolph S. Foster. A. B. Leonard, a Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, and Mrs. S. L. Keen, Corresponding Secretary of the Philadelphia Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, were present. This was the first time that a Secretary of either Society had attended a meeting of the Japan Conference and their attendance contributed much to the interest and inspiration of the session. Nine Japanese preachers were received on trial. The Committee on the State of the Church reported that there had been "no special progress" during the year, and the statistics indicated only a small gain in membership: seventy-nine full members and 160 probationers. Sunday schools had increased by thirteen and enrollment by 1,298. The number of Districts was increased from seven to ten and three Japanese Presiding Elders were appointed.

The Conference convened in its eleventh session in Tokyo on July 4, 1894. Because of the disastrous earthquake which had partially destroyed all of the Aoyama buildings sessions were held in a temporary tabernacle erected for the purpose. Bishop William X. Ninde presided. Correspondents were appointed for all of the official Methodist periodicals as a means for publicizing Japan Methodism in the Church at large. With one exception the Presiding Elders again reported a year of only indifferent success. "It has been the same steady pull," said one, "against the tide of indifference to Christianity." There were no reports of persecution but stagnation seemed to have settled down like a pall upon the churches, with the result that the work was practically at a standstill.[79]

In the war with China over Korea (1894-95) five ministers entered the services as chaplains; the Bible Societies distributed many copies of the Gospels to soldiers; and women missionaries visited sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals.[80]

At the 1895 Conference (July 11-20), Bishop John M. Walden presiding, a Japanese was for the first time elected as ministerial delegate to General Conference. On the second ballot Yoitsu Honda received thirty-six votes out of a total of fifty-eight and was declared elected. Ten Japanese preachers were admitted on trial and one—Takeshi Ukai, a probationer in the California Conference—was received by transfer. Of the eighty-one Stations and Circuits listed for appointments, seventeen were left "to be supplied." Thirty-seven W.F.M.S. missionaries and wives of missionaries were appointed, chiefly to schools, a few to evangelistic work and supervision of Bible women. A number of Japanese Bible women were employed, five in the Fukuoka District. There were twenty-one missionaries of the Missionary Society in active service, including one Japanese, and one woman (Jennie S. Vail). Two had died, and twelve had returned to America. Increase in number of full members for the year was ninety-three; decrease in probationers, sixty.[81]

Permission to missionaries to travel in any part of the country, one of the results of the ratification of new treaties (1894-95) which did away with extraterritoriality and other restrictions, facilitated missionary activity. It now became possible to visit rural districts freely and to open up new work in numerous places where there had previously been no missionary work.[82]

TOKYO DISTRICTS, 1884-95

Japan is a capital-centered nation and it was inevitable that there should be a concentration of church and schoolwork in Tokyo. Of the later arrivals during the period ending with 1895 all but one or two of the missionaries at one time or another were placed in Tokyo for part-time or full-time teaching. Most of the women missionaries did some teaching if not in the day schools, in the English language night schools in connection with the churches or in the schools for training of women evangelists.

At the first session of the Japan Conference (August 28-September 3, 1884) Bishop Wiley created a North Tokyo District by dividing what had been known as the East Tokyo District. The new District had four Circuits: Kanda, Komagome, Kitsuregawa, and North Tokyo—which was a general name for any work which might be opened during the year. Charles Bishop was appointed Presiding Elder.

At Kanda, to which Hatanoshin Yamaka was appointed, with David S. Spencer to assist, sixteen members and six probationers were added during the year. Kanda and its surrounding area had many schools, with about twenty thousand students, and Bishop considered it to be the most promising center in Tokyo for missionary work. The Kitsuregawa and Sakuyama Circuit, a hundred miles in extent, was supplied by Masakichi Takeshita, a Local Preacher, who added 123 full members and twenty-six probationers to the membership within the year. No one was found to supply Komagome, which remained connected with Kanda. At the 1885 Conference, presumably for lack of sufficient missionary personnel, the District was discontinued, and most of the appointments placed in other Districts.

To the East Tokyo District in 1884 Harris was assigned. Five appointments were listed: Tsukiji Circuit, Shimosa (Shimofusa), Yamagata and Tendo, Asakusa, and Sendai—the latter two "to be supplied." Since Sendai was not mentioned in the report for the year it may be assumed that no supply was available. Harris reported at the next Conference that Christian services were held at many new points which would be occupied as soon as possible. There were about thirty conversions at Shimosa and a like number on the Yamagata and Tendo Circuit.[83]

Marked progress attended the work on the District during the following Conference year. At the Tsukiji church fifty-four adults and three children were baptized, bringing the membership to 155 and making the church self-supporting. The Sakuyama Circuit included Sakuyama, Kitsuregawa, Karasuyama, Yomura, "and other places." A small chapel was built at Kitsuregawa. Mission work was begun at Sukagawa, a Class formed, and a Sunday school organized. A small Society was organized at Fukushima, capital of Fukushima Prefecture; also in April, 1886, at Yonezawa where the twenty-five members (most of whom were students of the Yonezawa Chiu Gakko), recruited by Nagano Chiugo, acting pastor, proposed to build a church without asking for aid. Herbert W. Schwartz, M.D., at Sendai had become instrumental in organizing a Society of forty-five members and eight probationers. Through the efforts of Mrs. Schwartz many of the women of the city became interested in the Christian religion.[84]

The West Tokyo District, with Maclay as Presiding Elder, in 1884 included five Circuit appointments: West Tokyo, Akasaka (Aoyama), Yotsuya, Azabu, and Joshiu (in Gumma Prefecture). Maclay's report at the close of the year contained this description of the District:

> The district as at present constituted, includes the western part of Tokyo city, together with portions of the geographical divisions of the country known as Musashi and Joshiu . . . an important center of the silk industry in Japan . . . . The proximity of this territory to Tokyo, the enterprising character of its population, and the facilities for transportation furnished by its railroad indicate the

importance of this district as a field for missionary efforts; and it is much to be regretted that owing to the inadequate supply of preachers in our Mission, we have not been able to put a large evangelizing force into the field.[85]

Maclay gave few particulars concerning progress at the various appointments. The congregation at Aoyama, composed chiefly of students of the Methodist schools, was "steadily growing in numbers and influence." At Yotsuya, a night school for young men, conducted in addition to preaching services and pastoral work, had been helpful in bringing many under Christian influence. At Tamachi, near Azabu, Miss M. A. Spencer, W.F.M.S. missionary, conducted a day school, and in the building used by the school large congregations attended the services held by Genjiro Yamaka, the pastor.[86]

The year 1885 marked encouraging advance in the Tokyo churches: Tsukiji, Asakusa, Yamagata, Tendo, Kanda, Mita, Osuba, and Yotsuya.

The Kanda church was enlarged 1885-86 to care for the growing congregation, and a parsonage erected. At Aoyama the building for the Philander Smith Biblical Institute (the theological department of the Anglo-Japanese College) was completed and occupied. Instructors in the Biblical Institute this year were David S. Spencer,* Milton S. Vail, I. H. Correll, and James Blackledge. W. C. Kitchin was appointed at the 1885 Conference as instructor in English language and literature in Kei-O-Gijuku, a large and well-known private school, "with full liberty to teach Christianity to the students." Within a year a large number had become interested in the Christian religion and eighteen had become members of the Tsukiji church.

On all of the charges progress was registered. On the Mita charge (formerly listed as the Azabu Circuit) a Society of thirteen members was organized and a chapel built. Nearby the W.F.M.S. missionaries opened a day school and organized a Sunday school. At Kumagaya, in Saitama Prefecture, a Society of twenty-one members was organized. Work was begun at Urawa, capital of Saitama Prefecture, with the baptism of two adults, and in the same prefecture public meetings were held at Honjo and Shimamura in rented halls.[87]

At the 1886 Conference the two Tokyo Districts were consolidated into a single District, a measure made necessary by the paucity of missionaries. There were not enough to man the Districts and the educational institutions. Of the pastoral appointments all were filled by Japanese. Julius Soper, although absent on furlough, was appointed Presiding Elder. He arrived in

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* David Smith Spencer (1854-1929) was born at Lemon, Pa.; was converted at the age of fourteen; graduated from the Wyoming Seminary in 1879 and from Drew Theological Seminary (B.D., 1884). On May 18, 1882, he married Mary Ann Pike, and in 1884 went with her to Japan as a professor in the Philander Smith Biblical Institute. He had a varied career as a missionary—teaching (1883-86), serving as Presiding Elder, as a stationed missionary, and as manager of the Methodist Publishing House. He translated a number of books into Japanese, including a *History of the Christian Church* and an *Introduction to the New Testament*. He also was an author of several Japanese books and tracts. A man of profound religious experience, gracious personality, and unusual executive skill, he was loved and honored by his colleagues and the Japanese. He retired on Oct. 1, 1926, after forty-two years of missionary service.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

Tokyo, after three years' absence from Japan, on November 6, 1886. At the close of the year he wrote to the Missionary Society:

> I began my official work November 20 by holding the Quarterly Conference of the Tsukiji Church. Since then I have traveled over the entire district twice, and visited some of the country churches three times, besides holding regularly the Quarterly Conferences of the city churches and frequently preaching, not only on Sundays, but also during the week. . . .
>
> Quite a large number—about 225, including adults and children—have received baptism during the year.[88]

Beginning in April, 1887, Miss Anna Kaulbach* who had come to Japan in the preceding fall, was in charge of five day schools in Tokyo with an average attendance of 343. All of the schools were in close proximity to churches and in connection with all of them Sunday schools were also held. During the spring (1887) Miss Spencer traveled over the District, giving Bible readings and lectures to the women, using a "Magic Lantern" with illustrations of the life of Christ. These lectures awakened deep interest. The Kaigan Jo Gakko (Tsukiji) this year enrolled 162 girls. The teaching staff was strengthened by the addition of Mary A. Vance,† who arrived in February. Misses Spencer, Kaulbach, and Vance were active also in the work of the Tokyo Gospel Society, each teaching one evening a week in its night school, assisting in a Sunday evening service, and conducting a Sunday school. Without their interest and cooperation, Soper reported, "the Society would have been an utter failure." They were also chiefly responsible for the Tsukiji and Asakusa Sunday schools in the Tokyo District, and also for the Kanda, Mita (the Azabu and Shiba charges) and Fukagawa schools.

As a result of Dr. Schwartz' work in the Sendai chiu gakko about forty students were said to have been converted. During 1886 he continued teaching but by 1887 he was beginning to feel uneasy lest he lose his skill in the practice of medicine.‡ However, he wrote Corresponding Secretary Reid that he was willing to do whatever Reid and the Bishop thought best. In April, 1887, J. G. Cleveland having arrived with his wife in Japan became associated with Dr. Schwartz at Sendai, rendering assistance also in the night school. Soon afterward the city of Yonezawa applied for a missionary to teach English in its *samurai* chiu gakko. Cleveland volunteered and "by the middle of November, 1887, . . . [he and his family were] settled in Yonezawa."[89]

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* Anna Kaulbach, after teaching for eight years in the Waverly, N. Y., public schools, answered the call of the New York Branch, W.F.M.S., and sailed for Japan July 20, 1886. In 1888 she returned to the United States and in the same year married P. C. Wilson of Chattanooga, Tenn.—L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

† Mary A. Vance of Burlington, Iowa, went to Japan under the auspices of the Des Moines Branch. In December, 1890, she married J. F. Belknap of the Anglo-Japanese College, Aoyama. Her death occurred on Sept. 27, 1892.—*Ibid.*, p. 46.

‡ The demand of the Japanese was for English teachers in the government and in the private schools, not for doctors.

In November, 1887, open-air preaching services[*] which continued for more than a month were conducted in the Uyeno Public Park, Tokyo, by Sennosuke Ogata,[†] pastor of Aoyama church, Tokyo, assisted by several young men of the Gospel Society. Large crowds attended the meetings and, according to Soper, hundreds of people were converted.[90]

Soper considered the work on the Tokyo District in 1887 to have been "on the whole, . . . prosperous," though several of the older appointments had made little or no advance. There were on the District fourteen "regularly organized stations and circuits, . . . besides a number of preaching places," but there were only six "regular" preachers. To fill the other appointments Local Preachers were employed as supplied. Sixteen women—nine W.F.M.S. missionaries, five wives of missionaries, and two single women working under the parent Society—received appointments within the District. Nine were appointed to schools and seven to general "woman's work." Two new school buildings were erected by the W.F.M.S. at Aoyama, one for a chapel and recitation rooms, the other for dining rooms, dormitories, and a home for women missionaries. At Yotsuya and Kawamata, a new center in central Honshu, the members had built "small but neat" chapels, the latter without any help from the Missionary Society. Asakusa and Tendo had "barely held their own" and Sakuyama had retrograded.[91]

"Steady and substantial growth" characterized the work of the churches in 1888, with nearly every Society giving evidence of new life and activity. In financial contributions the year was the best in the history of the District. Two churches registered full self-support. There were 211 baptisms of adults but as a result of pruning of the records small net increase was registered. Two churches were built, one at Sendai costing 928 yen, and one at Shirakawa, an important city in Fukushima Prefecture where work had been begun some three years earlier.

In September, 1888, the Kaigan Jo Gakko in Tsukiji was divided, the higher department transferred to Aoyama to constitute the Ei-wa Jo Gakko (literally the English-Japanese Girls' School) leaving the preparatory department at Tsukiji with 122 pupils. Miss Mary E. V. Pardoe.[‡] who did not arrive in Japan until November (1888) unexpectedly found herself in full charge as principal. She was an experienced teacher and with the assistance of an Englishwoman conversant with the Japanese language and a missionary's wife who had lived for a number of years in Japan the school had a successful year. In April, 1889, Miss Frances E. Phelps* reached Japan to begin work in the school.

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[*] In his report to the Missionary Society Soper stated that these were the first open-air preaching services ever conducted in Tokyo. In this he seems to have been mistaken since Matilda A. Spencer gave a detailed account of two days' open-air services held in this same park, Oct. 12-13, 1881. (See *Heathen Woman's Friend,* XII [1881], 7 [January], 156 f.) The writer estimated that more than four thousand people attended the meetings.

[†] Sennosuke Ogata (1854-1942) was born in Tokyo and educated in the San Francisco, Calif., public schools and De Pauw University (B.A., 1885; D.D. [honorary], 1896). He made his way through college by working as a gardener and janitor. During his senior year he was a lecturer on Japan. He was received on trial in the North Indiana Conference in 1885 and transferred as a missionary to the Japan Conference in 1886. He was a teacher in the Philander Smith Biblical Institute, 1885-87; evangelist in Tokyo and Nagoya, 1885-1906; Presiding Elder, Tokyo East District, 1893-97; Tokyo District, 1898, and other Districts later; acting president of Aoyama Gakuin, beginning in May, 1907. For many years he was one of the most outstanding and influential Methodist leaders in Japan.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

[‡] Mary E. V. Pardoe, after nine years of public school teaching, was made preceptress of Dickinson Seminary. In 1888 she was sent to Japan by the Philadelphia Branch. She died in Tokyo, Aug. 31, 1893.—L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.,* p. 57.

Vicissitudes extending over a number of years attended the work at Yonezawa, where Mrs. Cleveland had established a girls' English class and thereby opened the way for the W.F.M.S. to begin a girls' school. Rebecca J. Watson—a seasoned missionary—took over the assignment and in mid-January, 1889, opened the school, with fifteen pupils. On March 6 Miss Mary Bell Griffiths, who had been sent from America by the Des Moines Branch to take charge of the Yonezawa program, arrived. When Conference convened in August, 1889, Miss Griffiths was assigned to the evangelistic work of the station and Mary E. Atkinson, who in the meantime had arrived on the field, was named principal of the school. Her report made at the close of the year gives insight into the program:

> Though nominally in the employ of Japanese managers we are left with the entire care and government of the school. . . . The school is opened every day with a half hour of Bible study at which time the teachers and students are expected to be present. We have also had a noon prayer-meeting, the attendance at which was distinctly understood to be voluntary, but the girls all came, and greatly added to the interest of the meeting by their verses of Scripture and earnest prayers; they have also attended the Friday afternoon meeting for women. Our hearts have been cheered and many a burden lightened by the interest manifested in our religion, and the sweet Christ-like lives of the girls at home.[92]

Miss Griffiths continued in Yonezawa until May 20, 1891, when she was called to take up work in Tokyo. This left Miss Atkinson, as school principal, without any missionary assistance. The school this year grew rapidly, increasing from eighteen to forty-two students and resulting in serious overcrowding, making it necessary to use the small dining room as a classroom by day and a sleeping room at night, and the other sleeping rooms as classrooms. In December, 1893, Miss Atkinson left for the United States.† In 1891 Louisa Imhof was appointed to evangelistic work. In the spring of 1894 she received a severe eye injury caused by a stone thrown at her as she was returning from an evening meeting, which made it necessary for her to leave Japan for the United States. Other W.F.M.S. missionaries were sent to Yonezawa in that year‡ but as promises made by citizens in 1888 of buildings for the school and a missionaries' residence had not been kept, and suitable facilities were not available, the Society withdrew their women and assigned them elsewhere.

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* Frances E. Phelps received her educational training in the public schools and in Grinnell College (Iowa). She went to Japan under the auspices of the Des Moines Branch in 1889 and continued in educational and evangelistic missionary work until 1915.—*Ibid.*, p. 61.

† Mrs. J. G. Cleveland: "All of the women except Mary E. Atkinson were removed . . . . This young woman, less than twenty-five years old, bright, capable and attractive, isolated from all of her own kind in that snow bound valley,—it was a crime. . . . After Miss Mary's return to the U.S.A., the ladies closed the school, and all our work in Yonezawa, city of grand old *samurai* families, seemed to come to naught."—Mrs. J. G. Cleveland, "Reminiscences, Yonezawa," p. 19, ms., Board of Missions Library.

‡ Miss Alice M. Otto, sent to Japan by the Des Moines Branch in September, 1894, was appointed principal of the school. Miss Belle J. Allen was transferred from Ei-wa Jo Gakko, Aoyama, to relieve Miss Imhof.

Increase of membership on the Tokyo District was small in 1889, but financial progress was encouraging, testifying to increased interest and zeal of church members. At Aoyama the educational staff was strengthened by the addition of Benjamin Chappell,* a Canadian Methodist minister who for years made a noteworthy contribution as a teacher, administrator, and author.

The program of the Tokyo Gospel Society was outstanding among Christian institutions. On Saturday evenings lectures and Bible meetings were given; on other weekday evenings night school sessions were held; and on Sunday afternoons children's meetings. Usually on Sunday evenings Sennosuke Ogata preached. Fourteen young men were baptized in the course of the year.[93]

Soper refused to be discouraged by the difficulties which beset all missionary work in Japan in 1890. The Tokyo District, he declared, not only held its own but "even made some headway." The great need in the city, he felt, was more and better church buildings. A good beginning had been made in the erection of the Ginza church and the purchase "of a fine church lot in Kanda at the cost of 6,000 yen." But this was only a beginning.

> Here in the capital of Japan, with its million souls, the Methodist Episcopal Church has only two fairly decent places of worship (Tsukiji church and the new Ginza hall), and no place where we can congregate more than 250 people. How long shall this state of things continue? [94]

Equally, or even more important, was the need for more preachers. "There are new openings and loud calls on every side," but for lack of workers there was no possibility of response. The teaching staff of the Tsukiji Girls' School was given additional assistance by the sending, December, 1890, of Jennie S. Locke from the New York Branch.

At the 1890 Conference the Tokyo District was again divided, the northern part cut off to constitute a Sendai District. Twelve charges were left—eight in the city and four in the country. One of the four rural charges was abandoned for "want of men and money." The Ginza Society, organized in 1890 by some forty members of the Tsukiji church, had a successful year. Five day schools, under W.F.M.S. auspices, reported progress.

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* Benjamin Chappell (1852-1925) was received by transfer from the New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island Conference. He arrived in Japan in 1889 and in August began teaching in the college department of the Philander Smith Biblical Institute, Aoyama, Tokyo. He was an alumnus of Mt. Allison University (B.A., 1874; M.A., 1882), After graduation he became principal of the Dorchester, N.B., academy, and later served as pastor of several churches in New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island. For about three years (1881-83) he was a missionary in British Columbia. He was dean of the Anglo-Japanese College, Aoyama, 1898-1907. He wrote and translated into Japanese several pamphlets; also the treatise, "The Unshakable Foundation of the Christian Faith." After retirement in 1918, following a brief period in Canada for recuperation, he returned to Japan and continued to serve at Aoyama Gakuin in the retired relation until his death.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; obituary in *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea & Formosa* . . . , 1925, A. Oltmans, Ed., pp. 429 ff.

In his report at the 1891 Conference Soper emphasized "the urgent necessity of giving more attention to the practical and social side of Christianity." The crying need of Japan, he said, "is Industrial Education." He spoke with high appreciation of the educational work of the W.F.M.S. missionaries at the Aoyama Young Ladies' Seminary (Ei-wa Jo Gakko) and at the Tsukiji Girls' School—"a grand work for the Christian education of women in Japan." At the 1891 Conference Elizabeth R. Bender, who had arrived in Japan in December, 1889, from the Baltimore Branch, was appointed principal of Ei-wa Jo Gakko.[95]

Soper discerned signs of new life in nearly all the churches of the District in 1892 and some he believed to be making "decided headway." A number of inquirers were reported, and on the Kazusa Circuit at one point a class of eighteen persons was baptized. At the 1892 Conference, following return from furlough, J. C. Davison was appointed Presiding Elder. Results in the churches were to him disappointing. Three charges reported no adult baptisms and in nine others the membership ranged from one to fourteen—fifty-six in all. Losses by transfer and other causes reduced the total membership below that of the preceding year. While all of the charges paid their current expenses only three contributed anything toward the support of their pastors. Two chapels were built—one at Aoyama and one at Ajiki.

For several years efforts had been made by W.F.M.S. missionaries to secure a qualified woman from America to establish in Tokyo an industrial home. Finally in December, 1889, Miss Ella A. Blackstock (Minneapolis Branch) arrived and for a time taught drawing, music, and other subjects at Ei-wa Jo Gakko. In April, 1891, she rented a building in Aoyama for the beginning of the industrial department of the school. The curriculum included cooking, sewing, embroidery, drawn work, knitting, flower arrangement, Japanese etiquette, and the Bible. In 1893 about thirty pupils were enrolled.

At the 1893 Conference the transfer of R. P. Alexander, a probationer from the New England Southern Conference, was announced and he was appointed to the Biblical Institute college and preparatory departments. The District was again divided into Tokyo East and Tokyo West Districts. Davison was continued in charge of the West and S. Ogata was appointed to the East District.[96]

The years 1894-95 marked some advance in the Tokyo Districts, particularly in the East District. This District embraced an area fifty miles from east to west and nearly a hundred miles from south to north, the churches of which—apart from the three in Tokyo—were widely scattered over the four provinces Kazusa, Shimosa, Hitachi, and Shimotsuke. In this immense field there were only two ordained pastors, two probationers, and four Local Preachers. The pastor of the Sakuyama Circuit in ministering to the people of the five preaching places was obliged to travel on foot from eight to twenty-five miles per day. Ogata was an able minister whose energy, confidence, and religious zeal met a ready response from the people. From the two years he reported 199 baptisms and financial contributions of 1,511.88 yen. Conditions also improved somewhat in the West District although not to such a marked degree. The enrollment of the five Tokyo day schools in 1895 was 645, an increase of 111 pupils in twelve months. Most encouraging was the graduation in 1895 of ten theological students from Philander Smith Biblical Institute, seven of whom (in addition to three others) were admitted to the Conference on trial. The enrollment at Aoyama Jo Gakko, exclusive of the industrial department, was 126. Miss M. Helen Russell (Pacific Branch), who arrived on August 27, 1895, was a welcome addition to the staff of teachers.[97]

YOKOHAMA DISTRICT

On his return from furlough in December, 1883, J. C. Davison found that he had been appointed Presiding Elder of the Yokohama District. In May, 1884, he made his first tour of the District, a trip of over five hundred miles. In his report he gave a summary of the charges and their conditions in 1883-84. Yokohama Circuit included the two city Stations Tenan (on the Bluff) and Furocho (native city), Onoyecho (also in Yokohama), Kanagawa (a suburb), "and several preaching places in private houses in Yokohama, Nagoya and Nishiwo." The pastor at Nishio was instrumental in opening a station at Ebimura, which was made the nucleus of a new Toyohashi Circuit, the center to be in the city of Toyohashi, two hundred miles west of Yokohama, where there was no Protestant work. Nagoya Church was in the midst of a campaign for a church building. The following year Davison gave account of the same charges mentioning, for the first time, Tsuhara, an outstation of Toyohashi—where there had been two baptisms—and of Yebimura on the Nishio Circuit where there were several additions to the membership of the Class.[98]

For one year only (1884) the Japan Conference had a North Yokohama District, with I. H. Correll as Presiding Elder. At Kanagawa the members managed to erect a chapel. At Matsumoto there had been dissension in the church but, happily, harmony was restored. In Nagano, the chief city of the Shinshu region, new work was begun. Correll preached during the year in eighteen towns and cities and everywhere found openings which only lack of resources in men and money had kept him from entering.

In 1884, of the twelve W.F.M.S. missionaries on the field, two were in the Yokohama District, Emma J. Benton with responsibility for day schools and Sunday schools, and Mrs. Caroline W. Van Petten with the direction of the Training School for Bible Women.

At the 1885 Conference I. H. Correll was appointed to the consolidated District. In two tours of the area he found substantial progress generally under way in the churches and many opportunities for enlarging the work. In Yokohama the Tenan church building was moved to a lot on a prominent street of the "native city," reconstructed, and dedicated "in the presence of a full house." The Furocho congregation "increased greatly in size and interest." Religious services were begun in Fujisawa, Odawara, and Ikusawa. At Nagoya pastor T. Yamada, with the cooperation of others, collected books and opened a public library which awakened such widespread interest that Yamada instituted an inquiry meeting in the library. Preaching places were established at Gifu and several other points in the region of Nagoya. Toyohashi Circuit began the year with five full members of the church and closed it with twenty and numerous probationers. Matsumoto had the best year thus far, with "greater interest . . . [among] prominent citizens and new places . . . opened for the preaching of the Gospel." [99]

In the first four months of the 1886-87 Conference year Correll traveled 1,150 miles on his District and baptized fifty-six persons. He was so convinced of the opportunity for immediate advance that he appealed to Corresponding Secretary Reid for three additional foreign missionaries for the District—for Yokohama; Matsumoto, in which the Methodists were "really the only Protestant Church at work," and Nagoya, "a city of about 120,000 inhabitants," and "within a day's journey of at least a dozen places . . . already entered."

In Yokohama, moving the Tenan church into the "native town" had resulted in a very great change. The members were much more zealous and probationers had greatly increased in number. By the close of the year there were sixty-seven probationers. On the Honjo Circuit 115 adults and thirty-three children were baptized, and a small church was built without help from the Missionary Society. A new church also was erected at Kumagaya, costing $500., of which the Missionary Society paid $100. In connection with this charge a new appointment was opened at Fukaya, seven miles distant.

The Yokohama Gospel Society gave a good account of itself during these years. The program in 1887 was in the charge of E. R. Fulkerson, with two other men and three women missionaries giving part-time assistance. The same year a branch Society was opened at Kanagawa, where the head man of the town—who two years before was hostile—put up a building at his own expense for headquarters. The principal features at both places were a night school, with English classes and Bible teaching, and a library with a reading room.[100]

At Honjo, in 1888, much bitterness toward Christians developed, which militated against the church. It was weakened also by removal of transient residents from the town and by internal dissensions. A beginning was made at Mizonokuchi, in connection with Kanagawa. The Class at Ikusawa, on the Odawara Circuit, erected a small church, a part of the cost of which was subscribed by non-Christians. A large Class made up chiefly of teachers and officials was organized at Oiso; another at Isebara, a town of considerable size; and a beginning made among the farmers at Goshonomiya with services in the house of one of the wealthiest landowners of the region. At Tobe, a part of Yokohama, another new charge, where there were twenty-nine baptisms, all expenses were met by the members. Hachioji, one of the earliest appointments, was relinquished, apparently as a concession to the Canadian Methodist Church, which had been operating there for some time. Every charge on the District, with the exception of Yokohama, showed some increase in full members, the net gain being seventy-eight. A storm in the following year completely wrecked the Yokohama church building. In 1888 the Furocho day school, in its new quarters in the new Gospel Society building, increased its enrollment to 130. This school was under the care of Gazelle M. Rulofson who had come to Yokohama in August, 1886, sent by the New England Branch.

At the 1890 Conference the Districts were so rearranged as to increase the Circuits from eight to thirteen, constituting "an area one-fourth larger than the state of Massachusetts, . . . [with] a population . . . numbering between three and four million." In his three trips round the District in 1891 G. F. Draper, the Presiding Elder, traveled "between twenty-six and twenty-seven hundred miles." He felt that on the whole the churches had made some advance, though a few had retrograded. His analysis of the cause differed from that of some others.

> This retrogression is due to various causes; prominent among them being undue haste in administering baptism thus bringing into the church many who have proved a serious hindrance to its prosperity. Many came in who hardly could distinguish between the church and a political or social club. The ideas of personal sin, a personal Savior, and personal holiness were not with them and it is no wonder that they soon fell away.

Three new church buildings were dedicated during the year: a very neat and well-located edifice at Matsumoto; a little building at Odawara; and a very attractive structure at Kanagawa.[101]

When the Training School for Bible Women was established in 1884 under the direction of Mrs. Van Petten with a group of six women it was thought that a building large enough to house twenty would be ample size but it was soon outgrown and enlarged. Again it proved inadequate and in 1890 the W.F.M.S. constructed a building with accommodations for fifty. In June, 1891, the school closed its best year, having enrolled thirty-seven:

> All have been engaged in various kinds of work in the city, holding meetings for women and children, Christians and non-Christians, poor and sick and blind. They have assisted in church and Sunday-school work, and two months in the year have been spent by two classes in the country, in the same kinds of work.
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> Five completed the course of four years' study of the Bible . . . and from this time, will devote their whole time to this work.[102]

Anna S. French,* who arrived in Japan in October, 1889, was appointed to supervise the day schools of the Yokohama District. At the 1890 Woman's Conference she reported an enrollment of 467 in five schools: Furocho, Kanagawa, Tobe, Aizawa, and Chojamachi—all in or near Yokohama. During the year a sixth school, also in the village of Aizawa, was begun with an evening school for those who were caring for their baby brothers and sisters during the day while the mothers were employed in the teahouses. In 1891 in Yamabukicho, in a part of Yokohama which was without an organized church or preaching place, a two-story building was erected for a Methodist day school, which combined the work of the Chojamachi and Furocho schools.

In his fifth year in the Yokohama District Draper made three trips over his extensive territory, traveling more than two thousand miles in train, jinrickisha, and on foot. He discovered an increased interest in the spiritual life among attendants at preaching services but deeply regretted that "with such a working force as . . . [the Church had] in the field so little gain . . . [could] be reported." At the 1893 Conference J. G. Cleveland was appointed Presiding Elder of the Yokohama District. To him—when he had spent a year in close contact with the churches, the preachers, and the lay people—the cause of the existing conditions was not so much to be found in the nation, in international relationships, or in changed attitudes of the Japanese toward foreigners, as in the Church itself and in the lives of its members.

> The churches languish, not because the pastors do not work, but because of the need of a more complete surrender to Christ. . . . The people have heard much about the educating and civilizing power of Christianity, but they need to see it exemplified in the lives of believers; they need to see the New Birth shine forth from the churches, and feel its power touch them through the lives of godly men and women.[103]

In 1893 Maud E. Simons, from the Baltimore Branch, who had arrived in 1889, was given charge of the Yokohama District day schools. The next year a new building was erected for the Aizawa school—two schoolrooms, a sewing room, and rooms for the teachers. By the end of the first month the rooms were full, and a house was rented for the sewing class which within a week was overflowing. Additional accommodations were also necessary for the Tobe school. In all of the schools the average attendance exceeded that of the preceding year.[104]

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* Anna S. French in 1894 married a Presbyterian missionary (Freyer) in Syria.

HAKODATE DISTRICT

At the first meeting of the Japan Conference (1884) L. W. Squier was continued as Presiding Elder of the Hakodate District.[*] In several places persecution of converts was severe, with infliction of bodily injuries accompanied by disinheritance and ostracism. In 1885 a new chapel was built at Fukuyama. Work was begun at Otaru with "some very influential and earnest men" enlisted as probationers. The Hakodate Society this year attained full self-support and contributed generously toward the cost of the first native Christian cemetery in Japan.

Miss Ella J. Hewett (Philadelphia Branch) arrived in Japan in October, 1884, and was appointed to the Caroline Wright Memorial School (Hakodate) as assistant to the principal. An addition to the school was built this year at a cost of $5,000. This made it possible for the school to accommodate a hundred boarders and fifty day pupils.[105]

For one year (1884-85) the Hirosaki area constituted a separate District (North Honshu) of which C. W. Green was Presiding Elder. It included in addition to Hirosaki three large towns, Aomori, Kuroishi, and Morioka, in thickly populated districts. Aomori had been weakened by the removal of several of its active members. Hirosaki showed evidence of life and growth. Morioka had not been prosperous. The W.F.M.S. opened a girls' school at Hirosaki in 1884 and at Morioka a day school was established. Suteki Chinda,[†] with an assistant, was appointed to the Kuroishi Circuit but as his time was principally occupied by teaching in the Hirosaki school and the assistant was in failing health the interests of the Circuit suffered. On one of his rounds Green was accompanied by Yoitsu Honda who rendered exceptional service. At the September, 1885, Conference the Hokkaido and North Hondo Districts were combined, with Green as Presiding Elder. An outstanding event of the Conference year was the erection of a new church at Hakodate where Sogo Matsumoto was the efficient pastor.

General growth and an "extraordinary degree of enterprise and activity . . . in nearly all the charges" during 1886-87 were reported by the Presiding Elder. New preaching places were opened, Sunday schools organized, and a church built. There were accessions to membership in all the Societies and the numerical growth of some was unusually large. At Aomori the membership was nearly doubled. Marked success was also registered at Hirosaki, and at Fujisaki, without any outside help, "a good church, with house attached for a pastor," was built. L. W. Squier* and Dr. Hamisfar left Japan under a cloud.[106]

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[*] The District was variously designated: Yezzo; Hokkaido and North Hondo [Honshu]; Hakodate; Hakodate and Aomori; and Hokkaido.

[†] Suteki Chinda (later Count Chinda) was one of the four students sent by Ing to Indiana Asbury for higher education. On his return he was employed as a teacher at Hirosaki and as a Local Preacher. He later entered government diplomatic service and was at one time Ambassador to the United States. During his later years as Lord Chamberlain he exercised a strong influence in court circles. His interest in the Hirosaki school continued throughout his life.

The 1887 Conference saw the Hakodate region again set apart from the Hirosaki and Aomori area. While Hakodate, as represented by the number of charges, seemed too small to be designated a District yet it was sufficiently extensive, according to Green's report to the next Conference, "to require during the year 2,400 miles of travel." Widely separated towns made necessary the long journeys. Conversions occurred at several places where there had been no previous converts. A point of special interest was Kabato, "one of the prison towns of the Hokkaido." A Class of seventeen members was organized and later the membership doubled.

On the Aomori District (1887-88)† new preaching places were established in different neighborhoods of Hirosaki as a means of reaching more people. A revival at Aomori added many names to the roll of probationers. G. F. Draper, this year Presiding Elder of the District, was convinced that serious loss had been caused by the attempt to cultivate so vast a field as the Aomori and the Hakodate areas as a single unit and felt that resident supervision of the Hirosaki region was very important. He might also have said that the District was showing the lack of efficient supervision for the missionaries (excepting Draper himself) sent to the northern post were not well-equipped men, either from the standpoint of experience or by knowledge of the Japanese language. They had to depend largely upon interpreters and on such unofficial part-time supervision as could be given by Honda and Matsumoto. Both of these men were capable of efficient leadership but they were otherwise occupied and had neither official responsibility nor access to the policy-making circle of the Conference.

Draper also emphasized the importance of the Hirosaki school. "While not nominally a Christian school," he said, "it is freely opened to us and the influence of an earnest, God-fearing worker is strongly felt." He was so firmly convinced of the advantage of having a Methodist teacher in the school that he was willing—despite his conviction of the need for full-time District supervision—to fill the vacancy until the Board could send out someone for the place. He wrote to the Missionary Secretary reinforcing a request sent some months earlier.‡ In January, 1888, D. N. McInturff arrived to fill the position in the school.[107]

Notwithstanding Draper's earnest plea for separate Districts, at the

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* After Squier had been transferred by the Bishop to the North Ohio Conference, information was received implicating him "in gross immorality." Evidence in the case was forwarded to the North Ohio Conference (*Minutes, Japan Conference,* 1887, pp. 10, 12). At the North Ohio Conference, September, 1887, he was permitted to "withdraw under charges."—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1887, p. 274.

† For this year there was a separate Aomori District.

‡ G. F. Draper, letter, Aug. 25, 1887, to J. M. Reid: "We have been holding out inducements to the School authorities in order that the position might be kept open. This cannot with justice be done any longer. We must either supply the place ourselves immediately or allow them to seek help elsewhere. . . . I believe that the retention of this place is essential to the welfare of our work in this section. . . . Nine of the best preachers of our Conference have come to us from this school. . . . By all means send a married man if possible, and put me in communication with him at the earliest possible moment."—Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.

August, 1888, Conference, at which Bishop Fowler presided, the Hakodate and Aomori Districts were again combined and Green designated Presiding Elder. "To reduce as much as possible the inevitable 'loss' " of the arrangement Matsumoto was appointed as assistant. John Wier, newly arrived from the New York Conference, was appointed to the To-O-Gijuku School as president and McInturff to the Aomori High School. In August, 1888, To-O-Gijuku, with seven Japanese teachers, for the first time came under the supervision of the Methodist mission. Wier's first impression of the school was unfavorable. Writing to Secretary Leonard on February 9, 1889, he expressed himself as almost ready to break off relations with the institution and establish a boys' school at Hakodate "under full Mission management." Why continue, he asked, "to subsidize a concern which is non-Christian" and so inflexible that no Conference president can change it?* Hasty action such as he had in mind would have been extremely unfortunate and would have resulted in immeasurable loss to the Church. The school was held in high esteem throughout north Japan and no institution started *de novo* under Methodist auspices could have successfully competed with it. Eight months later his outlook had entirely changed. "The outlook," he wrote to Leonard, "is getting bright." The school year had opened September 1 with 125 new students; they had come from "the best families in the North," the constitution of the school had been amended to put Bible study as a regular part of the curriculum; and he considered the way open to put able Christian men on the faculty. Milton N. Frantz of the Philadelphia Conference, received by transfer at the 1888 Conference, whom Wier estimated highly, was appointed to the school at the 1889 Conference.[108]

On June 9, 1889, the Hirosaki Girls' School (Hirosaki Jo Gakko) was opened with Miss Mary S. Hampton of the Hakodate School as principal. A new school building, "a rough wooden structure, square, and two stories high," planned to accommodate about two hundred pupils, had been erected during the preceding year. It was located within two blocks of the missionary home, a neat Japanese house of five rooms. Funds for the buildings were principally contributed by Japanese patrons. The institution's beginning was made easier by the reputation established by the former W.F.M.S. school founded in 1884.[109]

While Green was devoting his time to getting Wier and his family established in Hirosaki, Matsumoto made an extended tour of the District. Later Green, accompanied by Matsumoto, visited many of the Stations. Conditions in the charges varied; a few churches seemed to be advancing; others because of removals and lack of pastoral supervision were scarcely holding their own. At Hirosaki there had been several accessions to the church; Morioka was advancing and Otaru and Odate were growing. In December, 1888, Augusta Dickerson of the Philadelphia Branch, a Normal School graduate with eleven years' experience in public school teaching, arrived and was appointed to the Caroline Wright Memorial School in Hakodate.[110]

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* Opinions of the missionaries concerning the Hirosaki school were divided. Not all agreed with Draper's judgment of its importance and value. The managers and Japanese teachers of the school for their part faced compounded difficulties. As the national system of public education developed, tax-supported schools rapidly increased in number and the old local institutions had either to become a part of the system, thereby losing their independence, or else reorganize under private ownership with its inevitable struggle for support. Under these circumstances the Christian atmosphere and life of the Hirosaki school were jeopardized. Neither Honda, who at this juncture was preoccupied with other interests, nor any of the older missionaries were at hand to aid in the delicate task of adjustment. Attempts to make the school fully Christian by revision of its constitution failed. In the end agreement was reached on the basis of the Conference undertaking to furnish a missionary teacher of English who, the authorities of the school gave assurance, would be free to carry on Christian work among faculty and students. Under this arrangement the school continued year after year to pour forth a stream of Christian teachers into the Japan Church.

At the 1890 Conference John Wier was appointed Presiding Elder of the Hakodate District. The five Societies of the Hakodate Circuit—Hakodate, Nanai, Mori, Osshamamde, and Yamagoshinai—all reported conversions and accessions during the year. The Hakodate church added sixty to its membership while the Sunday-school attendance of the Circuit almost doubled. A boys' night school in which, along with other subjects, the Bible was taught daily was well attended. Miss Dickerson reported a successful year during which the spiritual life of most of the pupils had "deepened and broadened." Miss Georgiana Baucus, from the New York Branch, arrived at Hakodate in July, 1890. Her presence was a great help and blessing to the school. The Otaru Circuit of five towns doubled its membership and Sunday-school attendance in 1890-91. A Society of twenty members was organized at Iwanai and asked earnestly for a pastor. Four contiguous towns presented the possibility of a compact Circuit. No preacher was available for the Kabato Circuit of four towns in the agricultural region of Hokkaido, a rapidly growing section, and the same situation existed on the Fukuyama Circuit of three towns. The "urgent need of the District," Wier reported, was for more preachers and church buildings. If these could be supplied he was certain of the future of the Church.

Sapporo as a growing city attracted many new people, among them numerous Methodists who desired a Society of their own. In 1891 a Class of some thirty members, principally professional men, asked for a fully organized church, promising to build a chapel at their own expense and, after the first year, to pay the full support of a pastor. At the 1892 Conference M. Matsumura was appointed. At Kabato "a large meeting house . . . [was] built free of debt," and at Chiubetsu—one of the four other points on the Circuit—land was promised for a church.

In his first report (1893) as Presiding Elder of the Hakodate District Julius Soper told of his initial trip over the District, which required forty-five days. A second round, in the spring, occupied thirty-seven days. The missionary opportunity seemed to him to be very great since the population was rapidly increasing and the immigrants from the south, separated from their old surroundings and associations, were less bound by traditional habits and customs and more accessible to new social and religious influences.

After visiting nearly every appointment several times during the 1893-94 Conference year Soper bemoaned the fact that "true, earnest and intelligent believers . . . [were] still comparatively few" in the churches. He attributed this in part to the fact that while there were a number of excellent preachers there were too few who were diligent in pastoral work and that many of the preachers failed to give their members "thorough instruction and faithful training." At Hakodate the constantly shifting population hindered the growth of the church. Over five years there had been many baptisms but very little net gain in membership. At Otaru an attractive, substantial church was built, seating two hundred. Nearly one half of the cost was raised on the field. The pastor, Konosuke Sawai, who had completed five years at Otaru, was appointed to the Akita-Honjo mission. Petty persecution of Christian pupils in many of the District public schools by Buddhist teachers interfered with Sunday-school attendance. Few boys came.

Despite the war during 1894-95, Soper gave an optimistic account of the churches, saying that this year was spiritually the best of his three years on the Hakodate District. "Never," he reported, "was the work, on the whole, more prosperous, and never was the outlook more hopeful." The W.F.M.S. school staff was strengthened by the addition in May, 1894, of Florence E. Singer of the Philadelphia Branch as instructor in music.[111]

AOMORI DISTRICT

After an uncertain status for several years the Aomori region was permanently set apart as a separate District at the 1889 Conference.* Sogo Matsumoto† was appointed Presiding Elder and pastor at Morioka. From Akita on the south to Aomori on the north was a distance of 140 miles. The area constituted one of the richest farming regions in Japan. At the 1890 Conference Morioka was included in the newly formed Sendai District, of which Matsumoto was made Presiding Elder. He was succeeded on the Aomori District by J. G. Cleveland. By his second year (1891-92) Cleveland felt that substantial progress was being made, especially in Hirosaki, Akita, and Aomori.

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* Appointments included in the District were: Akita, Aomori, Hirosaki, and Morioka.

† Sogo Matsumoto (1840-1904) was the son of a well-to-do merchant of Matsushiro, Nagano Prefecture. Because of smallpox scars, as a child he isolated himself and began a life of reading, which his father encouraged by building him a separate library. At fifteen he had become learned in Oriental philosophies and literature, and was becoming expert at the difficult art of Japanese sonnet-making. Financially independent, he led an easy and comfortable existence in Tokyo, operating an antique shop. At thirty-five on a visit to Yokohama he passed a small house from which he heard a foreign voice stumbling over his native tongue, badly but most earnestly. Curiosity drew him into the room. Although he understood little of what was being said, at the conclusion he obtained from the missionary, Maclay, a copy of the Scriptures, in Chinese. He perused the book, and deciding that the teachings surpassed those of Confucius and Buddha, he set out independently to proclaim them. This he did by street-corner preaching, first assembling crowds by narrating accounts of Japanese folklore and history. Eloquence soon won him a following, but his rather unorthodox interpretation of Christian doctrine led the missionaries to give him instruction. Two months later he was converted. When the Japan Conference was organized he was among the charter members of the mission, among the oldest in years. He spent the rest of his days as a preacher, filling appointments in the towns of Matsumoto, Hakodate, Sendai, and other places, and was appointed as the first Japanese Presiding Elder. Two of his sons followed him into the ministry. Long known as "Father Abraham" for his appearance, he was beloved by his own people and by the missionaries. He wrote a number of hymns which are still popular in the Church today. He was especially noted for his eloquence and the effectiveness of his concise and scholarly preaching.

The Hirosaki Girls' School (Hirosaki Jo Gakko) under the care of Miss Baucus had many difficulties with which to contend—lack of a competent Japanese principal; too few trained Christian teachers; and insufficient financial support—but despite all had a successful year.

The itinerating presiding eldership was continued, with J. W. Wadman appointed in 1892. This year there were four Circuits in the District and thirteen preaching places, supplied with seven pastors, three assistant pastors, and a few Local Preachers and Exhorters. In his first year's report Wadman singled out Tadasu Fujita's work on the Goshogawara Circuit for special mention. Entirely blind, Fujita nevertheless was in labors abundant.

> A country town called Numadate, near Goshogawara, has been stirred to its very center. A short time ago a student from that place was converted to God in our church at Hirosaki, and returning to his native city, which was entirely heathen, he evidenced by his holy life the power of Christianity and a blessed work began which resulted in the conversion of nearly twenty people. Brother Fujita assisted this young man, trudging twice a month on foot through winter's snow and cold, guiding himself with his stick a distance of five miles in order to tell these people in their own homes the wondrous story of Jesus and his love. The head man of the town has given a good lot for a new church and another contributes 50 yen while all the others help to that extent that the new building soon to be erected will not cost the Mission a cent.[112]

The year was one of unusual prosperity in the Hirosaki church. The congregations frequently more than taxed the capacity of the building. The women's work, the Sunday school, and the Y.M.C.A.—all were thriving. At Kuroishi and Odate, previously regarded as hard and unyielding, the barriers were being broken down. Wadman had tried to carry the Gospel to hitherto unreached villages and towns by tract distribution, pastoral visitation, "magic lantern" exhibitions, preaching and lecturing. Some had been awakened in about a dozen new places, notably in Hachinohe, a large city south of Aomori, and at Noshiro, a seaport town of Akita Province. Three Bible women were employed on the District this year: one in Aomori, and two in Hirosaki and in the nearby town of Yoshida, where a Sunday school of some fifty pupils was conducted, and women's meetings and children's meetings held monthly in Kuroishi and Fujisaki. In 1894 the local authorities at Hirosaki decreed that Bible teaching could no longer be included in the curriculum of the girls' school. For a time it appeared that an impasse had been reached but Miss Baucus overcame the difficulty by introducing devotional exercises, and Bible study by classes, preceding the hour scheduled for the government program.

The visit of Corresponding Secretary A. B. Leonard to Hirosaki in the summer of 1893, requiring a horseback ride of thirty-five miles "over a steep, unused mountain path and through tough, bridgeless lanes across rice fields," was greatly appreciated. At a morning service he baptized four adults, one of whom was the wife of a member of the Imperial Diet from Aomori Province.

Again, at the 1894 Conference, a different Presiding Elder was appointed—this time Henry B. Schwartz from the New England Conference who had arrived in Japan in the spring of the preceding year. At Hirosaki the attendance at the Sunday services during the year convinced the Presiding Elder, the pastor, and the people that a new and larger building was necessary. Sunday-school attendance was larger than ever before, and four afternoon schools were also well attended. The 1895 freshman class at the Hirosaki school numbered 130, much larger than in any preceding recent year. Of the students who participated in the commencement exercises—all selected on account of merit—three-fourths were Christians. Assisted by several pastors, Schwartz held special meetings during the year at Aomori, Hachinohe, Goshogawara, Odate, Noshiro, and Akita, at which attendance was large and manifest interest was shown. At Fujisaki, where for several years the church had been entirely self-supporting, the Class meetings were remarkable for their spiritual earnestness. Miss Baucus, who for some time had carried double responsibility as principal of the Hirosaki Jo Gakko and superintendent of Bible women, was cheered by the arrival early in the year of Irene E. Lee of the New England Branch. Notwithstanding evidences of religious interest on the District as a whole, there was a loss in membership during the year.[113]

NAGASAKI DISTRICT

By 1884 the religious climate in hostile Kyushu—as in other parts of Japan—had changed. For ten years the little Nagasaki Methodist band had been sowing seed on stony ground and there had been little harvest. Carroll S. Long described what had occurred in 1883:

> Scores are being genuinely converted, testifying to the truth and power of the new religion. Persons who have been members of the Church for years are being born into the kingdom of grace and glory, and for the first time are realizing the joy of sins forgiven and adoption into the spiritual kingdom of Christ. . . . there is every indication that the glorious work will spread in every direction, and that hundreds will be brought to a knowledge of the true God. It is marvellous indeed. I never saw anything more striking at home.[114]

In other centers in Kyushu where little or no Christian work had been done the mood of the people had seemingly changed and missionaries were all but overwhelmed by the crowds who came to hear. Long's report as Presiding Elder told of his experiences at various places on the District:

> while preaching to a large congregation . . . at Kumamoto, the largest city on the island, two or three evil designing men offered an insult, which was immediately resented by the congregation, who demanded from them silence and respect for the speaker. At the same place I organized a class of 15, among whom were some of the most influential men in the city. At Agune [Akune], a con-

> siderable town on the western coast of the island, the whole town thronged to the preaching place, which had been rented for us by one of the citizens without our knowledge, and hundreds, being unable to obtain entrance, brought straw mats and, spreading them in the street and sidewalks, sat upon them during the two hours of preaching, and listened with the closest attention. At Yawegawa [Yanagawa] two teachers in the government school brought 14 of their pupils to the hotel where we were stopping, and desired us to send them a minister of the Christian doctrine. In the large city of Fukuoka we formed a class of 8 persons, and had many more inquirers who will doubtless soon accept the truth.[115]

Long's report for 1884 was in much the same tone. Some of the Japanese preachers had suffered persecution but were undaunted. At Kumamoto the chapel was stoned four times but finally the police arrested a Buddhist priest as the leader of the mob and he was sentenced to jail. The pastor, Kenjiro Asuka, asked for leniency and loaned the priest a blanket for protection from the cold while in jail. Three fellow priests came to the chapel to thank Asuka for his kindness and when he told them that he was only practicing the religion which he preached, they expressed regret for what had been done. As a result, congregations at the chapel increased and Asuka organized a class of five priests who began to study the Bible "with great earnestness." Members of the church began to visit from house to house, exhorting and singing the Gospel to hundreds who had never heard it before. During the year Long traveled about three thousand miles, visiting nearly all the important towns and cities in Kyushu and preaching to large congregations. He baptized more than seventy persons and received as many into the Church. But his report also had a somber note: "A few have been expelled."

At the 1884 Conference Jennie Gheer, who for almost five years had been teaching in the girls' school, was appointed to women's work and gave herself to the evangelizing of women and children through the churches. Miss Russell was continued as principal of Kwassui Jo Gakko, Nagasaki, assisted by Emma J. Everding of the Baltimore Branch who arrived in 1883, and Gertrude Howe, temporarily transferred from China.

Long was reappointed to the District at the July, 1884, Conference and found much encouragement in the progress under way. In April, 1885, he left Japan on furlough. During the remainder of the Conference year W. C. Kitchin, principal of Cobleigh Seminary, was Acting Presiding Elder. His gloomy view of the religious situation was in strange contrast to that which Long had so recently presented. In Kumamoto he saw only a city "given over to idolatry among the masses, and infidelity among the educated civil and military officers." He conceded, however, that the church in Asuka's care was "growing continually." The Fukuoka church, organized by Long in 1884, was next to the Nagasaki church in members and adherents.[116]

In May, 1885, a girls' school was opened by Miss Gheer in Fukuoka. The addition to the church of forty-three converts in October, 1884, prompted an urgent call to the Nagasaki missionaries for a school. They replied that it would be necessary for them to wait for permission from the Society at home and could not expect to hear before April 1.

> The first boat that landed at Fukuoka after April 1st found a great crowd waiting at the landing to welcome the new teacher. Miss Russell says: 'What could we do? We just talked and prayed over the matter, counted our resources, and then dividing our stores of school equipment and household stores, sent Miss Gheer on, feeling that we could stagger through the work some how until Conference.' . . . Miss Gheer was most kindly received, not only by the little band of believers there, but by outsiders. The daily paper reported her coming, and gave kindly accounts of the progress she was making from day to day. . . . She rented a house large enough to accommodate a school of seventy, which was pledged in advance, and has three living rooms, besides one for her Bible women.[117]

At the 1885 Conference (September) J. C. Davison, after an interval of almost four years, was reappointed Presiding Elder of the District. He noted that "considerable advance had been achieved" during that time, and that the District personnel, not including the women's work, consisted of nineteen men:

> two Japanese elders, seven local preachers, and ten exhorters. Of these latter, five are theological students in Cobleigh Seminary . . . . Of the seven local preachers, six are in the regular work, one of whom is already a probationer in the Conference and two more are candidates for admission this year.[118]

The list also did not include Charles Bishop, appointed this year as principal of Cobleigh Seminary. At the September, 1886, Conference the missionary personnel was increased by the appointment of David S. Spencer as principal of the reopened English department of the seminary; Miss Mary J. Elliott from the Cincinnati Branch to Kwassui Jo Gakko; Mrs. Bishop and Mrs. Spencer to women's work; and Miss Lida B. Smith of the New York Branch to the Fukuoka girls' school. At the beginning of the Conference year the Kurume Circuit was organized, comprising the city of Kurume and Yanagawa where some evangelistic work had been done in earlier years. Another promising beginning was made at Yatsushiro and surrounding villages where in April (1886) nine persons were baptized and received into the Church.

Davison gave aggressive leadership to the work of the District. During the Conference year 1886-87 he traveled over three thousand miles and was absent from his home 113 days. He visited every one of the nine provinces of Kyushu and also Okinawa in the Ryukyu Islands. The next year he made "two full rounds of the entire circle of appointments" and two additional trips. For the most part the churches were prospering, and the members growing in Christian knowledge, but he felt that the religious experience of many was lacking in depth and in fervency. A cause for regret was the unattractive character of the rented houses used as chapels—dark, gloomy, narrow, and often unclean and ill-smelling—not at all such as to invite attendance or a spirit of worship.

Cobleigh Seminary reported in 1888 a prosperous year, with 205 students enrolled. The faculty was strengthened by the addition of H. B. Johnson* as principal of the theological department.

In 1888 a new church was built in Fukuoka with a seating capacity of 250 and the W.F.M.S. erected a school building which was "an ornament to the city." In Nagasaki municipal improvements necessitated the moving and rebuilding of the church. The government paid 1,000 yen toward the cost. A parsonage was added to the property. In 1890 sixty-two adults and ten children were baptized on the District but no net increase in membership was registered. This was explained by the fact that the pastor who had served the Akune Circuit the previous year, and the Sendai Circuit (Kagoshima Prefecture) earlier, withdrew and joined the Roman Catholic Church, taking with him a considerable number of his members. Davison lamented the lack of thoroughly trained men in the Church's ministry, seven of the eight pastors on the District not having had theological training, and to this he attributed their vulnerability to Catholic propaganda.

The teaching staffs of the W.F.M.S. schools at Fukuoka and Nagasaki were reinforced in 1888-90 by several new recruits.† These additions made it possible for Elizabeth Russell to take a much needed furlough after more than nine years of continuous service, and for Emma J. Everding, who had been overcome by serious illness, to return home for recuperation.[119]

Somewhat conflicting judgments prevailed concerning religious conditions in Kyushu in 1891. Charles Bishop, reporting to the Conference in the absence of Davison, was optimistic:

> The Nagasaki church can . . . report a year of prosperity, and with respect to the residents in the city it has been unprecedented.
>
> For *thirty* years the city people presented a well-nigh impregnable barrier to the advance of Christianity. But the present pastor has succeeded in bringing several of the residents of the city to Christ, and it is found desirable to divide the church and form a new one for them.[120]

The Conference committee on education in its report on Cobleigh said:

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* Herbert B. Johnson (1858-1925) was received on trial in the Wyoming Conference in 1883. He was pastor at Luzerne, Pa. (1883-86), and Plains, Pa. (1886-87). At the August, 1888, Japan Conference his transfer was recorded and he was appointed to Cobleigh Seminary (1888-94). He was dean of Anglo-Japanese College and principal of its preparatory department, 1894-96. He returned from furlough in 1897 and held various positions in the Japan Conference until 1904 when he became Superintendent of the Pacific Japanese Mission and a member of the California Conference in 1906. He received the B.D. degree from Drew Theological Seminary in 1894; S.T.D., University of the Pacific, 1907. He was the author of *Introduction to the New Testament*, and *Discrimination Against the Japanese in California*, as well as a contributor to various religious periodicals.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *Alumni Record of Drew Theological Seminary . . . 1867-1925*, William Pearson Tolley, Ed., p. 152.

† The recruits during 1888-90 were: Miss Belle J. Allen, sent by the Cincinnati Branch, who arrived at Fukuoka on Sept. 28, 1888; also, in September of the same year Miss Anna Van Zandt Bing of the Cincinnati Branch arrived to take charge of the musical department of Kwassui Jo Gakko; Miss Louisa Imhof from the Topeka Branch came in March, 1889, to direct the industrial department of the school. In 1890 Miss Martha E. Taylor of the Northwestern Branch reached Japan and was sent to Fukuoka.

> The past year has been the most difficult in some respects of any year the school has seen. The opposition to Christianity in the patronizing territory has been greater, and the financial difficulties more trying than any we have previously met. The Preparatory school was discontinued for a time . . . . There has been an enrollment of 105 this year as against 152 last year . . . .[121]

The difficulties and uncertainties attached to the founding and development of a Christian school where a few Japanese guaranteed financial support and religious freedom of action for missionary teachers were again exemplified at Kagoshima, as they previously had been at Yonezawa. In the winter of 1891 two W.F.M.S. missionaries arrived in the city prepared to open a girls' school. Their earnest efforts were frustrated by impossible demands and lack of the financial support which had been promised[*] and somewhat later the school was closed. In January, 1892, two women missionaries returned and with the assistance of two Japanese workers conducted four Sunday schools, women's meetings, and a boys' Bible class, and did some visiting in three towns other than Kagoshima.[122]

I. H. Correll, who in 1891 had been appointed Presiding Elder of the Nagasaki District, reported at the 1892 Conference an upsurge of religious interest. "Its greatest force was felt in Nagasaki, Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Yanagawa, and Kagoshima," although several other places also felt its influence. The W.F.M.S. also noted a change in attitude among property owners in Nagasaki. While four years earlier it was next to impossible to rent a house from a Japanese landlord for any Christian purpose, in 1892 there were eleven Sunday schools and nine industrial classes in different parts of the city held in rented quarters. The city church (Kojiyamachi), organized in the preceding year, had developed a remarkable amount of strength and activity. The Deshima (Nagasaki) church, whose membership was composed almost entirely of students and teachers of the two Methodist schools, also had enjoyed a spiritually fruitful year.

While a strong Christian influence prevailed in Cobleigh Seminary at the close of the 1891-92 school year "almost every student . . . [leaving] the institution a professing Christian," a disappointing decrease of enrollment occurred. Correll attributed this to three principal causes: the cutting off of financial aid to students; the prevailing unrest; and the growth of a nationalistic spirit, which militated against all schools under missionary (*i.e.,* foreign) control. It had become necessary, in his opinion, if the school was to be maintained at its former level, for the head of the institution to be a Japanese. Accordingly, at the 1895 Conference the school was put under a board of managers consisting of four Japanese, four missionaries, and the president, *ex officio,* all required to be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

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[*] R. Ella Forbes sailed for Japan in the fall of 1889 under the auspices of the Northwestern Branch. After a period of language study she arrived in Kagoshima on Jan. 22, 1891. A few weeks later Miss Grace Tucker (New York Branch), recently arrived in Japan, joined Miss Forbes. Disappointed in their attempt to open a school, they resigned. In 1892 Miss Forbes returned to America broken in health. In July, 1891, Miss Tucker was appointed to the Fukuoka Girls' School, in association with Miss Seeds.

A second visit to the Ryukyu Islands was made early in 1892, this time by I. H. Correll, who was convinced that missionary work should be begun there. At the July, 1892, Conference, Nagano Chiujo was appointed as the first Methodist missionary. While he found many obstacles in the way he had greater success than had been anticipated and was able at the end of the year to report several full members and fourteen probationers. The Circuit was renamed Okinawa at the 1893 Conference. Chiujo appealed for help, especially for work among the women. Mrs. Inoue, a Bible woman, was sent, accompanied by Mrs. Van Petten who went to aid in getting the women's work started.

The Deshima (Nagasaki) Epworth League, the first in Japan,* organized in 1891, reported in 1893 eighty members. The young women of the League conducted eleven mission Sunday schools, while the young men supplied two—part of the time three—preaching places.[123]

A much needed church building at Kumamoto was dedicated in December, 1893, and a chapel on one of the main streets of Nagasaki was completed in May, 1894. The Presiding Elder was unable to report any numerical growth during the Conference year (1893-94) and his report sounded a note of discouragement. He appealed to the Missionary Society for reinforcement, saying that it would be impossible for him to continue very long "carrying the burden of the work alone." He also expressed disappointment in not having received more help from the Bishop† "in arranging for . . . [the] work in Nagasaki" which, he said, had been "so much crippled." [124]

Accounts of the W.F.M.S. work, while less doleful than Correll's, had in them few notes of cheer—personnel depleted, aggressive work rendered impossible, "that already organized, crippled"; "influence circumscribed." The girls' school (Kwassui Jo Gakko) had prospered—154 enrolled, of whom 123 were boarding pupils—yet there were "greater difficulties to contend against than in any former year." Five of the missionaries had gone home and only three replacements had come. However, before the close of the year Miss Lola M. Kidwell, from the Cincinnati Branch, arrived. The 1895 enrollment was 187, again an increase. The dedication of a chapel in June provided a much appreciated addition to school facilities. An American woman physician, Dr. Mary A. Suganuma, arrived in 1894 and opened a dispensary (in 1895, the Kwassui Dispensary and Hospital). While she was not a member of the mission, she worked in close association with it and rendered a great service. During her first year she treated 853 patients.

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* The second Epworth League chapter was organized in Nagoya in 1892. Within five years there were five Epworth League chapters in Japan.

† Bishop W. X. Ninde held the 1894 Japan Conference. In a letter to Secretary A. B. Leonard, under date of Oct. 1, 1884, Correll said: The Bishop "was in Kobe some 10 or 12 days I understand. Of course we have no work there and I do not see why he should stop there so long . . . . He was in Japan about 3½ months and of that he spent about 3½ hours in Nagasaki. Do you not think I have some reason for complaint?"—Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.

The return of Epperson R. Fulkerson from furlough in November, 1894, and his assignment to Cobleigh Seminary, somewhat relieved the situation in the general work but was not, in Correll's view, sufficient:

> We are greatly in need of a large increase in our working force. The field is still an undeveloped Mission field, and cannot be developed with the force now at work. The attention the people generally are giving to the preaching of the Gospel, is decidedly on the increase and the opposition at different points is waning. In consequence of this, the opportunities for aggressive work have greatly increased and our desire is to take advantage of them . . . .[125]

There were no developments of special significance in connection with any of the churches during the year. Evangelistic work for women superintended by Mrs. Van Petten was carried on chiefly by twelve Bible women in eight cities of Kyushu and in the Ryukyu Islands. At a Bible institute, held in January, 1895, all but one of the women were present. Baptisms during the year numbered sixty-nine, including ten children. Total number of church members on the District was 485. Of these 119 were probationers.

NAGOYA DISTRICT

At the August, 1887, Conference the Nagoya District was organized with ten Circuits.[*] The area, which was large, mountainous, and difficult to travel, had previously formed a part of the Yokohama District. W. C. Davidson was appointed Presiding Elder but unexpectedly departed for the United States, leaving the District unprovided for. To fill the vacant post Bishop Warren appointed C. S. Long, who arrived in Japan from furlough December 1. Because of scarlet fever in his family he was prevented until January 15 from entering upon his work. During the remaining months of the Conference year he visited all of the charges twice, some of them three times, and two four times, traveling more than two thousand miles.[126]

At Nagoya, where Toranosuke Yamada had been the energetic and faithful pastor for two years, the church was in favor with many of the officials and other prominent men of the city. Six years earlier the prejudice against foreigners and Christianity was so strong that "even extensive advertisement in the papers and great personal effort" failed to assemble a respectable audience for Joseph Cook of Boston, although in Tokyo and Yokohama he had been heard by immense audiences. Now the situation, as pictured by Long, was very different.

> When [I was] in the city a few days ago the mayor, who has held his office twelve years, allowed me the use of the city council chamber for holding religious services. He also issued, at his own expense, invitation cards, bearing the names and subjects of the speakers, and stamped with his official seal, and sent them

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[*] The ten Circuits of the Nagoya District in 1887 were: Azumi; Ebimura and Shinshiro; Iida; Matsumoto; Matsushiro and Nagano; Nishio; Nagoya and Gifu; Tahara; Takato and Sakashita; and Toyohashi. Azumi sometimes appears in *Minutes* as Adzusa, Azusa and Adzumi. Prevailing spelling later is Azume.

> to all the government officials, teachers, and men of note and influence throughout the city. As a result the large hall was crowded with the very best men and women of the place. . . .
>
> In order to further show his friendship to us and, let us hope, his appreciation of the doctrines we represent, this enthusiastic official gave our party . . . a reception and a magnificent dinner at one of the chief hotels, as did also the faculties of the two leading government schools, two or three days later.[127]

Long considered Nagoya, with its 360,000 population, "surrounded by an innumerable number of thriving towns and villages," the most important center for Christian work in the District. In October, 1888, Mary A. Danforth, assisted by Long, opened a girls' school (Seiryu Jo Gakko)* in the city. The school began with thirty-four pupils and closed its first year, despite woefully inadequate facilities, with eighty-six. Toyohashi, an important military post—the largest town occupied by the mission between Nagoya and Yokohama—was the head of a Circuit of three points. The Society had thirty-two members. As in other Districts, and in so many of the mission fields of the Church, progress was hindered by an inadequate supply of preachers. Three or four of the charges were without pastors for all or a major part of the year. The Iida Circuit had been without a pastor for two years yet had increased its membership. The Matsumoto church was organized into a "Working Society," each member pledged to give at least one day's labor each week to the making of useful articles, the proceeds to be added to the building fund.

At the 1889 Conference Long gave a good account of the churches.

> All the interests and institutions of the Church have been carefully guarded and maintained. Class meetings, prayer meetings and Sunday schools have been well kept up, and our Love Feasts have been seasons of great spiritual profit and enjoyment. 'Watch Night' services were held in most of the Churches. The Quarterly Conferences have been well attended, and the progress indicated by carefully prepared reports show that faithful and effectual work is being done by all the officials of the Church . . . .
>
> The number of families observing family worship has greatly increased . . . . Local Preachers and Exhorters have been more active and their labors more acceptable and successful than in any previous year. . . . Several societies are laboring with commendable zeal to provide suitable houses of worship.[128]

Another beginning was made at Nagano and new work started at Nakayama and Tajimi.

On October 13, 1889, a new church was dedicated at Nagoya costing $2,400., of which the members contributed $1,200. It was built on a central corner lot, one of the choicest locations in the city. Five hundred persons were present at the dedication.

During 1890 severe opposition developed at almost every point on the

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* Mary E. Wilson, "who was making a tour of the world with her father . . . seeing the great need, consented to remain [with Miss Danforth] and teach for the year." At the end of the year she decided to remain with the school indefinitely and was accepted by the New York Branch as a regular missionary.—*Twentieth Ann. Rep., W.F.M.S.* (1889), p. 47.

District. At Nagoya antagonism was "especially severe and persistent, amounting at times to open persecution and even to personal violence." The church was stoned so frequently that it was impossible to keep glass in the windows. To avoid mob violence "quiet services" were conducted at the homes of church members instead of public halls. A few Christians yielded to the pressure and ceased to attend worship services. At the close of the Conference year Long* left for America on furlough. Three months later word was received of his death.[129]

At the July, 1890, Conference only six Circuits were listed. W. S. Worden was appointed Presiding Elder. The persecution of the Nagoya church continued, for three months "severe and violent," but this seemed to intensify rather than to decrease the religious interest. Five weeks of special meetings saw men "convicted of sin, Christians . . . awakened and led to a higher view of Christian life, and some . . . brought into the church." The revival spirit spread to other places, especially to Gifu, Nishio, and Toyohashi. About sixty received baptism. Atsuta, a city of 20,000, a stronghold of Buddhism, three miles from Nagoya, was entered and a dozen men became interested in the Christian religion. Preaching places were established at Teppo cho in Nagoya, and at three nearby towns: Biwajima, Komaki, and Ushiyama, and also at Kitagata, near Gifu. Worden gave credit to Kanichi Miyama for much of the success of the year. Miss Danforth also gave high praise to the Japanese teachers of the girls' school for their "splendid work." In the autumn of 1890 a Ladies' Benevolent Society was organized in Nagoya whose active philanthropic work helped considerably toward breaking down prejudice and opposition. The society opened a dispensary and hospital in which two physicians contributed their services. A Methodist Bible woman lived in the dispensary.[130]

On October 28, 1891, an earthquake in the Nagoya region wrought terrific devastation. Lesser shocks continued for days. Ten thousand people were killed, 15,000 injured, and a hundred thousand houses destroyed. The missionaries resident in the city organized the Nagoya Earthquake Relief Association, with W. S. Worden as president. Relief was administered in temporary hospitals, and in huts and tents erected for shelter. For weeks food, clothing, blankets, bandages and medicines were distributed to suffering people. Self-help associations were organized and several hundred looms supplied to them. The relief work of the missionaries and non-Christian foreigners did much to break down the previously existing walls of prejudice and hatred. In towns where before the earthquake preaching services could not be held, audiences numbering hundreds listened gladly to Gospel messages.

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* Carroll Summerfield Long (1850-90) was born near Athens, Tenn., one of a family of twelve children. He graduated from the East Tennessee Wesleyan University in 1875 and in 1886 received the Ph.D. degree. He was received into the Holston Conference on trial in 1875 (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1875, p. 129) and was appointed to Asheville, N. C. He was instrumental in founding Chandler College and Powell's Valley Seminary. On his arrival in Japan in 1880 he was appointed to educational work in Nagasaki where "by means of a special fund, personally collected, supplemented by a grant from the Missionary Society, he founded Cobleigh Seminary." In April, 1885, because of impaired health he returned to the United States. After serving for two years as Presiding Elder in the North Carolina Conference he returned to Japan in the fall of 1887. Again in America, in 1890 he accepted the position of associate editor of the *Methodist Advocate* (Chattanooga), but within a few weeks became suddenly ill and died on Sept. 4. He was a man of indomitable energy, of burning zeal, and of intense faith.—Obituary, *Minutes, Japan Conference,* 1891, pp. 63 f.

The new church at Nagoya sustained only slight damage and teachers and pupils of the Seiryu Jo Gakko came through the disaster unscathed. On July 5, 1892, the first commencement of the school was held. Two pupils who had completed the four years' course received diplomas.[131]

At Atsuta and at Gifu new churches were built during the year to replace chapels destroyed by the earthquake and Societies were organized at Atsuta and Komaki. Twenty-one persons were received into full membership at Nagoya.

Substantial growth was registered in churches of the District during the Conference year 1892-93. A few seemed to lose ground. Effort was abandoned at Kitagata and Kozuchi was substituted as a preaching place. At Shinshiro where in 1891 the work gave promise of success the pastor in 1893 "was tried . . . found guilty of negligence of duty, and his license was taken away." At the July, 1893, Conference David S. Spencer was appointed Presiding Elder. He found "Buddhist opposition to Christian work still determined." He felt that a mistake had been made by scattering efforts in too many little towns; that work should be concentrated more in natural centers and from them extended gradually to outlying regions. On the Gifu Circuit the chief work was in the city of Gifu, a sizable center of 35,000. No Society had been organized, although there were twelve full members and seven probationers, with a church building. A married pastor was needed, and a Bible woman. Preaching was maintained at Kozuchi, twelve miles away, and at Hachiman, thirty-two miles distant. A church was dedicated at Komaki on October 8, 1893, and on the evening of the same day "Buddhist friends made . . . a formal call, smashed the lamps, *shoji,* and doors, and made their call generally interesting."

This year (1893) six young women were graduated from Seiryu Jo Gakko* of whom three were "earnest, working Christians." Seventy-five pupils were enrolled, many of whom became members of the King's Daughters' Society, active in benevolent and relief work. Spencer highly commended the work of the Bible women in several of the churches, especially the help which they gave to the Sunday schools.[132]

As was the case with other Districts Nagoya was greatly affected by the turbulence and distraction of the Sino-Japanese war. The city was the center of a Military Division and the war spirit dominated the interests and thoughts of the whole population. As a consequence, all Christian work was much hindered during 1894-95. Several of the most active men of the Nagoya First Church were drafted for military service and the church felt the loss of their help. In Nishio a series of special evangelistic services in which a stereopticon was used drew large numbers of people, including prominent men of the city. The pastor and members went out to nearby cities to hold meetings, including Nakashima, Yokosuka, Terazu, Ishiki, and Ohama, and awakened considerable interest. The once strong Society at Ebimura had dwindled to about four families but by personal work Spencer and the pastor brought about some improvement. At Shinshiro much interest was shown in the Sunday school. At Toyohashi the membership was increased and congregations and Sunday school outgrew the rented quarters.[133]

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* At the July, 1893, Conference Mary E. Wilson was appointed principal of Seiryu Jo Gakko, Miss Danforth having returned to America on leave because of failing health. In October Miss Carrie A. Heaton arrived, sent by the Northwestern Branch. Harriet S. Alling, after eight years' teaching in the Aoyama schools, transferred from the General Society to the W.F.M.S. She returned to Japan in 1894 under the Northwestern Branch and at the July, 1894, Conference was appointed principal of Seiryu Jo Gakko.—L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.,* pp. 51, 82, 85, 90.

Pressure was brought to bear for the girls' school in Nagoya to conform more closely to the curriculum of the government schools, but in Miss Alling's judgment to do this would lower the academic standard. The withdrawal of three teachers—all for valid reasons—left the school without a Christian teacher other than the two missionaries. While there was no opposition there was an evident lack of interest in the Bible studies. While, near the close of the year, three students were baptized, the principal did not feel too happy over conditions and the results of the year's work. In June five Bible women were employed on the District, engaged in numerous types of Christian activity, and it was generally felt that much good was accomplished.[134]

At the July, 1895, Conference appointments were made to nine Circuits and Stations. Members numbered 311—full members, 230; probationers, 81—as compared with 544—full members, 376; probationers, 168—reported in 1888.

SENDAI DISTRICT

The Sendai District was established at the July, 1890, Conference by taking Morioka from the Aomori District; and Sendai, Shirakawa, Yamagata and Tendo, and Yonezawa Circuits from the Tokyo District. The territory comprised "four prefectures, five provinces, five cities, several small towns, and a population of almost 3,000,000." Sogo Matsumoto was appointed Presiding Elder. Other than two W.F.M.S. women there were no missionaries on the District. The Japanese preachers included one elder, four probationary members of Conference, and one Local Preacher. At Morioka eight persons were baptized during the year and at Sendai the same number. The Sendai church completed the liquidation of a troublesome debt and achieved entire self-support. The Shirakawa church, which for several years had been under the handicap of a different preacher each year, regained "its former strength" through the earnest effort of J. Yajima, a Local Preacher. In all, twenty-eight persons on the District were baptized during the year.[135]

At Yamagata in 1892 K. Iida, the pastor, by faithful and patient work succeeded in interesting as seekers a number of high police officers, physicians, and schoolteachers. At Tendo and at Handa on the Yamagata Circuit there were a few members in Classes, and at Shigashine and Tateoka—also in the vicinity of Yamagata—a few believers remained, the remnant of church organizations of earlier years. To restore these places to their former strength, Matsumoto insisted, at least one additional preacher was required. Later in the year (1892) a pastor was assigned to Tendo, Sanshiro Kokita, who "infused life into the Church." In 1893 the Sendai church had the misfortune of having a pastor who did not have the interest of the church on his heart but the situation was saved by Miss Phelps who at the July, 1892, Conference was appointed to the District for evangelistic work and made her home at Sendai. She opened a Saturday school for children, was made responsible for the Sunday school, taught two Bible classes, and opened a school for poor children who had no other school privileges. Through her efforts attendance at the Sunday services was increased. Matsumoto considered himself incapable of adequately characterizing her service. It was, he said, "love [exemplified] in practical deeds." The church at Morioka, which this year reported fifty full members, included in its membership many of the businessmen of the city.[136]

To the great satisfaction of the Sendai Methodists H. W. and Mrs. Schwartz returned from America in 1894 and, as always, engaged earnestly in every branch of the Church's work. In the company of K. Kimura Dr. Schwartz visited Yonezawa, Yamagata, Tendo, and Sakai, giving helpful illustrated lectures to large audiences.

Matsumoto's fourth report as Presiding Elder at the July, 1895, Conference was tinged deeply with disappointment:

> I closed my last year's report full of expectation for this year; but the year has passed and I am again here to report little improvement in our work. Since the [Japan-China] war broke out, people have talked about and listened to no other subject . . . .

The Sendai church under the leadership of Tokumatsu Ikeda, appointed pastor at the 1893 Conference, had grown in every way. Ikeda was respected by the people of the city and there were "many seekers of the Gospel among the young men." However, there were only three baptisms during the year. At Yamagata "the conversion of certain influential men . . . helped sustain the church." Miss Phelps this year (1894-95) superintended the work of five Bible women. Church membership of the District as reported at the 1895 Conference was 355; full members, 313; probationers, 42. Church buildings numbered five. Twelve Sunday schools enrolled 542 pupils.[137]

FUKUOKA DISTRICT

The Fukuoka District, with Saehachi Kurimura as Presiding Elder, was formed at the July, 1893, Conference by the division of the Nagasaki District. When organized it had six charges.* In area it was the smallest District in the Conference yet it embraced two large prefectures, Fukuoka and Saga, with their capital cities of considerable size—Yanagawa and Kurume. In sharp contrast to the long and tiresome trips other Presiding Elders were required to make in reaching their appointments the Presiding Elder of the Fukuoka District could visit almost any one of the churches by leaving home in the morning and returning in the evening. Yet there were in the District twenty towns of more than one thousand houses and a large number of villages of three to five hundred houses.

The largest Society in the District was Fukuoka, with about eighty members. Concerning the church Kurimura said at the 1894 Conference:

> Fukuoka church seems to be stationary, neither advancing nor retreating. Today is just the same as yesterday. Of course there is some increase of members, but when we make up the balance of accessions and withdrawals there is found to be no change. Nevertheless when we think of the internal condition of this church, we must thank God . . . for the church is becoming stronger and more substantial.

Omuta, connected with Miike, was new and it had been difficult to secure a preaching place. Subscriptions to the amount of one hundred yen had been received toward building a chapel. No preacher was available for Kurume though it was an important city. The Fukuoka pastor preached there once a month. Miss Leonora Seeds, a graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University, was appointed at the July, 1891, Conference as principal of the Fukuoka Girls' School (Fukuoka Jo Gakko). At the same time Miss Grace Tucker, who for a time assisted Miss Forbes in Kagoshima, also was appointed to the Fukuoka school, and later as superintendent of Bible women's work. On June 28, 1894, two girls were graduated, the first to finish the complete course. The school this year enrolled seventy-four pupils. The older pupils assisted in the five Sunday schools of the city. Five Bible women were engaged in evangelistic work in the District.[138]

At the 1894 Conference Kurume was supplied with a preacher by the appointment of Makoto Shirozu. When he was appointed "there were only three or four Christians." At its close six full members and two probationers were reported. The District as a whole had 238 members, of whom forty-four were probationers.

SHINSHU DISTRICT

In 1893 the Shinshu region, first visited—it will be recalled—by Correll in 1877, was set off as a separate District with six appointments,† all formerly included in the Yokohama District. The region was the greatest silk-producing section of Japan, with a population of approximately 1,225,000. G. F. Draper was appointed Presiding Elder but illness in his family made it necessary for him to leave the field in the middle of the year. J. G. Cleveland was then appointed in his stead. There was no substantial advance made on the District during the year.

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* The six charges of the Fukuoka District in 1893 were: Fukuoka, Kokura and Ashiya; Kurume; Miike; Saga; and Yanagawa.

† The six charges of the Shinshu District in 1893-94 were: Azume; Iida; Kami-Ina; Matsumoto; Matsushiro; and Takato.

In the towns of Inariyama and Omi on the Matsushiro Circuit preaching services were held for the first time. Also at Kiso, a mountain-locked town on the Kami-Ina Circuit, the first Christian service was held. No other denomination had work in any of these places. In Iida, a large town, where the Methodist Society was likewise the only church, Draper felt that it "had not measured up to its responsibilities." In 1894 the Shinshu District was discontinued and all of its charges again included in the Yokohama District. Shinshu reported at the 1894 Conference 147 full members and sixty-two probationers. No church on the District, with one exception (Matsushiro), reported more than twenty-nine full members.[139]

Twenty-Two Years of the Japan Mission

In 1895 the Japan Conference had in its nine Districts eighty pastoral charges with 3,371 full members and 668 probationers. The Conference had sixty-nine ministerial members of whom eighteen were American missionaries and fifty-one were Japanese. Of the missionaries two were appointed to Gospel Societies; six to educational work; one to the Publishing House; and two were on furlough. Of W.F.M.S. missionaries there were this year twenty-three on the field, of whom nineteen were engaged in schoolwork of one kind or another and four in the women's evangelistic program. There were also nine missionaries' wives who held appointments as evangelistic workers. The Conference had forty-four Local Preachers; 123 Sunday schools with 6,144 pupils; forty-two church buildings; and fourteen parsonages. At the 1894 Conference the Aoyama Gakuin, Tokyo, reported an enrollment of 135 students, of whom twenty-two were in the Biblical Institute and 113 in the college and preparatory department. Chinzei Gakkwan (Cobleigh), Nagasaki, enrolled seventy-four students. There were eleven boarding schools in 1895 under W.F.M.S. auspices with 725 pupils, and eighteen day schools with 1,819 pupils. The churches during the Conference year 1894-95 paid 159.95 yen toward general missions and 456.66 toward home missions (support of the Conference missionary in Okinawa), besides contributions to several other church benevolences. They contributed 2,486 yen toward support of their pastors. The net gain in full members during the year was ninety-three but there was a decrease of sixty probationers.[140]

Although Japan was open to the West the forces resistant to religion were strong and deeply rooted in Japanese life and thought. The deputations sent to study the ways of Western nations were limited to political and social institutions. Religion was not included within the scope of their inquiry.

In Japan the ancient ways were particularly tenacious. This seems a paradox, for was not the nation inviting guidance into new ways from the West? In one sense, yes; but more profoundly, no. The search for new light and leading from the West was genuine but to few if any Japanese did it mean giving up any of the deeply cherished values of the past. Rather, "the things men . . . live by" were to be enhanced, certainly not discarded. They might be reinterpreted in terms of whatever new wisdom or power could be gained from world contacts but the ancient ways, so tenaciously held, would be as sacredly adhered to as in the past. In essence these "ancient ways," expressed in simplest terms, were national loyalty and filial devotion. Of these the former, which centered in the veneration of the emperor, or "emperor cult," was probably the stronger. According to it the emperor was descended from the gods and was himself divine. The imperial line, in the words used in the new constitution promulgated in 1890, constituted "a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal." It invested the emperor with the dignity and sanction of divinity and made disloyalty a sacrilege. Openly to deny these beliefs was considered treasonous. The cult bound every citizen into the national entity and made him the blood brother or son of the emperor. This thoroughly integrated thought system found its spiritual expression in Shinto, "the way of the gods," which through the village shrine and the household "god-shelf" penetrated almost every essential interest and activity of the individual, the family, the neighborhood, and the nation. To understand how Shinto was interwoven into the total fabric of Japanese civilization and life is to comprehend how difficult it was for Christian missions to make converts in Japan, and why so many of those who yielded to the persuasion of the missionaries and were baptized and enrolled as church members later fell away.

Of the three principal religions of Japan—Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism—Shinto was by far the most formidable. During the period of which we have written the belief was cultivated among all classes of Japanese that a close connection existed between Shinto as the national cult and the maintenance of the imperial dignity of the emperor and of the Japanese government.

Buddhism as it was developed in India was profoundly modified after it entered Japan. Indeed, it is not too much to say that after a few centuries much that was believed and stressed was the exact opposite of the early Buddhism of India. Nirvana, the dogma of extinction, for example, had become an unspeakably beautiful and charming paradise which offered ample compensation for the ills and pain of earthly existence. It transformed the Shinto gods into incarnations of the Buddha. Like Shinto it proliferated into many sects founded by the Japanese. In other ways, while continuing to be thought of as a missionary religion from the outside world, it had become thoroughly domesticated to Japan's ancient ways. Some of its later temples were scarcely distinguishable from Shinto shrines. There was nothing incompatible between the two religions so that the majority of Japanese practiced the twofold religious life.

The introduction of the new religious teachings tended to stir conservative adherents of the old religions to their depths. Their leaders well knew that the new imperiled the old and were alerted into a hostility which found various forms of expression.

Despite this resistance the missionaries did not have to wait such an interminable time as in some other fields to see first fruits of their evangelistic labors. In sharp contrast with China where ten years passed before the first convert was baptized, in Japan within the second year, as we have seen, Maclay was able to report that a number of persons had united with the Church on probation, within four years more than a hundred converts had been received into membership, nine young men had been licensed as Local Preachers, and Classes had been formed at all Stations.

Nevertheless, the membership of the churches increased slowly and at the end of a little more than two decades many of the Societies had fewer than a score of full members. Undoubtedly a larger missionary force would have contributed to more rapid growth. As in China and India the number of missionaries during the entire period was incommensurate to the immensity of the task. Bishop Wiley, in writing of his visit to Japan in 1878, deplored the fact that so few missionaries had been sent to the field.

> In my deliberate opinion there has never been any thing like . . . [the situation in Japan] in the history of missions; and yet, in the midst of all these great birth-throes of a nation of thirty-five millions, coming forth into a new and better life, all that the great Methodist Church of the United States has been doing for five years, is to sustain one family in each of four great centers, and two families in another.[141]

The evangelistic approach of the missionaries was in the nature of a frontal attack. A central emphasis on individual decision without reference to national customs or social relationships was the accepted pattern. In all evangelistic efforts the criterion of success was conversion, interpreted as a new start with insistence upon the abandonment of former customs and beliefs, of cherished loyalties, and membership in a church of the American pattern. The absolute break was dramatized by requiring public baptism for admission to the Church. In all of this the missionaries were simply following the precedent set by revivalism as they had experienced and practiced it in America. The result was inevitable. There was nothing which even remotely resembled an incipient mass movement. Year by year every missionary hoped that there might be a break, with large numbers entering the Church, and every year the hope was disappointed. Under the conditions which existed in Japan there was no reason to expect it. In Japan as in China and India the missionaries of this period in general failed to realize that missionary strategy required a study of conditions entirely different from those which prevailed in the country from which they came. The inquiring minds of the Japanese, the eagerness with which the more able of the preachers were listened to, and the ready acceptance of many of the basic teachings of the Gospel suggest that had the churches emphasized less a particular ecclesiastical organization and polity many more might have been enlisted as Christian disciples. As it was, the only alternative offered to multitudes who could not bring themselves to break absolutely with the social and political order was secret discipleship.

Special meetings were often held at the principal centers in which missionaries and Japanese pastors preached. Many of these meetings were attended by eager audiences which filled the halls and chapels to capacity but as a rule very few registered as converts and united with the churches. An outstanding exception to this occurred in 1877, when after a ten-day meeting held by Correll some three hundred people handed in their names as inquirers. Eleven years later in the same town six hundred people gathered into a public theater to hear a religious address by C. S. Long. Yet after a Methodist Society had been in existence for seventeen years (1895) it registered only thirty-three members. Pastors in many places drew sizable audiences to their week-by-week preaching to listen to Gospel messages yet only a few became candidates for baptism and church membership.

In a significant number of cases men and women were moved by the personal influence of missionaries, Japanese pastors, and lay members to enter upon a serious study of the Scriptures, to engage in long deliberation, and to enlist for a protracted period of training, and finally took the decisive step and united with the Church, thereby to varying extents disassociating themselves from the traditional relationships with family, community, and national life. A few rooted families of standing in local communities, and a few outstanding men in the higher levels of political life, managed to find the synthesis of the new with the old and became faithful, widely influential members of the Church.

Evidence from the records makes it clear that methods and procedures of thorough training for church membership were not used to the extent which prevailed, for example, in North India. Some of the missionary leaders recognized and deplored the lack of adequate preliminary training of inquirers. G. F. Draper in commenting on retrogression in membership in two or three places on the Yokohama District in 1891 said that it was principally because of "undue haste in administering baptism." Two years later he recurred to the same theme, saying there was general recognition of need for "greater carefulness in the admission of members," and for those admitted to "understand better than in former days the duties and responsibilities that church membership involves." One of the strongest statements was made by Cleveland in 1895:

> We, along with other churches, are suffering from the evil effects of baptising and bringing into the church scores of people who knew not into what they were being baptised, and consequently our statistics have shown a fictitious, rather than a real growth. In view of this I have felt the necessity of a careful revision of the church records everywhere. This has been done by the pastors after due consultation with the leaders and stewards, and while it has resulted in a marked decrease in the total membership, I feel that the reports can be relied on as being more accurate.[142]

On some of the principal charges the six years 1889-95 registered a net loss in membership. Not less than eight churches, including Aomori, Hirosaki, Fukuoka, Matsumoto, Nagoya, Tsukiji and Kanda (Tokyo), and Yokohama, had fewer members—counting full members and probationers—in 1895 than in 1889. Kumamoto, Sendai, Hakodate, and Aoyama (Tokyo) had made marked gains. However, in a few cases new Societies formed during the six years had drawn some members away from the older churches. Also, the total number of charges had considerably increased during the period.

While these losses reflected insufficient preparation for church membership, another factor undoubtedly entered in. It is to be noted that the recession occurred chiefly during the years of reaction from the earlier period of admiration and adulation of the West. Many people had embraced church membership for the added social prestige that it gave them among a certain proportion of the population. For them profession of religion was a badge of their westernization, rather than profound Christian conviction. When the tide turned they fell away. In evidence of this we find such statements in Presiding Elders' reports as that of Correll in 1892, "there have been 72 unworthy persons expelled or dropped from the Church Rolls during the year," and D. S. Spencer's statement in 1894 that a very small net gain on the Nagoya District was accounted for by "dropping worthless names" from membership rolls.

The missionaries' high evaluation of education as a means of evangelization is evidenced by the considerable proportion who were appointed year after year to the schools, although acute need was felt for more and more men to supply vacant churches and to respond to the many calls for establishment of work in new centers. The distribution of virtually the entire missionary personnel of both the Missionary Society and the W.F.M.S. coincided with the location of schools. Tokyo, Nagasaki, Sendai, Hirosaki—and for the women Hakodate and Fukuoka also—were chiefly teaching posts. Edwin O. Reischauer's statement in his *The United States and Japan* that "missionaries [to Japan] from the start concentrated on education and in cooperation with native believers built up many of the pioneer schools both for boys and girls" is true of the Methodist as well as Presbyterian, Congregational, and some other missions.[143] In fact, no other denomination exceeded the Methodists in the number or size of the schools which they sponsored.

The schools gave stability to the work and vastly widened the sphere of Christian influence beyond the borders of the Churches.

The contribution of the schools to evangelization was both direct and indirect. Year after year they reported the conversion of pupils, in some cases by the year of graduation a large majority or all of the members of a class having become Christians. It is probably not too much to say that the schools were the most effective means of recruiting and training for the Christian life and church membership. This is one principal reason why Japanese Christians have been very largely from the better educated of the population. In the second place the schools very soon became the recruiting ground for the ministry. Japanese pastors who within a surprisingly few years constituted the majority of the members of the Conference were mostly graduates of the schools.[*]

The Church was fortunate in its early missionary personnel. Maclay, who from the beginning of his career in China was an effective missionary, gave exceptional leadership. His experience in China had given him confidence, sureness of judgment, and tact in working with his fellow missionaries. The other four of the first contingent were strong men, with capabilities of leadership, cooperative and adaptable, and with the quality of endurance. There were also many capable men among those who came later. But, unfortunately, the selection was not always carefully made with a view to suitability for work with the Japanese. Where courtesy and sensitivity in personal contacts are required, as well as integrity of character, the qualifications are exacting. Some of the missionaries of the later years possessed this combination, but not all. Several evidenced a certain roughness or crudeness which made them unacceptable to the Japanese. Several were not well adjusted in their relations with their fellow missionaries, uncooperative and lacking in charity and brotherly kindness. Moral lapses ruined the career of three. One man[†] after leaving the field frankly confessed his unfitness for missionary service in Japan.

Lack of mastery of the Japanese language acted as a brake upon progress. Some of the missionaries acquired facility in Japanese conversation and a smaller number developed ability in preaching, but few if any studied the written language sufficiently to read with facility or to appreciate Japanese literature.[‡] This would seem to indicate a disregard for a thorough understanding of Japanese culture, philosophy, and religion. Methodist missionaries of this period thought of themselves as evangelists commissioned to convey a final message, and in seeking to fulfill their commission they seemed not to have given much consideration to the spiritual heritage of the Japanese people. It is impossible to cite a single Methodist missionary of these years who was an outstanding scholar in any field of learning, either oriental or occidental. There were few basic books written by early missionaries in Japanese or English, a loss deeply felt through the years.

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[*] As previously noted a goodly proportion of the members of Conference were graduates of To-O-Gijuku in Hirosaki which—while not a mission school—was largely under Methodist influence.

[†] W. C. Kitchin, letter to Secretaries of the Missionary Society, March 9, 1894: ". . . my experience in Japan was a failure. The causes of this failure lay, for the most part, in myself. . . . I never fully learned how to work with the people, despite my most earnest efforts to do so, I never liked them. I tried to conceal my feelings towards them, but, of course, to no purpose. The result was a discontent with my work on my part, a lack of confidence in me by the Japanese, and a failure all around. . . . Serious misunderstandings arose and a continuance in mission work anywhere appeared impossible, and, moreover, I became so thoroughly disheartened that I gave up in despair." (Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.) Kitchin was a missionary in Japan for six years, 1882-88.

[‡] The Board refused to return at least one man to Japan following a furlough because of his failure to acquire Japanese, and in another case rejected the application of a volunteer for service

The Church was fortunate also that men like Tsuda, Honda, Ogata, T. Yamada, H. Yamaka, and others came within the orbit of the Methodist work during the early years. By their stalwart character, intellectual ability, and devoted efforts they did much to give the Church recognition and standing in the national life.

The Japan Mission was notable for the readiness with which native ministers were admitted to ordination and placed in positions of responsibility in the Church. When the Japan Conference was organized, eleven years after the founding of the mission, nineteen of its thirty-two charter members were Japanese—five elders, three deacons, and eleven probationers. At the sixth session of the Conference a Japanese was appointed Presiding Elder, and at the tenth session three were named. Japanese were also given early recognition in the administration of the schools and on the faculties. While many of the Japanese members of Conference felt aggrieved over the existence of the "mission" as a separate organization in which important matters affecting the Church were discussed and decisions reached without consultation, at no time did an open break occur. The interracial character of the Conference was an element of strength, and contributed to mutual understanding, confidence, and cooperation.

In Japan, as in China and India, the tradition of itinerancy operated to the disadvantage of growing local Societies and a developing Church. A lack of continuity was implicit in the custom of annual appointment of every missionary and minister. It was futile to expect much to be accomplished in a single year. Time was required for a pastor to become acquainted with the community, to form friendships with individuals, to win the confidence of the people, and to work intensively with inquirers. Yet missionaries and Japanese pastors were moved about from Hakodate to Nagasaki, from Yokohama to Nagoya, and so forth, like wooden men on a chessboard rather than as individual personalities to be given a chance to become oriented in the social life of a group and rooted in a community. Not only was the mission and, later, the Conference superintended by a succession of American Bishops, strange to the field, in annual rotation, but the Presiding Elders also changed frequently, in some cases year by year.

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in Korea because while in Japan he had not acquired a preaching knowledge of the Japanese language.—C. W. Green to John Wier, Jan. 15, 1891, Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.

The caliber of the W.F.M.S. missionaries, almost without exception, was high and some were women of outstanding ability. Their contribution in establishing, successfully administering, and developing permanent educational institutions was without parallel and constituted a great service to the Church and to the nation. While leadership among the men missionaries was often changed in the Districts, many of the women served steadily in one area, giving the work of evangelization a continuity it otherwise would have lacked. Outstanding, too, was the development of a corps of well-trained Bible women, who in 1895 numbered thirty-four and during the Conference year made 13,287 calls.

Emphasis on the importance of Christian literature and activity in the publication and distribution of Bibles and translation of other important books in many fields of religion, as well as religious pamphlets and tracts, characterized the mission and the Conference from the beginning. The writing and translation of hymns also received special attention.

In the second decade of the Japan Mission the missionaries—both men and women—demonstrated anew the Methodist pioneering spirit. When opportunity offered for missionary extension into the smaller cities, towns, and villages, readiness was never lacking to establish distant outposts of existing Circuits, or even to cross the next mountain range to introduce the Gospel. Some of the Japanese evangelists trained by the missionaries possessed much the same spirit. There is but little question that the area thus opened was too extensive, for the lines often were very thin.* Neither missionaries nor Japanese pastors were available in sufficient number to occupy the ground staked out. Furthermore, the expansion too often represented merely individual initiative, rather than a well-thought-out plan of advance by the Conference or by District councils, with the result that many of the new preaching points suffered from lack of systematic cultivation and adequate support. Comparatively few of the preaching places which attained the status of organized Societies entirely passed out of existence but some had long, intermittent periods of hibernation that were neither good for themselves nor for the communities in which they were located.

Within the brief period of less than two and a half decades a firm foundation had been laid for the building of an indigenous Japanese Christian Church. If attention were fixed solely upon statistics the outlook for Christianity in Japan at the close of the period was not encouraging. But other considerations should be taken into account. The influence of the Christian religion upon Japanese society had increased more rapidly than the membership of the Churches. There were many in public and private life who though they did not call themselves Christians—or even theists—nevertheless had in important particulars been won to the Christian point of view and cherished plans and hopes for Japan based upon Christian ideals.

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* The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Methodist Protestants, and the Canadian Methodists did not attempt the evangelization of anything like the wide expanse undertaken by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Korea Mission

On June 24, 1884, Robert S. Maclay, pioneer Methodist missionary in China and founder of the Japan Mission, called at the United States Legation in Seoul. General Lucius H. Foote, first American minister to Korea, received Maclay cordially and procured a small Korean house near the legation for his use. His party included his wife, an interpreter, and a cook. He had with him two pack horses for carrying baggage.

Maclay had not been appointed as missionary to Korea but commissioned to make a tour of investigation. His purpose was "to test in a quiet way the disposition of the people, to discover . . . the openings and most suitable methods for commencing Christian work in Korea, to ascertain the advantages of Seoul as the place for the headquarters of our proposed Mission, and to determine, if possible, what part of the city would be best for . . . our missionary work." He arrived at Seoul on June 24, 1883, and went by chair into all parts of the city without meeting with any expressions of ill will from the people. He was courteously received by the representatives of Western powers, and ascertained their views as to his Church's mission. He interviewed the Japanese minister, who was much interested, and offered to do anything in his power to help. On July 3 he was notified by Kim Ok Kuin of the foreign office that the king approved the beginning of school and hospital work by the mission.[144]

Maclay's visit occurred two years after the signing of the treaty between Korea and the United States negotiated by Commodore Robert W. Shufeldt, who since his investigation of the affair of the General Sherman* in 1866 had been deeply interested in establishing friendship between the United States and Korea. After abortive efforts in this direction in 1878, as the climax of a commercial and diplomatic cruise around the world he was sent to China in the spring of 1881 as a naval attaché to the American legation, with secret authority to make a treaty.

Korea at this time was under the influence of both Japan and China with the government in power pro-Chinese. When Shufeldt's intention had become known to Li Hung Chang, who was in charge of China's foreign policy, he quickly arranged for Shufeldt to negotiate a treaty through his nation. Final action was not completed until the spring of 1882. Then, on May 22, Shufeldt later reported:

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* The General Sherman ran aground in an attempt to ascend the Ta Tong River and was burned and her crew massacred by a mob. Commodore Shufeldt found that the ship was loaded with contraband arms, her captain a mere adventurer, and that the Korean authorities had no part in the killing of the crew.—H. G. Appenzeller, "The Opening of Korea: Admiral Shufeldt's Account of It," *The Korean Repository,* I (February, 1892), 58 ff.

> the Koreans having provided a tent upon the point at Chemulpo [Inchon] I landed with a staff of officers, and a small guard of men. Having peacefully planted the American flag before the tent and to the tune of Yankee Doodle, I signed the first Treaty ever made between the Hermit Nation and any Western Power.

The treaty accorded to the United States the status of most favored nation and defined the privileges of trade in open ports, but did not mention religious toleration.[145]

In May, 1883, General Lucius H. Foote assumed his duties as United States minister to Korea. The following August the Korean government sent on a special mission to the United States Min Yong Ik, the queen's nephew, and four colleagues of high rank. On the same train that carried this distinguished group across the country to Washington was John F. Goucher, then a leading Board member of the Methodist Missionary Society. Already interested in Korea as a possible mission field[*] he took pains to become acquainted with the members of the mission and was deeply impressed by them. As a result, he wrote to the General Missionary Committee on November 6, 1883, urging that Korea be entered at an early date and offering to provide $2,000. for the purpose. One week later the General Missionary Committee voted that "$5000 be appropriated to the Japan Mission for the purpose of opening Mission Work in Corea of which $2000 is a special donation by Rev. J. F. Goucher." [146]

This action prepared the way for the visit of Maclay in the summer of 1884. The following autumn Dr. Goucher renewed his offer to the General Missionary Committee, adding $3,000. for the purchase of a site for the mission, "Provided a competent ordained Missionary of experience, and a Medical Missionary, both married, shall be placed in that field during the present year." J. M. Reid moved that "Korea be entered upon our mission scheme." [147]

KOREA MISSION ESTABLISHED

Missionaries were soon found, Dr. and Mrs. William B. Scranton[†] and the

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[*] Goucher was by no means alone in his interest in Korea as a mission field. On Jan. 4, 1883, the *Christian Advocate* in an editorial headed "Corea, a New Opening for Missionary Work," gave more than a column and a half to the newly opened country, and ended: "Will the churches in the United States permit the twelve million of souls to whom the pure Gospel is an unknown truth, to be misled by errorists . . . ; or duly heeding the sublime order of their Lord . . . . will they turn their attention to Corea, and make fitting preparation to go and possess it in the Master's name?" (*Christian Advocate,* LVIII [1883], 1 [Jan. 4], 1 f.) Offers of special gifts for Korea came in at once, $2,000. within a month. Late in the year Marcus L. Taft of China, on a health trip to Japan, reported landing at Fusan, Korea, getting a view of the city from a high hill, but not being allowed within the gates.—*Ibid.,* 49 (Dec. 6), 771.

[†] William Benton Scranton was born in New Haven, May 29, 1856. He graduated from Yale in 1878 and from New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1882. That summer he married Miss Louise Arms and settled in Cleveland, Ohio, where he practiced for two years. Then he answered the call for a doctor for Korea, and became the first missionary appointed to that field. He was ordained Dec. 4, 1884, and admitted to New York East Conference the following spring. He was supervisor of Methodist medical work in Seoul throughout his period of service, besides giving much time to the duties of Superintendent of the mission (1892-1901) and to Scripture translation. He resigned June 14, 1907, and took up private practice in Korea. He died in Kobe, Japan, in 1922. A vigorous and versatile man, he lived to the breaking point for his cause.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

Rev. and Mrs. Henry G. Appenzeller.* At the same time the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society appointed Mrs. Mary F. Scranton,† Dr. Scranton's mother, to open work among Korea's secluded women. The party sailed from San Francisco, arrived in Yokohama, Japan, February 27, 1885, and went on to Tokyo for a meeting with Dr. Maclay. In March Bishop Fowler appointed Maclay Superintendent of the Korea Mission, and H. G. Appenzeller, Assistant Superintendent.

Meanwhile, events had occurred in Korea which changed the political picture entirely. On December 4, 1884, a group who had come under Japanese influence attempted in one bloody thrust to overthrow the conservative pro-Chinese government. They were completely repulsed, those who could escaped to Japan, and the conservative element was more firmly seated than ever; but the violence of the émeute brought about a general breakdown of law and an increase in crime which led large numbers of people to flee from Seoul. Japanese influence, on which Maclay had counted, was definitely out. On April 2, 1885, George C. Foulk, who had succeeded General Foote at the legation, wrote to Dr. Maclay, "There is not one officer in the government now to whom the subject of your work could be effectively broached." [148]

Maclay and his young friends, however, were not to be deterred. On Maclay's advice, Mr. and Mrs. Appenzeller set sail on March 23, and reached Inchon, twenty-six miles from Seoul, on Sunday, April 5. Appenzeller wrote to the Board of Missions, "We came here on Easter. May He who on that day burst asunder the bars of death, break the bonds that bind this people, and bring them to the light and liberty of God's children!" But Mrs. Appenzeller, who "first stepped from the sampan upon the bare rocks," soon found that she was an embarrassment rather than a help. The authorities remonstrated with her husband for exposing her to "the unknown perils of this unsettled land," and informed him that "neither . . . [the United States] legation nor that of any other power could promise him protection." Without going farther, the Appenzellers returned to Tokyo.

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* Henry Gerhard Appenzeller was born Feb. 6, 1858, in Souderton, Pa., of a substantial Lutheran family with its roots in Germany and Switzerland. He was converted in a revival meeting in a Presbyterian church Oct. 6, 1876, and joined the Methodist Church April 20, 1879. From Franklin and Marshall College (A.B., 1882) he went to Drew Theological Seminary (B.D., 1885). During his Drew days he became increasingly interested in Korea, and in December, 1884, was appointed to that field. On Dec. 17 (1884) he married Miss Ella Dodge. He was ordained in San Francisco Feb. 2, 1885, just before his sailing, and became a member first of the Newark Conference, and a year later, of the Philadelphia Conference. He began his work in Seoul as Assistant Superintendent, and in 1887, upon the return of R. S. Maclay to America, he was made Superintendent of the Korea Mission, which office he held until his furlough in 1892. In the spring of 1887 he made the first trip to Pyongyang ever undertaken by a missionary, and between then and 1890 he traveled through six of the eight provinces, covering 1,800 miles. In addition to his duties as Superintendent, pastor, and principal of Pai Chai Haktang, he was a member of the Permanent Bible Committee (for translation) and president of the Korean Religious Tract Society. With George Heber Jones, he edited the *Korean Repository* from 1895 to 1898. At the height of his powers he met sudden death in the sinking of a Japanese steamer, June 11, 1902. The mission lost too soon a leader whom they trusted, a man of courage, deep conviction, and broad attainments.—William Elliot Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea, the Life Story of Henry G. Appenzeller,* p. 60 *et passim;* Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

† Mrs. Mary F. Scranton (1832-1909), a widow, was born in Belchertown, Mass., the daughter of a Methodist minister. She was active for a number of years in the work of the W.F.M.S. in Connecticut and New York. When her son was appointed to Korea she received an invitation from the W.F.M.S. through both the New England and New York Branches to go to Korea as one of their missionaries.—L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.,* p. 39.

During a brief stopover in Nagasaki they met Dr. Scranton, without his family, and in spite of their adverse report he continued on his way. Arriving in Inchon, May 3, 1885, he met Dr. H. N. Allen, a Presbyterian missionary who had established himself during the previous September as physician to the legation and after saving the life of the king's nephew during the revolt of December had been put in charge of a government hospital in Seoul. Dr. Allen, being greatly in need of help, invited Dr. Scranton to share his work temporarily. This gave him official recognition at once and allowed time for thorough study of the situation. Although convinced that any missionary operations must be entered upon very cautiously on account of the Koreans' suspicion of foreigners, he was ready by June 1 to recommend a site for the mission and to send for his wife and baby and his mother. They arrived toward the end of the month, with the Appenzellers. In July property was purchased on high ground near the American legation and the Presbyterian mission. Mrs. Mary F. Scranton soon secured W.F.M.S. permission to buy adjoining lots with a small house. Methodism had a real foothold.[149]

Dr. Scranton began medical work in Seoul under Methodist auspices on September 10, 1885, conducting a dispensary in his own home. On the following June 15 he saw his first patient in the Korean house at Chong Dong (Seoul) he had been remodeling for hospital use. It had a waiting room, office, drug room, operating room and five wards, and in an adjoining house three wards for women. The signs on the two posts of the building were made by the doctor's Korean teacher, and read:

> American doctor's dispensary. Old or young, male or female, everybody with whatever disease, come at ten o'clock any day, bring an empty bottle and see the American doctor.

The following year (1887) the king granted Dr. Scranton a sign with the name Si Pyung Won, or Universal Relief Hospital. In the year ending September 10, 1886, the total number of patients was 842. Most of these were from the poorest classes, but some wealthier people came or were seen at their homes.[150]

In her rooms in her son's house Mrs. Scranton was already teaching. A Korean of high rank, unaccountably permitted to live with her and receive instruction, was with her for some time in 1886.

On July 16 (1886) Mrs. Scranton wrote:

> I have also with me a little girl of ten . . . . She has been with me a little more than two weeks . . . . the queerest little specimen of humanity I ever had any dealings with. . . . I was obliged to give a paper agreeing not to control or unduly influence this child after her education is completed, or take her to America against her will.

Little Konimi constituted the first girls' school in Korea. By March, 1887, there were six other pupils, and early in 1886 Mrs. Scranton and her little flock had moved into the first girls' school building,* a large native-style house, both school and home, made possible by a $3,000. gift from Mrs. William E. Blackstone of Oak Park, Illinois, who with her husband was a generous patron of Methodist missions.[151]

The first missionary school for boys in Korea was begun in Seoul by Henry G. Appenzeller in the summer of 1886.† Its first students were young men who desired to learn English, then considered the road to government promotion. Between June 8 and July 2, six were enrolled, but for various reasons these all disappeared.‡ On September 1 the school reopened with one pupil and by October 6 there were twenty on the roll and eighteen in actual attendance. A number of these became official interpreters, but not before they had been inoculated with Christian doctrine.[152]

Throughout the year 1886 the missionaries pursued the policy of not attempting public evangelistic preaching, which by treaty was not permitted. The persecution which had aimed to exterminate the Roman Catholic Church § in Korea was only twenty years in the past, and the general distrust of foreign religious activities had relaxed but little. While the government was welcoming American advisers in its departments, American engineers to open its mines, and American teachers for a government school,# it did not countenance American missionaries. The Scrantons and the Appenzellers went quietly ahead, keeping strictly within the letter of the law, assured that healing and teaching would lead to preaching. Within five years the anti-foreign feeling had given place to general good will.

Even without preaching there were some visible spiritual results. On Easter Day, 1886, an attaché in the Japanese legation was baptized, the first Methodist baptism in Korea. The young man had been given Christian teaching in Japan several years before, had come to Korea in the fall of 1885, and throughout the winter, with two companions, had been under Appenzeller's instruction. The Class continued, and in the fall was moved to the home of the Japanese consul, where it grew to an occasional attendance of twelve.

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* This was the beginning of what later became the Ewha Haktang, predecessor to Ewha High School and Ewha Woman's University.

† Appenzeller had done some sporadic teaching in August and September of 1885, the first two students being young men sent over by Dr. Scranton who wanted English as a prerequisite for medical study. His four students were all obliged to leave for government service in September.—Charles A. Sauer, Ed., *Within the Gate,* p. 84.

‡ For six weeks in the late summer Seoul was visited by a severe epidemic of cholera, in which hundreds died daily. Any kind of aggressive work was impossible.

§ Roman Catholics from France had been in Korea for eighty-two years (1784-1866) and had built up a strong following. Unfortunately, their political activities had convinced the government that they were agents of French imperialism. The persecution was directed against Koreans as well as missionaries. A new anti-foreign edict was posted in the center of Seoul, and the makers of ink cakes were ordered to imprint it on every slab of ink. "The executioners of the missionaries, severing the heads from their bodies, cried 'It is done.' So it seemed with the Catholic church in Korea."—L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910,* pp. 37-38.

In the spring of 1885, the King of Korea requested General John Eaton, Commissioner of Education of the United States, to nominate three competent young men "to undertake the management and teaching" of the government school. Commissioner Eaton nominated three Union Theological Seminary (New York City) students, two of whom were about to graduate: George W. Gilmore, Princeton, 1883; D. A. Bunker, Oberlin, 1883; and H. B. Hulbert, Dartmouth, 1884. The government school was organized in September, 1886. The school did effective work but did not prosper as it deserved, for peculating officials connected with it diverted certain funds to their private uses. Disheartened, first Gilmore, then Hulbert, and finally Bunker resigned and returned to America. The last two later returned to Korea as members of the Methodist mission.—*Ibid.,* p. 118.

After slightly more than a year the Korea Mission could report one probationer, 100 adherents, twelve Sunday school pupils, and one hospital.[153]

The year 1887 saw advance all along the line. In the early spring the new building for women's work, already housing seven girls in the school, was visited officially by the president of the foreign office and three vice presidents. They saw stereopticon pictures, had supper, and listened with much interest while the girls were catechised. A few days afterward the president sent the school a name, to be framed and hung above the gate, Ewha Haktang, Pear Flower School, Pear Flower being a fond Korean name for a woman. Soon there followed a *kenison,* a special military attendant, assigned only by royal favor. The girls' school was fully established. It was strengthened by the arrival in October of Miss Louisa Rothweiler* as an assistant to Mrs. Scranton.

The boys' school was also making strides. In September Bishop Warren† dedicated its new brick building, the first building in Korea for the Christian education of boys. Principal Appenzeller reported:

> The hall contains a chapel, four lecture rooms, a library, the principal's office, and a basement under half the building, to be devoted to the industrial department. . . .
>
> Up to date 37 men and boys have been admitted; a large number of the old students are back and hard at work. Two of the students have been converted to Christianity during the year and are now probationers in our church.

The king sent a name for the school, Pai Chai Haktang, Hall for Rearing Useful Men.[154]

Dr. Scranton, during the year ending July 1, 1887, had seen more than two thousand patients, many of them from outside Seoul. He was begging for a second doctor, so that something might be done for the sick left to die outside the gates, and for stations in the country, where medical work might open the way for the Church. He was relieved of some of his load by the arrival on October 31 of Dr. Meta Howard, sent by the W.F.M.S. (Northwestern Branch) as the first woman physician in Korea. She was successful at once. A hospital for women was fitted out, and she made calls, besides, in the homes of rich and poor alike. During less than two years of service she treated three thousand patients. But her health broke; in September, 1889, she was obliged to return to America, and women's medical work went back to Dr. Scranton.[155]

Both Scranton and Appenzeller were active members of the Permanent Executive Bible Committee, which was organized February 7, 1887, and with Horace G. Underwood and Dr. John W. Heron, Presbyterians, formed a committee for translating the Bible into Korean. Appenzeller and Underwood had been working on the translation of Mark for two years and within a month of the organization of the committee the Appenzeller-Underwood translation of Mark was published.[156]

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* Louisa C. Rothweiler (1853-1921), daughter of a German Methodist pastor, was the first missionary to be supported by the German societies of the W.F.M.S. She was sent by the Cincinnati Branch, spent one term in Ewha School and a second in evangelism and translation. In 1899 she returned to America in broken health. In 1902 she was made secretary of German work, and for fourteen years was official correspondent for Korea.—*Fifty-second Annual Report of the Cincinnati Branch . . . Woman's Foreign Missionary Society . . .* (1921), p. 42.

† Other episcopal visits to Korea: 1888, Fowler; 1889, Andrews; 1891, Goodsell; 1892, Mallalieu; 1893, Foster; 1895, Ninde.

In April and May of 1887 Appenzeller made the first of many trips of exploration into the interior, this one to Pyongyang, the ancient capital of Korea and its second city in population, 185 miles north of Seoul. "Ground has been broken in this province by colporteurs sent out from Mukden," he reported on his return. "Volunteers are needed, and he who enters this promising field must be prepared for many hardships."

Soon after his return Appenzeller was hailed one day by a Korean who said he was a Christian. After verifying his statement Appenzeller first gave him some translating to do and later employed him as a colporteur. There were several of these colporteurs who were converts of John Ross of Manchuria, a Scotch Presbyterian missionary who had done extensive work in northwest Korea.

In the late summer of 1887 Appenzeller sent two of them into the north, "the first to be gone a month or six weeks," the second perhaps three months, going as far as "his home in Aichin on the Yalu." They reported many Christians awaiting baptism.

Mrs. Scranton felt that the time had come for an advance movement. "There are regions beyond," she wrote to the Society, "which must be taken for the Master. There are two or three places we have in mind where we hope mission stations will soon be established." [157]

In September, 1887, a mission bought a small house in the southern part of Seoul to be used as a chapel. Early in October "in a room eight feet by eight feet and six feet high, with but four persons present," Appenzeller held the first formal Methodist service in Korea. The next Sunday the colporteur's wife was baptized—"the first woman in Korea baptized by a Protestant missionary." In the same room Scranton and Appenzeller "with five communicants, celebrated the Lord's Supper. In this quiet way Methodism began her public work in the hermit nation." A few weeks later a second house, adjoining the first, was purchased where meetings were held in a room eight by sixteen feet. Regular Sunday services were begun and continued for several months.[158]

This year ended with the good news that additional missionaries were on the way—Franklin Ohlinger and wife, formerly of the China Mission, and George Heber Jones* of the St. John's River Conference. Ohlinger arrived in January, 1888, and was appointed superintendent of the mission press and teacher in the school. Jones arrived on May 18, 1888, also to be an assistant in the school.

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* George Heber Jones was born in Mohawk, N. Y., Aug. 14, 1867. His formal education did not extend beyond high school, but his brilliant mind assimilated all that he read and touched. At sixteen, the only convert in a revival meeting, he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. When appointed to Korea he was a member of the St. John's River Conference (admitted on trial in 1888, *Gen'l Minutes*, 1888, Spring, p. 5); later transferred to Northern New York; then to the Japan Conference; and finally to the Korea Mission Conference at its first session, 1906. His first five years were in

OPPOSITION AND EXPANSION

In the spring of 1888 Appenzeller, in company with H. G. Underwood of the Presbyterian Mission, made a tour to north Korea with medicines, books, and tracts to be sold. They had been en route about two weeks, when they were overtaken by a letter from the American minister in Seoul saying that since their departure he had

> received from the Korean foreign office, by order of his majesty the king, a dispatch stating that it is well known to the Korean Government that Americans residing in Korea are engaged in different ways in disseminating the doctrines of the Christian religion; citing the fact that it is objectionable to the government, not authorized by the treaty, and demanding that it shall cease. My aid, as the minister of the United States, being invoked to this end, it becomes my duty to request that you will refrain from teaching the Christian religion and administering its rites and ordinances to the Korean people.[159]

This was a development not entirely unexpected. The edict was obviously directed chiefly against the Catholic Church which, with the backing of the French government and against official protests, was proceeding with the erection of a cathedral on a site overlooking the palace. Nevertheless, under the terms of the edict it included Protestants. The government's attitude was in large measure a matter of expediency.*

Appenzeller and Underwood returned immediately to Seoul and were assured by men high in authority that their prompt acquiescence had a good effect. Riots incited by political agitators followed and throughout the summer there was much unrest. But preaching services continued to be held in missionaries' homes. Four of the best Korean men in Pai Chai even volunteered to do missionary work in the country during the summer. In October Appenzeller visited Aichin and reported a Society there of one member and fourteen probationers. School and hospital work went steadily forward.[160]

Pai Chai Haktang in 1888 had sixty-three students; the building was

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Seoul, as teacher in Pai Chai and evangelist. In May, 1893, he married Miss Margaret Bengel, of the W.F.M.S., and in the fall was appointed to Inchon, to be its first resident missionary. After ten years he had "achieved the unique honor of being the presiding elder of a district every church of which he had himself organized (forty-four of them); every preacher and class leader was a son in the Gospel to him; and he had personally baptized every church member on the district." He left Korea in July, 1909, and for his remaining ten years gave himself to highly fruitful service in the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the Korea Quarter Centennial, the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions, and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. He died May 11, 1919. A prolific and brilliant writer in both Korean and English and a lecturer much sought after, he became an authority on Korea.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

* A Korean high in the royal favor offered this explanation of the edict: "The King honors you and is deeply sensible of the good you propose for his people, but he dreads the open and extensive propagation of Christianity, as it would put a weapon and a war cry in the possession of the opposition which would not only drive you from the country but possibly lose him his throne."—Charles Davis Stokes, "History of Methodist Missions in Korea, 1885-1930," typed ms., Ph.D. dissertation, pp. 95 f.

completed and fully occupied, even to the industrial department. The principal reported:

> now no aid is given to any one unless he works for it. As soon as we can begin press work we shall be able to employ a large number of students. The care of the campus, sweeping college hall, and lighting the fires are done by our boys.

The W.F.M.S. home housed Ewha's eighteen girls and was the center of a growing movement among women. Toward the end of 1888 Mrs. Scranton reported:

> Our Sunday evening meetings are well attended. Two weeks ago thirty were present besides our girls. . . . I have had some difficulty in getting a teacher for the women and have adopted a new plan. I asked one of the colporteurs if he would come and talk for me, provided the women were willing to have him do so. They consented, provided he did not see them. . . . I arrange a screen between them and the place where he is to sit, and in this way the women's ideas of seclusion are held sacred, and the speaker's voice can be heard as distinctly as though he were visible.[161]

Dr. Scranton continued to look for places into which medical work might be extended. With the year's attendance at the hospital at a maximum, in December he opened a dispensary at Aogi, a crossroads center just outside the west gate of the city, on the Inchon road.

At the end of 1888 the mission reported eleven members, twenty-seven probationers, and thirty-four adult baptisms. There were seven missionaries and three assistant missionaries.[162] Two Bible women also were carrying on evangelistic work.

The annual meeting* of 1889 discussed at length the attitude of the mission to government restrictions, especially with regard to continuing the religious services on the mission compounds. After much debate it was finally decided to continue the religious services

> but to omit the singing for the time being. The next year the use of singing was made discretionary on the part of the leader. It was not until 1892 that restrictions placed upon public worship and the administration of the Sacraments were finally removed by the mission.[163]

The first Local Preachers had been licensed November 25, 1888, and throughout 1889 they kept steadily at work. One of them was located in Pyongyang, where he had a small congregation meeting regularly, and from this center he made trips into the country preaching and selling Scriptures. The other taught Chinese in Pai Chai and during the summer vacation traveled southward. The Word could not be confined to one city.

At a regular monthly meeting of the mission in December, 1889, following the advice of Bishop Andrews the first Quarterly Conference in Korea was organized, made up of a group that had been worshiping for nearly two years in missionary homes and had just moved to an empty house on the hospital compound.

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* Minutes of the annual meetings were not printed until 1893. Manuscript Minutes are not in the Board files.

> The stewards have taken active steps toward paying the current expenses of the church. Some are giving more than a tenth of their annual income, ... If they don't have enough to heat the room we worship in a cold room rather than run into debt.[164]

Expansion of the hospital work had become a necessity. Dr. Scranton felt, while Si Pyung Won must be continued as a dispensary, it was not in a suitable location for a permanent center of medical work. At his urgent suggestion a site was purchased on South Gate Street, one of the two principal thoroughfares of the city, about eight minutes' walk from the mission compound. The lot was 200 by 400 feet, on a knoll that commanded a view of nearly the whole city, with two small houses on it. In August, 1889, William B. McGill, M.D.,* arrived to assist in the medical work.[165]

Besides assisting Dr. Scranton at Si Pyung Won, Dr. McGill took charge of building the new dispensary on South Gate Street (Sang Dong) and it was opened in mid-October, 1890. The building was of brick, containing a waiting room and a drug room. The old Korean houses already on the lot were used as wards. Women's medical work continued at the old site, and was greatly strengthened by the arrival, October 14, 1890, of Dr. Rosetta Sherwood.† She fell at once into Korean ways.

> Our patients both sit and sleep upon the floor in Korean fashion, and save the fact that it is difficult for the doctor to work over them, I like the custom very well . . . .

Medical care was free to all, but those who were able were asked to pay for their medicines, and more than a fourth of the inpatients provided their own food. All the inpatients had religious instruction; each was given a lesson sheet from the Gospels, and many bought copies of Luke. Dr. Sherwood began at once her program of training by using three girls from Ewha Haktang as assistants in the drug room and dispensary. Marriage, however, removed such helpers by the time they were sixteen. Margaret Bengel, barely twenty-one, sent by the Cincinnati Branch to teach in Ewha Haktang, arrived on the same ship with Dr. Sherwood.

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* William B. McGill, M.D. (1859-1918), a layman, was a graduate of the College of Medicine of the University of Pennsylvania (1889) and was also an experienced builder. He opened Methodist work in Wonsan in 1893, and did much pioneer work through the countryside. He was withdrawn at his own request in April, 1906, because of a change in mission policy.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; Norman Found, "The Life of William McGill," *The Korea Mission Field,* XXXII (1936), 8 (August), 158 f.

† Rosetta Sherwood was born in Liberty, N. Y., Sept. 19, 1865. After a course in the Oswego Normal School and a period of teaching, she enrolled in the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, where she graduated in 1889. Sent to Korea by the New York Branch, W.F.M.S., she gave two years to the women's hospital in Seoul. On June 27, 1892, she was married to Dr. William J. Hall. After his death in 1894, she returned to America and remained two years before going back to Korea under the W.F.M.S. She opened a women's hospital in Pyongyang, and continued there for many years. In 1928 she began the Woman's Medical Institute in Seoul, and continued to press for medical education for women. She was the pioneer in work for the blind and the deaf. She retired in 1935, full of honors, and died in 1951.—*Twelfth Annual Report, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions and Church Extension* . . . (1950-51), p. 240; Official Biographical Files, Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions.

The Sunday evening meetings for women had been discontinued in April, 1889, but they were resumed in October, and on February 12, 1890, Appenzeller formed the group into a Class, in effect a women's church, to which at the 1890 annual meeting of the mission Ohlinger was assigned as pastor.[166]

Perhaps the most important event in 1890 was the formation of the Korean Religious Tract Society on June 25, with Ohlinger as president, to be devoted to production and circulation of publications in the Korean language. Literature offered an effective means of evangelism since the people were in general literate. The official ban did not extend to circulation of books. Taking advantage of this the missionaries turned to translation of books and tracts despite lack of skill for such work. Printing was done at the Trilingual Press,* just started under Ohlinger's management.[167]

In April, 1891, six years after the first missionaries had landed, George Heber Jones and a native helper, Brother Yon, made a trip to the Chinese boundary in the north, covering seven hundred fifty miles in thirty-two days, and visiting thirty large cities and districts to preach and sell books. They found the people approachable and friendly. In Pyongyang, where the work was languishing for want of supervision, they received on probation five who had applied for baptism.[168]

During the furlough of the Scrantons in 1891-92, Miss Rothweiler was in charge of the girls' school. She reported in the fall of 1891 that during the previous year four new girls had been received, making twenty-eight, of whom four had received baptism. Four others gave their names as candidates, and the whole group would have followed if it had been suggested, but "we feel that it is too important a step to be taken without full appreciation of its import." Three of the twenty-eight were married during the year, and initiated the Christian homes toward which Ewha always aimed.[169]

Just before his furlough, Dr. Scranton reported that the Aogi dispensary was closed, but that Christian work was being continued under the supervision of Mr. Ohlinger. The new dispensary at Sang Dong was "fulfilling its bright promise." Dr. McGill, left in charge of medical work for the year, was assisted by an Anglican physician, Dr. I. Wiles. In December, 1891, William J. Hall, M.D.,† arrived and was immediately pressed into service. At the same time Miss Ella A. Lewis, New York Branch, W.F.M.S., came to assist in the women's medical work.

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* Franklin Ohlinger: "Nearly all our purchases have to be made in China and Japan, and the 'import,' together with the transportation, makes all our material very expensive. We find it difficult to compete with the large printing-establishments in Japan, where much child-labor is employed. At times the work has barely been sufficient to keep the students who 'work their way' at school by type-setting in rice, and, again, there has been an inconvenient rush of work. This will be largely obviated by the publication of the magazine, *The Korean Repository,* to begin with January, 1892."—In *Seventy-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1891), p. 272.

† William James Hall (1860-94), son of an Anglican farmer, was born at Brockville, Ontario, in January, 1860. During his high school days at the neighboring town of Athens he was converted in a Methodist revival and "went to work at once to win for Christ his companions in the school." Two of those whom he won became missionaries in China. In the medical school of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, he became a Student Volunteer. He finished his medical course in Bellevue Hospital, New York, in April, 1889. For two and a half years he was superintendent of the Madison Street Mission. He was admitted to the East Tennessee Conference, October, 1891. He arrived in Korea on Dec. 16, 1891, and served for eight months as an assistant in the two Seoul hospitals. In August, 1892, two months after his marriage to Dr. Rosetta Sherwood, he was appointed to Pyongyang. After two years of hard work in the midst of the tribulations of war, he died of typhus, Nov.

The Korea Mission closed its sixth year with fifteen members and fifty-eight probationers, eighty-five pupils in schools and seventy-six in Sunday schools. More than six thousand patients had been treated in its hospitals.[170]

In the summer of 1892 the Appenzellers went on furlough and Dr. Scranton, who had just returned, became Superintendent of the mission as well as of the medical work. More and more he gave himself to evangelism. In September meetings were begun on the east side of the city, three miles from the original compound, using at first a small house owned by the mission and occupied by two old men and their families. Dr. Scranton instructed the men on the outside, while his mother taught the women on the veranda and in the court. This building was soon outgrown. Happily, about this time the W.F.M.S. forwarded a special gift for the erection of a chapel. The first service in the chapel was held Christmas Day, 1892, when Dr. Scranton baptized six men and boys and celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. "It was thought best," wrote Mrs. Scranton,

> to make the attempt of having the women and the men meet in the same building; accordingly a paper partition was put through the center of the room, the men occupying one side and the women the other. They enter by different gates and doors, so cannot see each other although all can see the speaker.[171]

In the summer of 1892, shortly before her marriage to Dr. Hall, Dr. Sherwood opened a dispensary (Baldwin Dispensary), also on the east side, which was soon placed in the charge of Ella Lewis. Ultimately it became the Lillian Harris Memorial Hospital.

In Seoul the hospital and schoolwork continued to advance. Miss Rothweiler could even look to a time when "Koreans shall consider it desirable for their daughters to get an education and not, as now, regard it as a favor bestowed on us." Miss Josephine Paine, a missionary of the New England Branch, arrived in September to assist in the school.[172] The increasing number of Christian workers coming out of Ewha was a great encouragement. Writing in 1893, Mrs. Scranton gave specific examples: one who had married two years earlier was now a Bible woman at the hospital; another was interpreter for the doctor at Baldwin Dispensary, and with her husband worked constantly to bring their neighbors to Christ; one was assistant in the women's hospital; the first girl who enrolled in the school was wife of a native preacher.

In this same year Pai Chai began in a small way the training of preachers.*

24, 1894.—*Minutes, Korea Mission,* 1895, pp. 6-10; *Seventy-fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1892), pp. 291 f.

* Appenzeller aimed to provide thorough instruction and well-rounded training for the Pai Chai students but he had many obstacles with which to contend. The curriculum was limited by the paucity of textbooks and by the lack of well-educated Korean teachers. There were also other difficulties. Registration was transient and attendance irregular. Of 104 students enrolled in 1894 only twenty-one continued for a full year.—*Seventy-sixth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1894), p. 247.

In the earlier years this had been impossible because of lack of converts, but in 1893 two Korean teachers and more than a dozen students were converted. Dr. Scranton reported that twelve of the most intelligent Christians were meeting two or three afternoons a week for special training.[173]

OUTSIDE THE GATES

By 1891 it had become clear that the field as a whole could not be cultivated merely by evangelistic tours. Other missionaries agreed with Ohlinger, who insisted that inland missionary residences must be established "in order to get nearer to the people." When the 1892 annual meeting was held Bishop Mallalieu, who presided, gave his approval and made appointments in accordance with a new plan. Appenzeller was appointed to Chon-ju in the south. McGill was given general and medical work in Wonsan, to the northeast, about 175 miles from Seoul, and went at once to buy land and build the brick house which he occupied the following spring. Dr. Hall was assigned to Pyongyang, accompanied by Chang Sik Kim,* a Local Preacher, who in Hall's absence was left in charge. George Heber Jones was appointed to Inchon and the presidency of Pai Chai, where he was assisted by W. A. Noble,† who arrived in October. However, no W.F.M.S. missionary was sent outside of Seoul, and even Dr. Rosetta S. Hall had to assent to her husband going north without her, while she managed the women's hospital.[174]

In the work outside of Seoul there were many encouragements. In Pyongyang a citizen whose son had been cured by Dr. Hall offered to sell for $700. a plot of ground with a building adequate for all immediate needs, and Hall volunteered to become responsible for half the cost if the Board would grant the rest, which it did. He also offered to become responsible, with the help of his friend Noble, for the outcoming expenses and salary to the end of 1893 of Dr. John B. Busteed, an associate of earlier years, if he could be sent at once. Dr. Busteed ‡ and his wife arrived in June. Dr. McGill, in Wonsan, was "an indefatigable bookseller." He was unable to accomplish much in the city but found plenty to do in other places. He went to Anpyun, Ham Hung, and to numerous villages, where he treated patients and sold them books. In one year he prescribed for 1,350 patients.[175]

In Inchon some twenty-six boys aged eight to twelve gathered themselves into a school to be taught by the native preacher—"our first day school in Korea." Instruction was along native lines, with Christian catechism and morals in addition. The boys had daily prayers at eight and attended the Sunday services. It may well have been the result of decision in the spring of 1893 to make a deliberate effort to win entire households for God instead of concentrating solely on the men. One of the women from the home in Seoul spent some time in Inchon in the spring, and later her place was taken by a young woman from the adult school Mrs. Scranton conducted in the home. Finding she did not get far with invitations to women's meetings, she adopted a different plan. She walked to Seoul, twenty-seven miles, bought some small articles that appeal to women, and returned on foot to Inchon to sell them. As a peddler she was welcome, and she always made an opportunity to talk about the Jesus teaching. As a result, women were soon going in large numbers to the chapel.[176]

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* Chang Sik Kim (1857-1929) was the first Protestant preacher to be ordained in Korea (1901). In 1893-94, while stationed in Pyongyang, he was subjected to severe persecution and imprisoned as a result of anti-Christian agitation during the Tonghak uprising. In 1904 he was appointed District Superintendent (Presiding Elder) of the Yeng Byen District, the first Korean to achieve this position.—Mattie Wilcox Noble, Compiler, *Victorious Lives of Early Christians in Korea . . .* , pp. 5 ff.

† William Arthur Noble (1866-1945) was born in Springville, Pa.; attended Wyoming Seminary (1887-89) and Drew Theological Seminary (1890-92). Through the friendship of Dr. W. J. Hall he became interested in Korea, and after being admitted to the Wyoming Conference in 1892 was transferred. He arrived Oct. 17, 1892, with his bride of three months. He taught in Pai Chai until 1895, and was then appointed to Pyongyang. Through the years he served as Presiding Elder of every District of the Church in Korea, and was widely known for his sound and steady administration. He retired March 31, 1933, and died in California in 1945.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

‡ Dr. Busteed was appointed to Sang Dong, Seoul. After four years his health failed and it became necessary for him to leave Korea.

In December Dr. Scranton left his many duties in Seoul for a trip southward on foot, with a pony to carry his books and medicines and a supply of food. Writing to his mother, he said:

> I am well, but dirty . . . . happy though often lonesome. . . . The pleasures of the work and the successes more than balance the discomforts. . . .
>
> I baptized three today . . . by a running brook in lieu of Chapel . . . . I was unwilling to baptize them in semi-secret . . . [in a house]. They were not at all perturbed.[177]

The year brought several changes in personnel. Decided differences as to missionary policy threatened actual discord and resulted in the departure of the Ohlingers[*] in August.[178] The press was taken over by Homer B. Hulbert, a layman who had first come to Korea as a teacher in the government school in 1886.[†] Hulbert arrived October, 1893, and at the same time Miss Mary W. Harris[‡] and Miss Lulu E. Frey,[§] both sent by the Cincinnati Branch, W.F.M.S., to teach in Ewha. Dr. Mary M. Cutler,[#] from the New York Branch, had preceded them by eight months, and was already well established in her medical work.[179]

The year 1894 was one of turbulence in Korea. The Tonghak (Eastern Learning) begun as an eclectic religious system, had become a political movement, and by the end of 1893 had gathered strength enough in the south to organize an armed rebellion and move on Seoul. The government, unable to resist the attack, turned to China with a request for troops which were immediately sent. Japan, officially notified of the Chinese move, dispatched a division of soldiers direct to the capital. Thus began the war which ended in 1895 with the complete triumph of Japan.[180]

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[*] The Ohlingers returned to America. They had been almost broken by the death of two children in one week.

[†] Hulbert left in 1897 to take a government position. He became a recognized authority on Korea.

[‡] Miss Harris married Dr. E. Douglas Folwell who arrived in 1895.

[§] Lulu E. Frey was born in Sidney, Ohio, March 9, 1868. She graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1892; from the Chicago Training School in 1893; and reached Korea in October of that year. She began at once teaching in Ewha Haktang and was made its principal in 1906. She was responsible for the beginning of Ewha College and of the Kindergarten Training School. "The Ewha we know is a product of her faith and leadership." She died in a Boston hospital, March 18, 1921. Official Biographical Files, W.D.C.S.; *Fifty-second Ann. Rep., Cincinnati Branch, W.F.M.S. . . .* (1921), p. 42.

[#] Mary M. Cutler was born on a farm in Cutlerville, near Grand Rapids, Mich., Dec. 12, 1865. After graduating from the Grand Rapids High School and the medical college of the University of Michigan, she practiced three years in Pomeroy, Ohio, and then applied for service in Korea. On reaching the field she was appointed at once to the women's hospital in Seoul. She was moved in 1912 to Pyongyang, where she spent her remaining years on the field. She retired in 1939 and died April 27, 1948. Few doctors can look back upon so long a period of service, with results that can come only through skill and steadfastness.—*Ninth Ann. Rep., W.D.C.S.* (1948), pp. 254 f.

Pyongyang was a storm center. Occupied by a Chinese army of 20,000 for some two months and then captured by the Japanese, its population had been reduced from 80,000 to about 8,000 to 10,000. Houses were deserted, officials fled, cholera attacked. In October, Dr. W. J. Hall, who had been working in Seoul through the summer, returned to the ruined city "to comfort the brethren." His death from typhus was the first such tragedy in the mission.

Other than this, Dr. Scranton reported, "no member of the Mission has been called upon to suffer in his person or estate, though all have been in much danger." Work went on in each center as usual. In Inchon the event of the year was the erection of a Korean-style chapel, the first one ever put up by Korean Christians themselves.[181]

In March Mrs. Scranton undertook an evangelistic tour in the country, probably the first such trip ever made by a foreign woman unaccompanied by her husband. While the filth, vermin, and disease were offensive, she was drawn to large numbers of the women, and confident of their salvation from dirt as well as from sin. That same hope sustained her as she went down to live at Sang Dong in Seoul. Dr. Scranton had been pastor there for some six months, but the little church was weak because of the lack of women. So Mrs. Scranton took a room, determined to camp until the mothers of two of the male members should yield themselves also. These women yielded and were baptized in August.[182]

Pai Chai, in spite of all the public excitement, had a year of quiet, steady progress. The Methodist *Catechism* was taught in the vernacular, and several boys committed the book to memory. The Chinese classics formed a prominent part of the course, and in English, "instruction was given in the common branches, ancient history, physics, chemistry, political economy, vocal music, and the Bible." The total number enrolled was 104, in English thirty-four, and in Chinese seventy.[183]

The Trilingual Press took on new life under Hulbert's management. The entire appropriation was used for the purchase of new machinery, and prices were adjusted so as to cover expenses.[184]

At the annual meeting held January 16-23, 1895, in Seoul the Korea Mission took stock of ten years' effort. It had now six missionaries and their wives,* and six from the W.F.M.S. It had four Korean Local Preachers and five Exhorters. There were seventy-five members and 146 probationers in three regularly organized charges in Seoul (Chong Dong, Baldwin Chapel, Sang Dong) and three outside (Aogi, Pyongyang, Inchon); five other places were listed "to be supplied." The Sunday schools had 152 pupils. Inchon had established work on the neighboring island of Kangwa. Chong Dong, the oldest charge, was preparing to build the first church of any size in Protestant missions in Korea. Women were coming to Mrs. Scranton's home to talk about the Jesus way day after day, until the number reached into the hundreds.[185]

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* Two more arrived during the year, in June Dalzell A. Bunker and his wife Annie Ellers, who had been physician to the queen while he taught in the government school; and in December, E. Douglas Folwell, M.D.—*Korean Repository,* II (July, 1895), 278.

First Decade of the Korea Mission

The Korea Mission had its beginning in a country whose people had not accepted Western ideas, and foreigners had to move with caution. With Japan making a bid for political and economic leadership in the Far East, and the Western nations seeking advantages in trade, political uneasiness was inevitable. The United States, having declared for Korean independence and religious neutrality, could ask no favors for American missionaries. These could only seek to adapt themselves to Korean ways and to recommend their religion through kindness and helpfulness.[186]

An indirect missionary approach was adopted as a fixed policy. Dr. Scranton spoke of the hospital as a plow, breaking up the ground and the school as a harrow, smoothing it for seeding, but neither he nor Appenzeller ever lost faith in a coming day of harvest.[187]

Korea is the only field entered by the two missionary Societies of the Methodist Church at the same time. Everywhere else the W.F.M.S. followed the lead of the General Society, taking up work established by the wives of missionaries. Here the mother of the first missionary began work at the same time as her son, living for the first few months in the same house with him, and afterwards always in a neighboring compound. This close relationship heightened the effectiveness of cooperative planning. A young unmarried woman could not have accomplished with Korean women what Mrs. Scranton did—middle-aged, widowed, the mother of a grown son.[188]

In Korea, too, Methodists and Presbyterians entered almost simultaneously, worked side by side in closest harmony throughout the initial period, and thus developed early such important interdenominational procedures as Bible translation and the publication of religious literature. When Dr. Scranton first landed he was welcomed and taken as an associate by Dr. Allen, Presbyterian, who had been in the country some ten months. When the Appenzellers first landed at Inchon they were in company with Underwood, a Presbyterian. Since it was deemed unsafe for a foreign woman to remain in the country Underwood, a bachelor, remained. The two men had been friends in America and their friendship was continued in Korea. It was not until the two missions began spreading out through the country that a question* of comity arose.[189]

For both missions, development of Christian conviction among Koreans was uphill work. Governed by the Confucian code, whose cardinal point was filial piety, the Korean added the worship of innumerable spirits,

> all the way from Tok gavi—the hobgoblin whose nightly gambols are the subject of many a ghost story—to Tai Chang Kun, . . . whose throne fills a quarter of the heavens. . . .
>
> . . . the announcement that there is an obligation on man that is superior even to filial piety . . . comes to him as a shock. To admit it strikes him at first as treason to the living parent and to the memory of the dead ancestry . . . . The appeal to the supernatural and spiritual meets with no response. The little knowledge of these he has obtained, comes through a system where they are reduced to a brutish level and rendered hideous.[190]

Nevertheless, progress in Korea was relatively rapid. To have had one convert within one year was real success. The work of John Ross, missionary at Mukden, China, in translating the New Testament into Korean and sending it across the border, had permanent value. The American missionaries found a leaven at work when they came.

Moreover, their work was greatly accelerated by their use of the popular language with its completely phonetic alphabet. Braving the scorn of the educated, they immediately began to learn Korean, to speak it among the people, to use it as a medium of teaching, both in the schools and through their printed materials, and they were rewarded with a church in which the Bible was universally read.

A Bible church, a giving church, a laymen's church, a family church—to this goal Korea was on the way by 1895.[191]

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* At the annual meeting of 1893 a comity agreement proposed by the Presbyterians was considered. Scranton was opposed to drawing up any general rules, saying he preferred that joint arrangements should be made for specific cases as they arose. With Bishop Foster and Secretaries Leonard and Mrs. Keen present, the Committee on Fraternal Relations was instructed "to report that the Mission is debarred from binding itself to these rules."—*Minutes, Korea Mission,* 1893, pp. 4, 16, 40-42.

VIII

Expanding Foreign Missions— South America and Mexico

THE FIRST MISSIONARY APPROACH to Latin America by a United States board was made by the Methodist Episcopal Church which in 1835 sent Fountain E. Pitts to spy out the land and report to the Missionary Society. In 1836 the first Methodist missionary to the southern continent was appointed. In the same year Theodore Parvin, who had been ordained by the Presbytery of Philadelphia went to Buenos Aires as a self-supporting Presbyterian missionary.[1] The breaking away from Spain and establishment of republican forms of government by Latin American nations, including the adoption of constitutions largely modeled after that of the United States, awakened widespread interest among the people of the older republic. The possibility of missionary extension to Latin America was considered by several other denominations but none of their boards took immediate action.

SOUTH AMERICA MISSION

Account of the earliest Methodist work in Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina has been previously given in some detail.* These efforts as previously noted came to an unfortunate end. Whether, under all the circumstances, the Missionary Society was then justified in abandoning South America as a missionary field was a subject on which opinion in the Church was divided. Many of the friends of missions considered the withdrawal hasty and ill advised. The attempt had been entered upon after long consideration, prosecuted at heavy expense, and had engaged the earnest effort of some of the most able ministers of the Church. Granted that the difficulties seemed insuperable, should not the Society have persisted until continuance was no longer possible instead of giving up? Stephen Olin, who on more than one occasion had been critical of missionary policies, believed that the course followed was wise.

> We are among those . . . who believed that the discontinuance of this effort, which has . . . demonstrated itself to be nearly hopeless, was, upon the whole, expedient,

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* See Vol. I, 344-57.

> and that it was better to incur the charge of instability and irresolution—no slight faults in those who guide the missionary enterprise—than to persevere in the face of difficulties, of which it was nearly certain that they would continue to increase rather than diminish.[2]

So far as Argentina was concerned Olin's forebodings of increased difficulties proved to be without foundation. Conditions at Buenos Aires were not at any time as difficult as had been anticipated and in 1846 improved sufficiently for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Worship to ask that a successor to William H. Norris be sent as soon as practicable. The Missionary Society agreed to contribute for support the same amount as previously given. The Bishop in charge of foreign missions then appointed Dallas D. Lore of the Philadelphia Conference to Buenos Aires.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORE, 1847-54

On December 16, 1847, eighty-seven days after sailing from New York, Lore, with his wife, reached his destination. Two months later he reported that he was holding two prayer meetings each week with a good number in attendance, of whom many were young men. His constituency was confined to that part of the foreign population that could speak English—American, English, Scotch, and Irish.

Lore was diligent in labor and by July he had found upward of sixty families who welcomed his pastoral calls. The Sunday school had increased from eighty-four to 105 in attendance, and the congregation was generous in financial support. On March 30, 1849, twelve persons were received on probation, three men and their wives and six young unmarried men. Shortly afterward six more persons were received. "A hundred in one of your congregations at home would not have been so great an event," wrote Lore to the *Missionary Advocate,* "as this was to us."

In its 1850-51 *Report* the Board expressed the conviction that the Church should have a mission in every large city in South America where there was a Protestant population. The object should be:

> 1. To take care of the Protestant population in these Roman Catholic cities and countries. It is our duty to administer to their spiritual wants, and thus, with the blessing of God, save their souls. It is our duty also to educate their children, especially in the Sunday schools, in the principles and worship of the Protestant Churches, and thus raise up a Protestant population in the midst of the Roman Catholic cities and states. 2. This leads us to state that another important object of these missions is to present an example to the Catholic population of the pure simple Christianity enjoyed by Protestants, and thus gradually win them to embrace it. It is neither the policy nor the desire of these missions to interfere with the political or ecclesiastical institutions of South America, only so far as the light and example of the missions shall influence the public mind.

The *Report* went on to say that such missions would not necessarily be of much expense to the Board since the Buenos Aires mission had "not drawn upon the treasury for any money during the last year," all expenses having been met by the local Society for the Promotion of Christian Worship.[3]

The mission at this time was little more than a chaplaincy to the American and British colony in Buenos Aires. The question of the internal organization of the mission—whether it should be regularly organized as a Methodist Society—was a subject of correspondence between Lore and John P. Durbin, the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, in view of the fact that the Society for the Promotion of Christian Worship was composed of Protestants of various denominations. Both were of the opinion that as soon as possible a regularly organized Methodist church should be formed.[4]

Under the ruling political regime in Argentina any attempt to undertake Protestant missionary activity among the native population was thought to be impossible. But near the close of 1851 the ruling government was overthrown and a liberal regime instituted. In exultation Lore wrote:

> The Provisional Government, acting under the authority of General Urquiza, is certainly composed of the best men in the country, and thus far we believe their acts have given general satisfaction. The freedom of the press is restored, and free instruction; and we hope that freedom in religious faith and practice, if not already included, will soon be proclaimed. . . . We must wait, however, until the constitutional government is established.

This letter, following earlier hopeful reports from Lore, had the effect of widening the horizon of the Board and of the General Missionary Committee in relation to South America. Under "Appropriations for 1853" the committee reported:

> South America.—Buenos Aires Mission, $1,000. For the extension of the work in the interior, $1,000. . . . for establishing a mission at Monte Video, $2,000.[5]

If the appropriations were to be utilized additional personnel was required. Where were the men to be found? The same difficulty that again and again had hindered advance in other fields interposed an insuperable barrier in South America. In February, 1853, Durbin informed Lore that suitable persons had not been found. "What are we to do?" he asked despairingly. "We cannot make the instruments for the work to be performed." And there the matter of expansion beyond the bounds of Buenos Aires rested for three years.

In 1854 Lore's term of service in Buenos Aires, agreed upon when he enlisted, expired and in August he sailed for home. On his last Sunday evening with the church, following a Love Feast, "twenty-four persons gave themselves to God and to his cause—all on probation except one, who joined by letter from the Scotch Church"—the largest number that had united with the Society at one time. The mission had not received a cent from the missionary treasury toward the pastor's salary in the seven years; the congregation had contributed some eighteen hundred dollars over and above ministerial support, of which about $600. had been forwarded to New York and the balance expended on mission property. In addition about $400. had been raised for the American Bible Society; about $625. for Sunday-school purposes; about $50. for the tract cause; and about $800. for charity. This was the aggregate contribution of a church that had never exceeded sixty persons and a congregation of not more than three hundred.[6]

CARROW'S ADMINISTRATION, 1854-57

On March 24, 1854, Bishop Waugh appointed Goldsmith D. Carrow of the Philadelphia Conference a missionary for a term of seven years. He sailed from New York in June and arrived in Buenos Aires a few days in advance of Lore's departure. J. M. Reid made this comment on Carrow's early work:

> Mr. Carrow entered upon his work with great enthusiasm. He opened a day-school, of which Mrs. Carrow was the chief support, and he begged the approval of the Board and assistance in his great work. All restraints upon religion having been removed by the latest revolution, which closed in 1855, he gave particular emphasis to the often repeated suggestions of his predecessor that the work should be extended into the surrounding country; he also pleaded the duty of the Church to re-enter Montevideo.[7]

Carrow was full of plans. Very soon he proposed organizing a Spanish Sunday school. In May he made a horseback tour of rural areas from fifty to one hundred and fifty miles south of Buenos Aires. At one Sunday appointment a goodly congregation gathered for a preaching service, people coming "from various distances, ranging from three to thirty miles." In June he wrote suggesting sale of the church property and erection of a new church and school. By October he was convinced that missionary work in the rural region must be made:

> this is the time . . . for enlarging our mission operations in this part of the South American continent. The government is perfectly tolerant, and can never again be otherwise. Immigrants are rapidly pouring in. The foundations of a new nationality are being laid. . . . The natives though educated in the Romish faith, prefer and freely patronize English schools, and as freely consent that their children should be taught to read the Scriptures therein. Foreign residents located in the country districts of this province, English, Scotch, Irish, German, &c., are entirely destitute of religious privileges, and very much desire for their own sakes, and especially for the sake of their children, to have the Gospel, religious worship, Sunday and week-day schools.[8]

He beseeched the Board for assistance, a man to take charge of the day school which he stated he had opened in September (1855)—although evidently it was an outgrowth of the school begun soon after his arrival—and also a missionary for the country work. Carrow's representations, together with his energy and aggressiveness, so impressed the Board and the Bishops that every effort was made to provide missionary recruits. On November

20, 1855, Bishop Ames commissioned Thomas Carter of the New York Conference as a missionary to Buenos Aires but Carter after a long-drawn-out correspondence with Durbin decided that he should not go.

In 1856 the Bishop appointed William Armstrong of the East Genesee Conference to missionary work in the interior. Before arrangements for his outgoing were completed word was received that "the Scotch Mission in Buenos Aires" had begun missionary work in the same area and among the same people as the Methodists had in mind, and had begun "building three churches in the most promising points." Consequently Armstrong's appointment was withdrawn.[9]

In March, 1856, Henry R. Nicholson of the Baltimore Conference was appointed to Buenos Aires to take charge of the school and to assist Carrow in other ways in the mission. Nicholson, who spoke Spanish as his native tongue, came from the Wesleyan missions in Spain recommended by "the Mission House" in London. He was sent out with the hope that in addition to his school duties he would "find opportunity to preach the Gospel to the Spanish Roman Catholic population in their own language." From information supplied by Nicholson to the New York office it was learned that when he took charge the school had three teachers, eighty-nine pupils, fifty English, seventeen Americans, and twenty-two Argentines—and in connection with it an English Bible class of twenty-six members, a Spanish Bible class of twenty-five, and a French Bible class of seventeen.

Coincident with Nicholson's appointment to the school Bishop E. R. Ames on March 12, 1856, appointed Carrow as Superintendent of the South America Mission. No sooner had the new order been established when complications developed which threatened the life of the whole Buenos Aires missionary enterprise. The chief factors in the sorry situation may be briefly stated. Preceding his appointment as Superintendent Carrow had expelled certain members from the church and had become abusive in his attitude toward them. Carrow and Nicholson soon were at odds and the mission was "rent into two parties." Carrow made extravagant demands upon the Missionary Society, virtually demanding an appropriation of fifteen thousand silver dollars a year for three years to place the mission "on an efficient basis" and threatened to withdraw if the demand was not met. Nicholson advanced a claim that under agreement with the Board when he was sent out he had a right to take over the school, with the library and school furniture, a claim which Durbin denied. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Worship notified the Board (1857) that it could no longer be responsible for the salary of the missionary and asked release from "all further pecuniary duties and responsibilities." The Board decided (July 21, 1857) that despite the Corresponding Secretary's denial of Nicholson's right to take over the school his proposition be accepted, except for possession of the building, and the school discontinued as a mission school, the proceeds from tuition to constitute his salary as a missionary. The Board also requested the Bishop to replace Carrow as Superintendent as soon as practicable; and to request the mission to organize a Quarterly Conference and administer its affairs in all respects "according to the *Discipline* and usages of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Carrow was relieved as Superintendent and withdrew from all connection with the mission. He left it with its membership reduced to thirty-nine and without a school. The authorities were "completely disheartened." Durbin went so far as to question whether the mission should not be entirely given up but was influenced by Norris and Lore who favored its continuance.

Nicholson, who was a probationary member of Conference, was discontinued by the Baltimore Conference of 1858 because he had given written notice to the Buenos Aires Mission that he had withdrawn "entirely from the service of the Board of Missions . . . renouncing all responsibility thereto or dependence thereupon pecuniary or otherwise." [10]

ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM GOODFELLOW, 1857-69

In August, 1857, Bishop Ames appointed William Goodfellow* of the Rock River Conference as Superintendent of the Buenos Aires Mission. He was detained in New York until October 26 and did not reach his destination until December 27. Durbin's instructions to the new Superintendent were not of a character to hearten him.[11] The Missionary Society was discouraged over their only South American mission. Durbin indicated that if prospects did not brighten they must proceed to close it up, sell the property, and abandon the field. This gloomy outlook did not seem to disconcert Goodfellow. He took hold with a firm hand, made no exorbitant demands, sent no glowing reports, but moved steadily forward. He had been told that the mission would be expected to be wholly self-supporting, and he did not hesitate to place the church "outside of and above the local . . . [Society for the Promotion of Christian Worship] which had so long controlled it." While the society had disavowed financial responsibility, as stated above, a man less confident of his ability to command individual sources of support would naturally have attempted to re-establish the former relationship. This Goodfellow did not do and, nevertheless, did not find it necessary to draw upon the Board for any part of his salary. Within two years the church membership increased from thirty-nine to sixty-seven—fifty-six full members and eleven probationers. The congregation supported its pastor and met all other expenses.[12]

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* William Goodfellow (1820-98) was born near Wooster, Ohio. He was received into the Ohio Conference on trial in 1844. In 1846 he became a professor in McKendree College, and in 1851 in Illinois Wesleyan University. In 1854 he became a member of the faculty of Garrett Biblical Institute. He transferred to the Rock River Conference in 1855. In 1884 he became supernumerary. His wife, Mary, was a daughter of John Dempster. In Buenos Aires Goodfellow became a friend and counselor of Sarmiento, the great South American educational pioneer. Most significant of his many contributions to the missionary cause was the inauguration of the work of Spanish evangelization in Argentina. —Obituary, *Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1899, p. 439.

In 1860 Goodfellow visited Montevideo, Uruguay, on an exploratory tour. He found several Methodists, one a Local Preacher, another a former Class Leader. He proceeded to organize a Class and establish a weekly prayer meeting. An interest very soon developed also in beginning work among the native population. Goodfellow strongly urged the Board to reopen the mission in the city, but the Board was not prepared to act and nine years passed before the Montevideo Mission was re-established.[13]

The Buenos Aires Society continued to grow, though slowly. In 1861 seventy-four full members and twenty probationers were reported. In January, 1863, the Superintendent opened a school for poor children in the parsonage dining room with eighteen pupils. By the close of the year it had reached an enrollment of 103 and had paid its own way. By October, 1864, sixty-three of those enrolled were paying a tuition fee and forty-one were free pupils. Goodfellow had been gradually reaching out into the surrounding country to immigrant settlements until regular monthly preaching appointments had been established at Tatay, Lobos, Guardia del Monte, and Canualas, and once in three months at Tuyu.[14]

Before work with the Spanish-speaking population was possible the Superintendent turned hopefully to the large number of Protestant European colonists. The Missionary Society *Report* for 1864 described one of the most promising of the lines of expansion:

> Brother Goodfellow has visited the province of Santa Fé, lying on the Parana, some two days' sail by steamer above Buenos Aires, and found it rapidly filling up by emigrants from Europe, chiefly German and French. These colonists are encouraged in every practicable way by the Government, and are building towns, and prosecuting the cultivation of the soil, and the raising of flocks and herds. They are a thrifty middle class of people, of fair intelligence, and possessed of some money.

About two-thirds of these immigrants were Catholic, continued the *Report,* the remainder Protestant. "Among the Protestants some excellent men, ministers and preachers, have come with the people, and they express earnest wishes that our mission should accept their services, and take the oversight of their countrymen." These people, "evangelical in their doctrines and experience," offered the churches, schoolhouses, and parsonages which they were building to the mission. The *Report* drew hopeful parallels to the immigrant work already accomplished in the United States:

> it seems to us very probable that we shall see, under the fostering care and aid of our Missionary Society, the work which has been done in the United States among the Germans and Scandinavians repeated among the Germans and the French on the banks of the Parana in South America.[15]

Thomas Carter, previously mentioned, changed his mind, was sent out as an assistant, and arrived on February 14, 1864. Most of the out-appointments were supplied by him. In three different localities in the Argentine province of Santa Fe, Goodfellow had secured ground for churches and parsonages. At Rosario, a city of about 30,000, it was hoped to begin building a church at once. Carter established residence in the city and began services in his own hired house. He was successful in securing subscriptions for $1,800. in gold in Rosario, and $1,200. in Buenos Aires. At Esperanza, a second locality, there were some 330 Protestant families. They already had a church and parsonage project under way. At San Carlos, the third immigrant settlement, with a Protestant population of some three hundred German and French, an admirable location for buildings was secured.[16]

> [This was] the oldest of the agricultural settlements in these countries; the starting-point of the great change from grazing to agriculture now going on over vast extents of territory. Some European Protestants of various nationalities and denominations residing there have long had self-formed independent religious organizations among them on a small scale, all attempting to follow European methods utterly unadapted to their circumstances, and all failing to harmonize divers elements or secure any satisfactory result for their own members, and much less for the irreligious and priest-ridden elements that surround them.[17]

At the close of 1864 the mission staff consisted of four ministers: the Superintendent at Buenos Aires; Thomas Carter at Rosario; David F. Sauvain, a Local Preacher of "the Swiss National Church" at Buenos Aires, preaching in French; and John Andres, a retired missionary of the South American Missionary Society, who had united with the Buenos Aires Methodist Church, at Esperanza. The Church in Argentina reported 128 members, including thirty-eight probationers; the day school five teachers and 106 pupils.[18]

At this juncture Board members had become confident that the mission was established on a permanent basis and would justify substantial financial investment. In 1864 $16,000. gold was appropriated for the building of a new church in Buenos Aires and when it became apparent that this would be insufficient the amount was increased to $30,000. gold. A beautiful, commodious building was then erected. Locally a rumor was circulated that the Missionary Society was merely a transient society which in a few years would no longer be in existence and "money given would be lost to the donors and to the country. . . . Hearing of this, the Board . . . sent permission to guarantee the return to donors or their heirs all their benefactions for buildings, in case the mission field should be abandoned . . . ." [19]

Late in 1865 Goodfellow made an extensive trip, visiting places where missionary work had been established, and where other opportunities offered.

> We reached home yesterday [December 1] . . . after twenty-two days' absence, having traveled one thousand miles by railroad, by steamer, by rowboat, sailboat, by boat drawn by peons wading in the water, and again, by their running

> along on the river bank, by boat towed up the river by horses, and on land by market wagon, diligence, carriage, and on horseback. With great gratitude we returned from this wide and fruitful field . . . .[20]

The "Plan of Work" * as reported by the Superintendent in 1865 listed ten ministers. Other than Goodfellow himself and Thomas Carter, only one of these had been commissioned by the Board—John W. Shank, of the Central Illinois Conference, who arrived in Buenos Aires on March 1, 1866. Francis Neville Lett came to the mission from the Patagonian Missionary Society.† He was assigned to the Buenos Aires Circuit with a "range of travel . . . as wide as four annual conferences of ordinary size." H. R. Nicholson and his family had removed to Azul upon quitting the mission, the preaching point farthest south, where several Methodist families had settled. Goodfellow asked him to resume work and to take charge there. In the city of Santa Fe, and in Parana—formerly the national capital—there were small congregations of Protestants to whom John Andres, Theophilus Weigle, and E. S. Sauvain preached alternately. About forty immigrant families of German Protestants had settled at Villa de Urquiza in the province of Entre Rios. This point also was supplied by the ministers from Esperanza and San Carlos. On a visit to the town Goodfellow started a subscription for a church.‡ It was completed in September, 1867, and John Jacob Rau, who had been licensed to preach two years previously, continued to hold German services and to conduct a day school and Sunday school.

In 1865, two churches were dedicated, one in Esperanza costing $2,455.— of which the Missionary Society contributed $666.—and one in Rosario at a cost of $3,000., other than for the lot, all of which was paid for by residents of Rosario and Buenos Aires.[21]

Other than in such settlements as have been mentioned the English-speaking people were located in scattered groups over a wide expanse of country. In October, 1866, bent on extension of the work, J. W. Shank set out on an exploratory trip.

> . . . I . . . traveled, besides four hundred miles by rail and stage-coach, about seven hundred and fifty miles on horseback, and visited from house to house

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* The "Plan of Work" for 1865 was: *Province of Buenos Aires,* William Goodfellow, Superintendent and pastor; John W. Shank, assistant; Buenos Aires (French work), David F. Sauvain; Buenos Aires Circuit, Francis N. Lett; Azul, Henry R. Nicholson; *Province of Santa Fe,* Rosario, Thomas Carter; Esperanza, John Andres; San Carlos (German work), Theophilus Weigle; San Carlos (French work), Eugene S. Sauvain; *Province of Entre Rios,* Villa de Urquiza, J. J. Rau.—*Forty-seventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1865), p. 109.

† The Patagonian Missionary Society (later the South American Missionary Society) was founded in 1844 by an Anglican layman. F. N. Lett worked in the mission for a time as a lay catechist. He was employed by the Methodist mission in 1865 and licensed as a Local Preacher. After supplying the Buenos Aires Circuit for two years he was expected to begin work at Cordoba (1868) but instead returned to the Episcopal mission.—E. F. Every, *South American Memories of Thirty Years,* pp. 60 f.; *Forty-eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1866), pp. 20 f.; *ibid., 49th* (1867), pp. 44 f.

‡ In September, 1866, Goodfellow called upon Senor Don Justo Jose de Urquiza, ex-president of Argentina, then governor of Entre Rios, his native province, and appealed to him for assistance in building the church. The Superintendent expressed the hope that he would insure the success of the undertaking. The governor asked if $500. gold would do this and on being assured that it would immediately had an order written for the amount.—J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Church,* I, 344.

> nearly all the English-speaking people settled in a space of country fifty by two hundred miles along the Atlantic coast.
>
> The journey was romantic, but dangerous in no small degree; often traveling alone, the compass was my only guide. I was often compelled to ford lakes and rivers and avoid dangerous quicksands as best I could. . . . and once while alone came squarely upon a lion in the open field. I was welcomed by the people, some even greeting me with shouts of joy and with tears, not having heard a sermon for years. The region visited was organized into a circuit, with pledges on the part of the people to support the minister.
>
> It was while performing this labor, and when about three hundred miles south of Buenos Ayres, that, owing to insufficient diet and excessive riding on ill-trained horses, I completely broke down, and being compelled to continue the excessive horseback riding for days in order to get back to the city, my maladies were so increased that I could not recover except by long-continued rest, if at all. After about two months I returned to the United States . . . .[22]

In January, 1866, the mission arranged with John Beveridge, a layman, to conduct services in Cordoba. He began a Bible class, circulated books, and in November, 1867, began publication of *Estrella Matutina,* a religious periodical.[23]

The twenty-fifth of May, 1867, was a red-letter day in Buenos Aires Methodism. The occasion was the holding of the first Spanish service after twenty-one years of English language work. In the evening the sermon was preached by a protégé of Goodfellow's, a young English immigrant, John F. Thomson,* who had gone to the Ohio Wesleyan University for an education, and had now returned to inaugurate the new departure.

> When the service was opened the larger congregation was outside the house, and the exercises were varied with an occasional tuft of grass or a cobble-stone thrown into the house. The police came to protect the worshipers, and after using a horse-whip a few times the larger crowd was inside. . . . An immense audience greeted the young preacher, leaving no vacant standing room. The altar, pulpit steps, and sofa in the pulpit were all filled. Members of Congress and of the State Legislature, judges, lawyers, and physicians, mingled with the commoner people as they crowded the house of God.[24]

On June 4, 1868, the mission personnel was further increased by the arrival of Henry G. Jackson of the Northwest Indiana Conference. Goodfellow planned that Jackson should take the pastorate of the Buenos Aires English church, in order to release him entirely for the duties of the superintendency. With the English work in the surrounding area, and in Rosario, and the possibility of a widespread German and French program among immigrants, there was more than enough to occupy the Superintendent's full time. In addition to a Spanish Sunday-evening service at the English church Thomson preached at the Boca, at that time a separate, destitute settlement outside of Buenos Aires, where he established a Sunday school and a day school. Goodfellow had ambitious plans but within a few months after Jackson's arrival his health and that of Mrs. Goodfellow began to decline and he found it necessary to ask for relief from the arduous program which he had so successfully promoted over a period of twelve years. His request for release was granted in April, 1869. Of the five Superintendents of the South America Mission, 1847-93, Goodfellow's term was the longest.[25]

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* John F. Thomson (1843-1933) was born in Plymouth, England, and emigrated in 1853 to Argentina. He graduated from Ohio Wesleyan in 1866 and the same year married Helen Jane Goodfellow, a niece of William Goodfellow. For many years he served as Presiding Elder in Argentina and Uruguay. He was an eloquent speaker but was most widely known for the vigorous, polemical character of his sermons. He was fond of debate and did not hesitate to take on any opponent in theological and ecclesiastical controversy, frequently being the challenger. He had great influence in scholarly circles, particularly among university students.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; William C. Poole, Compiler, *History of One Hundred Years of the First Methodist Episcopal Church (American Church), Buenos Aires, 1836-1936,* pamphlet, pp. 12 f.

SPANISH MISSION POLICY DEVELOPED, 1869-78

On April 8, 1869, Bishop Davis W. Clark appointed Henry G. Jackson,* pastor of the Buenos Aires church, as Superintendent of the South America Mission. The Missionary Society at this time was embarrassed by increasing indebtedness and was seeking means of decreasing its obligations. When Jackson recommended limiting missionary operations to the Spanish-speaking people the Board and the General Missionary Committee agreed immediately to the change of policy. He was authorized "to close up at once" the principal German and French missions, leaving only the English work in Rosario and Buenos Aires, the latter being self-supporting.[26]

In a letter written on November 16, 1869, Jackson related that a Spanish Sunday school which was meeting in the Buenos Aires English church had increased steadily in numbers since its organization a few months previously. The Spanish congregation also was very large.

> Often more persons have come than could get into the house. Of course a good many of the English-speaking people attend the Spanish service; but a large majority of the congregation are natives and foreigners, who do not understand English.[27]

Jackson speculated on the cause of this large increase. He thought it probable that the explanation lay in the aggressively polemical character of Thomson's preaching. He seemed to have some doubt concerning the wisdom of the course pursued but hoped that good would result.

In 1868 Thomson began preaching in Spanish every other Sunday in Montevideo, holding the services in the homes of friends of the cause. Soon larger accommodations were required and the location was changed to the Masonic schoolroom. The Superintendent visited Montevideo in November

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* Henry Godden Jackson (1838-1914) was born at Manchester, Ind. After graduation from the Manchester Academy he attended Indiana Asbury University and in 1865 received the M.A. degree. In 1862 he married Alice Clark of Manchester. He was received on trial in the Northwest Indiana Conference and during 1862-65 was principal of Stockwell Collegiate Institute, Stockwell, Ind. He then became pastor of Ames Methodist Episcopal Church, New Orleans, La. On his return from Buenos Aires he served several prominent churches as pastor, including Grand Avenue Church, Kansas City, and Centenary Church, Chicago. In 1890 he was appointed Presiding Elder of the Chicago Northern District, beginning a long period of superintendency in Chicago. He rendered noteworthy service in preparing the Spanish *Hymnario* of more than one hundred hymns of which fifty-seven were from his own pen—some original productions, others free translations of standard English hymns.—Obituary, *Minutes, Rock River Conference,* 1915, pp. 97 ff.

(1869) and found "the prospects . . . encouraging." Jackson held an English service. This congregation was small, but he felt that if services were held regularly a good congregation could be gathered. On November 6, 1869, the Committee on South America, at the suggestion of Goodfellow, who was present at the meeting, recommended an appropriation of $2,268. (salary, $1,500., rent, $768.) for work in Montevideo. At the beginning of 1870 the Superintendent transferred Thomson to Montevideo, with the understanding that he would visit Buenos Aires twice each quarter. The English Society had a membership of eighteen, a congregation of about forty, and a weekly prayer meeting of about twenty-five. The Spanish work at Buenos Aires was placed in the charge of Jose J. Rial, a converted Spanish priest who had united with the Methodist Society. He also preached at Barracas in the southern part of the city and within a few months had started a subscription for the building of a chapel.

In Buenos Aires an epidemic of yellow fever in 1871 seriously hampered religious and social activities. Deaths mounted to a height of nine hundred a day, until 25,000 people had died—one-eighth of the entire population. Persons of all ages were numbered among the victims.[28]

On May 1, 1870, Thomas B. Wood of the Northwest Indiana Conference arrived and was stationed at Rosario. In accordance with Superintendent Jackson's policy the mission program was changed "from that of a chaplaincy for a small English community" to that of a missionary enterprise for the evangelization of the Spanish-speaking people. As might have been anticipated the interest and activity of the English language group rapidly declined. The Spanish services, begun on April 23, 1871, were largely attended —as they were in Buenos Aires. Wood described the first service:

> The occasion had been announced in the daily papers, and curiosity brought together a crowd of people, many more than the little church could hold. All classes of the Spanish-speaking people were represented, and among them enough of the highest in society to give the whole enterprise a character of respectability . . . and nothing like disorder has ever shown itself at the first or any subsequent service. . . . Hymns that all can read and understand, tunes in which all are invited to join, prayers in their own language and adapted to the occasion, and sermons that appeal to them as Christians (which they all profess to be) to realize in their hearts and lives the scriptural privileges and duties of Christianity, all this is entirely new to these people, and some of them are getting permanently attached to it.[29]

A Spanish Sunday school was commenced on April 30, 1871, with four Italians and one *gaucho*. Attendance soon increased to fifteen and then to twenty-five native and Italian men and youth—no women or children. The opposition of Roman Catholic priests in Rosario to Protestant mission work was intense. Systematic denunciation and threats were made by the priests against all who attended the mission services. This deterred the more timid from continuing to attend or even to study the Bible in their homes, and caused the removal of all "the Romish children" who understood English from the mission's English Sunday school.[30]

At the close of 1870 Buenos Aires had two English congregations, one English Sunday school, two Spanish congregations, three Spanish Sunday schools, an English Sunday-school teachers' meeting, and a weekly Bible class. The First Church English congregation was of good size; its prayer meeting had an average attendance of about forty-five, and its Sunday school of about 145. The second English congregation, very small in number, met in Barracas.

The First Church Spanish congregation was large and the Society had a number of full members and probationers. The Barracas Spanish congregation was also large, the meeting room crowded to capacity at eight o'clock on Sunday morning.

In 1872 a vacancy occurred in the United States consulate at Rosario and without previous knowledge on his part Thomas B. Wood was appointed acting consul. Concerning this appointment J. M. Reid gave this account:

> The United States Consulate is curiously but usefully connected with our work. As early as 1857 the Department of State at Washington discovered the importance of Rosario as the key to the interior provinces of the Argentine Republic, and established there a commercial agency. This was erected into a Consulate in 1870, with jurisdiction covering all the Argentine provinces beyond Buenos Ayres. . . . This post has been held by [T. B. Wood ever since 1872] and became increasingly important as the growth of trade of Rosario advanced. It served to give position to the incumbent, which was of value both in its effect on the public mind and in facilitating intercourse with public men. All the time-consuming work of the Consulate was done by a clerk, and the requirements of the office did not interfere with the regular work of the missionary.[31]

The mission continued to be centered in 1872-73 in the three major cities, Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Montevideo, in each of which activities were maintained in Spanish and English with bilingual preaching services and prayer meetings. At Barracas a new chapel was dedicated on May 9, 1872, for the Spanish congregation. The Rosario prayer meeting was reported as "partly Spanish and partly English." The Spanish congregations in the three cities had an aggregate attendance of six hundred; the English congregations four hundred. In each of the three cities the mission was influential in public education. In the beginning the school authorities and teachers of the Buenos Aires schools used their influence to restrain women and children from attending Methodist religious services but by the early seventies their attitude had changed and the Superintendent of the mission was called on "to draft a complete school system" for the municipality to be recommended for adoption by both private and public schools.

In 1874 Jackson strongly protested lack of reinforcements:

> I learn, to my great disappointment, that nothing has been done with regard to sending me help for Buenos Ayres. I have been for months carrying on both

the English and Spanish works. The English Church is in good shape and with the time and attention that one man could give it, if he had only it to attend to, it could be made a glorious success. The Spanish work in Buenos Ayres would afford work for *two men*. How can it be expected that I can do justice to both? It is impossible.[33]

The great event of the year was the dedication in March of the new First Methodist Church (popularly known as the "American Church"), at Corrientes 718, Buenos Aires. The total cost, including the lot, building, organ, and furnishings, was $125,874. gold. Toward the cost the Missionary Society contributed $40,000.; the local congregation $85,874.

From Rosario Wood wrote that responsible people were being added to the Church, "both native and English." He was impressed with the opportunity for Spanish evangelization which, he said, "stretches out wide as the Pampas." He mentioned also openings in towns, particularly San Lorenzo and Cordoba.

The mission was encouraged in 1875 by the arrival of Thomas McClintock* of the New Jersey Conference, who was assigned to Buenos Aires First Church. This left Jackson free to give attention to Spanish evangelism and to special work. He was busily engaged in the compilation of a Spanish language hymnbook, of which the first edition was published in 1876. The book contained some original hymns although most were translations.[34]

Tract † production and distribution by 1875 had come to have an important place in the mission program. Older boys from the Sunday schools were enlisted in distributing tracts and selling Bibles, Testaments, and other books at the railway gates, on river boats, at factory doors at the hour of closing, and on the streets.

Joseph R. Wood of the Northwest Indiana Conference arrived on April 19, 1875, and was sent to Rosario to work in cooperation with his brother, with special reference to English preaching and pastoral service. A few heads of families were the mainstay of the English Society. Other than these the congregation chiefly consisted of working-class people who were quite poor. The Spanish services were attended by a small number of permanent adherents and occasional hearers. The Spanish Sunday school was made up of orphan boys and a few others. J. R. Wood's coming in part testified to the fact that the Missionary Society could not wholly resign itself to neglect the English residents and the immigrant German, French, and Italian population. T. B. Wood had the discernment to realize that if the Protestant immigrants were imbued with zeal and a vital Christian faith they could do much to reinforce the missionary work among the Spanish-speaking native population.

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* Thomas McClintock's stay in South America was brief. After a year in Buenos Aires, he was transferred in 1876 to the English Church in Montevideo, and in 1877 he was back in the United States, appointed to Palmyra, N. J.—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

† The principal sources for tracts were the American Tract Society and the London Religious Tract Society. The Methodist Tract Society published no tracts in Spanish.

In 1872 at Rosario, T. B. Wood had taken into his home four orphan boys, hoping that the Missionary Society would provide funds for establishing an orphanage with these boys as a nucleus. The Society did not see its way clear to undertake the project but in 1875, when the W.F.M.S. made its second appropriation for work in South America, $1,050.* was included for a girls' orphanage in Rosario.[35]

Beginning in 1875 T. B. Wood occupied the chair of physics and astronomy in National College, an institution which had recently been established in Rosario as the headquarters of higher education for the province. The local site for Spanish mission operations had proven to be so utterly unfit that Spanish preaching was suspended in 1877 until a suitable place could be provided. Principally by the personal efforts of the missionaries a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded which succeeded in doing away with bull-fighting in Rosario. In 1877 Wood transferred to Montevideo where he became pastor of the English Church.

Having given nine strenuous years to the superintendency of the South America Mission, in 1878 Jackson asked the Bishops to relieve him and with their consent returned to the United States.[36]

ADVANCE UNDER WOOD'S ADMINISTRATION, 1878-87

Thomas B. Wood † had distinguished himself as missionary, United States consul (1873-77), and head of the Rosario municipal school system since his arrival on the field in 1870, and when the superintendency became vacant he was the logical appointee. He continued to reside in Montevideo and superintended the mission in addition to his other responsibilities. Thomson was transferred to Buenos Aires in 1878 to give his entire time to evangelistic effort. Wood's enlightened and aggressive program soon registered advance in all lines of missionary work.

Developments in Uruguay were most impressive. Some outstanding converts were made who dedicated themselves to missionary evangelism. One of these was Juan Correa, an untiring and dauntless itinerant, whose journeys embraced the most populous rural areas and principal towns in a wide range of Uruguay. His spirit is revealed in a statement concerning him made by Wood:

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* The $1,050. appropriation was made up as follows: New England Branch, orphanage, $300.; New York Branch, orphanage, $150.; orphanage expenses, $300.; Baltimore Branch, orphanage, $150.; Philadelphia Branch, orphanage, $75.; Cincinnati Branch, one orphan, $75.

† Thomas B. Wood (1844-1922) was the son of a prominent minister, Dr. Aaron Wood of the Northwest Indiana Conference. He finished studies at Indiana Asbury at nineteen and the next year received from Wesleyan University the degree of A.B. (1864). He continued to study for three years (A.M., Indiana Asbury, 1866; A.M., Wesleyan University, 1867). For the next three years he taught natural science and German at Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass. In 1865 he was received on trial in the New England Conference; for two years he was president of Valparaiso College, Indiana; and in 1868 transferred to the Northwest Indiana Conference. In 1867 he was married to Ellen Dow, a musician, and teacher at Wilbraham. In Argentina and Uruguay Wood held numerous educational positions including a professorship of political economy and constitutional government (1874-76), and of astronomy and physics (1876-77) in National College; directorship of a school in the Waldensian country, Uruguay (1887-89); presidency (1889-91) of the Buenos Aires Theological Seminary. He established in 1877 *El Evangelisto,* the first evangelical paper in Uruguay, and was its editor for eleven years (1877-88). He was Presiding Elder of the Lima District, 1891-95; president of the Lima Business College, 1899; the founder of normal schools in Ecuador (1900); president of the Lima Theological Seminary (1905-13); director of the Callao (Peru) mission schools (1907-13) and pastor of the English church, Lima (1907-13). He left Peru on furlough in 1913 and in January, 1915, retired.—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

> Not long ago he was away from home three months, during which he suffered all sorts of hardships, including imprisonment, but was as ready as ever to start again. His imprisonment was in no sense a result of religious persecution, but of the anarchical state of the country . . . . The authorities took him for a spy or a conspirator, because they could not conceive it possible that a man should go about, as he was doing, with no other object than to preach the Gospel![37]

Out of Correa's work came Carlos Lastrico, scarcely less adventurous and heroic than Correa.

One of those who heard in Montevideo the Gospel for the first time from the lips of J. F. Thomson was Francis Penzotti, who had come to the city years earlier as an Italian immigrant. His interest was aroused but he did not immediately find the peace that he sought. It remained for Wood and Andrew M. Milne to lead him later into the full light of the Gospel. His conversion was a notable victory for the evangelical cause. Penzotti and Lastrico are "destined," Wood declared, ". . . to carry the Gospel to every cabin and hovel" in eastern South America, "throwing themselves on the people for support," as the heroic Circuit Riders of North America had done in earlier decades. In March, 1879, Penzotti received his first appointment as evangelist to the Waldensians* in Uruguay. At the request of the colonists he removed with his family to the colony, making it his headquarters until 1887. Wood listed in 1880 six centers, besides the capital, in Uruguay where missions had been established: Bella Vista, Pocitos, Union, Esmeralda (all suburban points), Colonia Circuit, and Canelones.

For one year (1881) the South America Mission bore the name Southeast South America Mission.†

Wood gave attention in 1881 to the more thorough organization of the Societies in the principal centers. The Montevideo Society was organized with ten Class Leaders (all but one its own converts, and all but two converted Roman Catholics), six stewards, six trustees, and four Local Preachers. In the Buenos Aires Society a board of trustees was elected and regular Quarterly Conference meetings arranged for. At Rosario also a regular Disciplinary organization was created.[38]

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* The Waldensian sect, whose original center was in a small mountainous area some thirty-five miles southwest of Turin, in Italy, was chiefly an outgrowth of the labors of Peter Waldo who in 1173 became convinced that every man had a right to interpret the Scriptures for himself. In the persecution waged against them by Pope Innocent III early in the thirteenth century thousands were put to death and other thousands fled into exile. Persecution continued through later centuries but the movement could not be suppressed by fire or sword. Seeds were planted in all parts of Europe which produced abundant fruit in the days of Luther and Calvin. Small groups emigrated to South America in 1857 and 1858, most of whom settled first near the city of Florida in southern Uruguay and later "on the left bank of the River Rosario in the Department of Colonia." By 1869 the colony (first named Colonie du Rosario Oriental by the immigrants and later by Uruguayans, Colonia Valdense) had 150 families numbering 809 people.—George B. Watts, *The Waldenses in the New World,* pp. 3, 5, 46-50.

† The name of the mission was changed by the General Missionary Committee. Two other missions in South America were listed by the committee: Northeast South America, to include the basin of the Amazon and the coast region adjacent; and Western South America, to designate William Taylor's work in those areas. At its 1882 session the General Missionary Committee took action restoring the original name, "all the work of the Missionary Society in South America being comprehended under this designation."—*Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1881), p. [141]; *ibid., 64th* (1882), p. [41].

A member of the Buenos Aires Spanish congregation, a watchmaker, in 1880 gathered a group of ragged children from the streets and began to teach them. A converted night policeman, moved by like zeal, gave of his spare time by day. Between the two they managed to maintain a six hours' school. Money was raised by subscription for rent and school requisites and a room hired. By the beginning of 1881 over fifty boys and girls were in regular attendance. Mr. F. Fletcher, a zealous Englishman, became interested and began to give much of his time to the school. Larger quarters were rented, more pupils enrolled, and more helpers enlisted. By this time pupils numbered about 120, all from the poorest classes. Sunday-school teaching supplemented the day-school instruction. A woman's society was organized under Mrs. Thomson's leadership and by 1883 the "Ragged School" was considered a regular part of the mission's activities.

Owing to the Superintendent's absence* during a part of 1881 only J. R. Wood, of the missionary staff, was free to itinerate. He made a tour of some three hundred miles along the Parana River, nearly one half the way from Rosario to Asuncion, Paraguay. The Spanish work had been developing so rapidly in recent years that in 1881 the total membership—full members and probationers—outnumbered the English nearly four to one. Nearly all day-school pupils were Spanish-speaking. Correa, accompanied by Milne—the American Bible Society's colporteur—was this year on tour in Paraguay and Matto Grosso Province (Brazil) which were for the first time in their history visited by Protestant preachers.

William Tallon,† who had been assisting Thomson in Buenos Aires, was appointed to the American Church in Montevideo in 1881, the beginning of a long and fruitful ministry. He was effective in defense of Protestantism from the pulpit and in public discussions in the university, and brought into the Church "a number of young men of superior education, unusual talent, and well tempered zeal." A mission headquarters' site was purchased in Montevideo in 1883 within a square from the proposed site for the new national government buildings.[39]

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* T. B. Wood was given leave of absence for a part of 1881-82 for recuperation. His responsibilities as Superintendent were taken over during his absence by Mrs. Wood.—*Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1881), p. 45.

† William Tallon (1848-1911), born in England and taken to Argentina as a child, received his entire education in South America. He was converted under the ministry of William Goodfellow and in 1881 was received on trial *in absentia* in the Austin Conference (*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1881, pp. 291 f.). His ministry was spent in the pastorate and the presiding eldership. He was twice married, his second wife, whom he married in 1909, being Bertha Kneeland, a W.F.M.S. missionary. As a delegate to the 1908 General Conference he made his only trip to the United States. As a preacher of the Gospel his influence was widely felt in South America. He stood high in public esteem and he was deeply loved by many.—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

In 1882 Bishop W. L. Harris in the course of a trip around the South American continent visited Argentina and Uruguay with the purpose of inspecting the missions and counseling with the missionaries and native workers. He arrived in Montevideo on January 16. The episcopal visit was keenly anticipated, the more so because the mission had only once before been visited by a Bishop, and that nine years previously. Unfortunately Harris' visit occurred during Superintendent Wood's absence on furlough. His conferences with the Spanish pastors and laymen materially strengthened the connectional feeling among them.[40]

The first successful effort to enter Bolivia was made in 1883. No previous attempt had been made since 1879 when Jose Mongiardino, a colporteur, was murdered and the Bibles he took into the country were burned. This year Penzotti and Milne succeeded in entering and canvassing the principal towns and villages, including, among others, Tupiza, Potosi, Sucre, Oruro, and La Paz. Penzotti served as an evangelist and Milne as a colporteur. In June, 1884, Penzotti, accompanied by two colporteurs, John P. Geymonat and P. Ocariz, again visited Bolivia.* They held public services in the frontier town of Tupiza, and from there went on to Potosi, Sucre, Cochabamba, Punata, Oruro, and other towns, finally reaching La Paz. In Chuquisaca they established a Sunday school. In La Paz they obtained employment for a time as carpenters while they worked by night as evangelists.[41]

In the two years 1882-83 the Buenos Aires English church registered a net gain of forty-five members. Thomas H. Stockton† of the Newark Conference arrived in 1883, with his family, to become its full-time pastor, permitting Thomson to give his entire time to the Spanish work. He was well received by the congregation. The church from the beginning of his ministry provided his entire support and all church expenses, aided the Spanish work financially, and during his first year raised $100. for general missions. In 1884 Thomson was appointed to the Buenos Aires City and Province Circuit.

Superintendent Wood reported that the years 1884-85, despite the petty persecution which still was met everywhere, were the most successful of any since the founding of the mission.

> The conversion of souls, the ingathering of members, the founding of new congregations, Sunday-schools, and day schools, the increase of funds raised, both in the aggregate and in the average per member, the growth of reliability and zeal in the new workers, . . . and a sensible gain in our *hold on the public mind,* are the salient features of our progress.[42]

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* On this, as on the preceding tour, Penzotti crossed the Andes to the Pacific coast, where in Tacna, Iquique, Antofagasta, Caldera, Copiapo, and other towns he preached and distributed Bibles.

† Thomas H. Stockton (1839-92) was born in Philadelphia, the son of Dr. Thomas H. Stockton, an illustrious minister of the Methodist Protestant Church. He was received on trial in the New Jersey Conference in 1871 (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1871, p. 63) and transferred to the Newark Conference in 1878, serving pastorates in both. He was an able preacher, deeply interested in the Christian education of young people.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; *Christian Advocate, LXVII* (1872), 32 (Aug. 11), 547.

In 1885 there were thirteen "helpers under regular appointment." In addition there were eighteen others who had acted as supplies or assistants at various places during a part or the whole of the year.

A line of new appointments was established in 1885 from Montevideo to Porto Alegre, Brazil, a distance of five hundred miles. Tallon's work included "a self-supporting day school, a growing Sunday school, a class . . . and a congregation at Porongos" and congregations begun in other places. Lemos had a day school, a Sunday school, and a congregation at San Fructuoso; and Correa a day school, a Sunday school, a Class, and a Bible depot at Porto Alegre, with congregations developing at several places.

The Rosario Circuit in 1885 embraced new work near the city west of the river under the charge of Rudolph Gerber, who began a day school in Carcarana. At Helvicia, farther up the river, a day school was established by J. R. Wood. Developments had been under way for a year on the West Entre Rios Circuit. At Mendoza, in the far interior, at the foot of the Andine wall, about 720 miles west of Buenos Aires, a congregation had been gathered, with a Sunday school and a Bible depot, by Thomas Cingiali, a colporteur.

Self-supporting Protestant day schools,* an early outgrowth of the evangelical movement, gradually increased in number over the years. Growth was accelerated in the eighties, as indicated by the establishment of the five above-mentioned schools in 1885. Four years later there were over twenty self-supporting primary schools.[43]

Beginning in December, 1885, Penzotti, again accompanied by Milne, made his third extended itinerary. By way of London, they went to Venezuela where, beginning at La Guayra—its principal port—they visited many of the principal cities, not only of that republic, but also of the Isthmus of Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, preaching everywhere it was possible and selling Bibles. On this trip they were absent from their homes for fourteen months of dangerous work "and sufferings of all kinds." For more than a year Penzotti did not hear from his wife or children.[44]

In 1886 immigrant Protestant representatives of the San Carlos rural region again sent a petition asking the Methodist mission to supply them with religious services. Wood acceded to the request, reversing the policy which Jackson had adopted seventeen years before, and assigned Robert Weihmüller, a Local Preacher, to San Carlos, a four-week Circuit whose extreme points were nearly fifty miles apart.[45]

First Church, Buenos Aires, in 1887 was stated by Wood to be more vigorous than ever before. Beginning in 1886 Second Church (Spanish) was in the charge of George Paddock Howard,* whose work was highly successful. The Ragged School continued to flourish, aided by a government rent subsidy of $100. a month.

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* The Methodist veteran in the self-supporting Protestant day-school work was Salvador Negrotto. For over thirty years he was an influential leader in the movement, the school which he himself conducted being widely known as a Protestant institution. Many of his pupils were from prominent families and not a few became leaders of liberal thought and action. He received no aid from the Missionary Society, and was a generous patron of all mission enterprises. He died in Buenos Aires in 1885.—*Sixty-seventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1885), pp. 43 f.

In Uruguay by 1887 Methodist missionary operations had become so interwoven with the Waldensian that it was almost impossible for lines of separation to be drawn. The Spanish and French work also was inseparable. The "Department of Colonia" of Uruguay had many Waldensian immigrants. The Waldensian Synod in Europe made no effort to promote religious activities among them or to organize churches. Some of the immigrants, however, themselves took the initiative in organizing religious societies. A Waldensian minister, Daniel Armand Ugon, a graduate of the Waldensian Theological School of Florence, Italy, and his wife arrived on November 27, 1877. He formed "congregations at two points, with 6 Sunday-schools, 5 day-schools, and about 450 church members." The organic form of organization was Waldensian but the methods used were Methodistic. On Wood's invitation he entered the employ of the Methodist mission in 1884, was appointed to the Colonia Circuit, and opened a theological school for the training of young men for the ministry. In 1886-87 ten students were enrolled in three classes. Under his ministry many of the Waldensians were drawn into closer relations with the Methodists. Not less than twenty lay and ministerial workers were recruited at this time from among the Waldensians for the mission's program of Spanish evangelization.[46]

In Montevideo services were being held in several different centers. In one place a new convert opened his home for meetings twice a week. Charles W. Miller of the Alabama Conference, who arrived in February, 1887, was appointed to the English work. Apart from these developments in and about the city of Montevideo, extensive English and Spanish work was under way in the interior. On the Central Uruguay Circuit the important city of Durazno, long impenetrable, was entered. There were good results in the city of Florida. Tallon had won recognition all through the interior of the republic as an important public man. Far into the interior on the Rio Grande Circuit (Brazil) two new Classes had been formed.[47] In both Uruguay and Argentina liberal sentiment was spreading during the decade of the eighties. By 1884 there were marked changes in public and governmental attitudes. *El Diario,* an influential, widely read daily, published in Montevideo, openly supported the evangelical movement. In Buenos Aires *La Patria Argentina,* also a daily of large influence, "declared itself in favor of the *true* Christianity as distinguished from the *false* . . . ." In Rosario *La Capital* opened its columns to J. R. Wood for articles advocating evangelical religion. The Argentine national government opened a Normal School in Cordoba, one of the strongest Roman Catholic centers, with four North American Protestant teachers. There were also developments of even wider significance. In two provinces of Argentina—Entre Rios and Santiago—the "organic relation between Church and State" was abolished by state constitutional amendment. The Argentine National Congress passed a bill "banishing sectarian instruction from the curriculum of schools dependent on the national government." Prelates were deposed from their offices by executive decree, government appropriations for Church purposes were cut off, and the Pope's legate was exiled.[48]

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* George Paddock Howard (1858-1909) was born in Buenos Aires. He was converted in 1878 under Jackson's ministry and for the next four years was a self-supporting pastor in Buenos Aires. From 1883 to 1885 he acted as a supply preacher and "helper," and in 1886 received his first appointment. He was Presiding Elder of the Rosario District during 1900-1903; the Uruguay District, 1903-1907; Buenos Aires Central District, 1907-1909. He was absent from the field only one short period in more than twenty years. Death came to him in London, England, where he had gone for recuperation. He has been described as "one of the most useful ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in eastern South America."—Homer C. Stuntz, *South American Neighbors,* p. 197; Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

Civil war in Uruguay in 1886 compelled the suspension of almost all religious activities in the interior. Conditions were so serious that the annual meeting of the mission which had been scheduled for Montevideo had to be changed to Buenos Aires. Thousands fled from the city to avoid impressment into the army but not any of the native preachers were moved by the dangers which threatened them, meeting all of their engagements even though church services were attended by very few persons.[49]

One of Wood's major interests from the beginning of his missionary career was temperance reform, in which practically nothing was being done. What is said to have been the first organized effort was the formation of a teetotaler's club in the little Rosario Methodist Society in 1874 under Wood's pastorate. This later developed into a Good Templars' Lodge and from that point expanded aggressively. One of the difficulties was that some Methodist church members considered temperance activity a variety of fanaticism which hindered the growth of Protestantism and they were hostile to temperance education. To avoid controversy within the Church propaganda was chiefly confined to the temperance organizations.

By the close of his superintendency Wood had become convinced that South America must be evangelized chiefly by personal effort with individuals. "Everything else," he said, "is secondary to this." In some countries, particularly in Bolivia and Ecuador, evangelical preaching in Spanish was still prohibited by law. In all countries, however, the way was more or less open for house-to-house visitation and for the distribution of evangelical literature. In 1887 Wood wrote to the Missionary Society:

> This truly apostolic method was long left to the colporteurs, but in late years we have not only extended it, but also developed it as an essential part of pastoral and evangelistic labor. Our pioneer preachers, Correa, Penzotti, Aboledo, Lastrico, Ferrarini, and others, have had training as colporteurs, and now carry their experience thus acquired into all their work.

In 1887 Wood was released at his own request from the superintendency of the mission.[50]

THE MISSION UNDER DREES' LEADERSHIP, 1887-93

Fortunately an experienced missionary, well versed in the Spanish language and familiar with the conditions he would be called upon to meet, was available for the superintendency. On May 25, 1887, Charles W. Drees,* for thirteen years a missionary in Mexico, and for nine years the Superintendent of the Mexico Mission, was appointed to South America. On July 26 he arrived in Buenos Aires† where he was met by Wood:

> I transferred the superintendency to him August 1, introducing him immediately by circulars to all our workers; also to the workers of other denominations in these parts of the world; also to over a hundred of the most important men in civil authority in these countries; also to about a hundred leading journalists and many business men with whose enterprises our work has come in contact.[51]

In his first report to the Missionary Society Drees told of developments in the latter part of 1887 and in 1888. In Barracas where services had been discontinued early in 1887 they were resumed later in the year and the little chapel repaired and reopened. A site for a chapel had been procured at La Plata, the capital of Buenos Aires Province, about thirty-one miles southeast of the city of Buenos Aires.

At Rosario John M. Spangler, who had been with the Taylor mission in Chile for several years, had been appointed pastor of the English Society. The church had assumed his entire support, and under his leading there had been sixteen conversions and the membership had more than doubled. Juan Robles had been given charge of the Rosario Spanish Circuit. On the San Carlos Circuit, in order to minister to the several nationalities, Weihmüller had inaugurated preaching services in three languages—Spanish, German, and French. At Mendoza a large building which had been the headquarters of an Italian mutual aid society was purchased, remodeled, the interior refinished, and in September, 1889, dedicated as a house of worship. It was agreed that morning services should be held in English and evening services in Spanish.[52]

At the beginning of 1887 Penzotti had been appointed pastor of the Spanish church at Rosario but later at the request of the American Bible Society he was loaned to the society as their agent for the Pacific coast. Accompanied by his family and J. B. Arancet, he set out for Peru. When he arrived at Arica he was detained for six months by a cholera quarantine. Here he successfully conducted Bible distribution and held well-attended Spanish services. In July, 1888, he arrived at Callao and on November 3 wrote to Drees:

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* Charles W. Dress (1851-1926) was born in Xenia, Ohio. At eleven years of age he united with the Methodist Church and at twenty was licensed to preach. He graduated at the Ohio Wesleyan University (A.B., 1871) and at the Boston University School of Theology (B.D., 1874). From there he went immediately to Mexico where he began his missionary work at Puebla. In 1878 he was appointed Superintendent of the mission. For some years he was also editor of the mission periodical, *El Abogado.* Following his service in South America he was Superintendent of the Puerto Rico Mission (1900-1904). He was commissioned by the American Bible Society to go to Spain to assist in the revision of the Spanish New Testament (1912-16). He translated the Methodist *Discipline* into Spanish, and revised the Spanish translation of Watson's *Life of Wesley.* On Oct. 1, 1924, after fifty years of active service, he retired. His scholarly training and acute mind enabled him to add materially to the impact of evangelical truth upon the scholarship and thought of Latin America.—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

† On Bishop Fowler's recommendation, made in 1886, the headquarters of the mission was returned to Buenos Aires. A theater at Mercedes, Buenos Aires, in which J. F. Thomson had been preaching to great audiences, was purchased in the same year as also other property intended as a site for a theological school and for a Spanish church.—*Sixty-eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1886), p. 54.

> I am very happy in this new field . . . . as soon as I arrived here [Callao] I sought to bring the people together, and from that time have held three meetings each week. The attendance and interest have constantly increased. . . . Both the people and myself are very sorry that I am compelled to leave them so frequently as I must in going into the interior and to Northern and Southern Peru . . . in promoting the circulation of the Bible.[53]

Meetings were at first held in a rented hall and when that would not accommodate the audience a larger building was found. An English chapel in Callao, the seaport of Lima, held about four hundred people. As there was no pastor it had remained closed for some time. This was offered to Penzotti for Sunday services, an offer which he gladly accepted. Soon persecution began and permission for the use of the chapel was withdrawn. After much difficulty another hall was procured and services were resumed. Much interest was awakened which in turn brought about intense and vicious persecution that continued month after month without abatement.[54]

At Montevideo a new arrangement was instituted in 1888, dividing the city and suburbs into two Circuits. Three secondary points—Cuaraim, San Jose, and Municipio Street—were tied in with the central church, all under the charge of George Paddock Howard; and the second Circuit, Aguador, was assigned to Antonio Guelfi. The fourteen schools, with about eight hundred pupils, were continued under the general supervision of Guelfi. The removal of a large number of English families from the city was a hindrance to the increase in attendance at the English services. No marked advance was made during the year on any of the four* interior Circuits.[55]

By 1888 the day school at Porto Alegre (Brazil), capital of Rio Grande do Sul Province, had expanded into three schools with 221 pupils. Before opening the work in Brazil Wood had interviewed the emperor and two of his ministers on the subject of religious freedom. It had been understood earlier, when the first evangelical schools had been established in the empire, that the Bible would be excluded from them. Wood succeeded in gaining the emperor's consent for the teaching of the Bible on condition that respect should be shown for the established religion.† Two Sunday schools also had been organized and preaching services were maintained in two of the schoolhouses.

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* The four interior Circuits were: Colonia, among the Waldensians; Canelones, which included a number of rural settlements; Central Uruguay, including Porongos (Trinidad), Durazno, Florida, San Jose, and Mercedes; and Tacuarimbo, embracing San Fructuoso, Paso de los Toros, Piedro Sola, Anoyonalo, Cerro Largo, and other places in northern Uruguay.

† T. B. Wood's success in gaining permission for the teaching of the Bible in the schools was a foregleam of the decree of the Brazilian provisional government on Jan. 7, 1890, which guaranteed civil and religious freedom to all subjects of the empire.

A Sunday school was also organized in 1888 in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, conducted from February to June by H. D. Osuna, a colporteur. Interest had been awakened by the visit made to the country in 1886 by Penzotti and Milne. A group of families petitioned the mission, asking for Penzotti to be sent to them as a permanent missionary but he was appointed instead to Peru and no missionary was available for Venezuela.[56]

While Paraguay was visited in 1884, following the first tour by colporteurs in 1881, it was not until 1886 that aggressive missionary work was begun. In that year Juan Villaneuva was appointed to establish a Paraguay Circuit. In 1887 Wood reported that Villanueva was keeping his round of appointments, observing growing interest in the preaching services. His name first appeared in the 1887 list of Local Preachers. If interest was increasing so also were threats.

> Brother Villanueva has been repeatedly warned that he should go well armed, to guard against assassination. But he goes everywhere unarmed, speaking boldly against priestcraft and superstition. He told me once that if they killed him I must make haste and send another man to carry on the work. His brave wife, too, said on one occasion that she did not know but that it would require his death to teach the people that the Gospel cannot be killed by killing its champion.[57]

The Circuit included Asuncion with regular visits "to the German colonies of Altos and San Bernardino and to the town of Paraguari." Villanueva was the only Protestant pastor in Paraguay and despite malicious hostility his influence was increasing in the newly established colonies. A mission school was maintained in Asuncion with Miss Juana Villanueva as teacher. Drees expressed interest in establishing missionary work among the Indians of northern and western Paraguay but no definite move was made.

A serious hindrance to Protestantism was the impossibility, because of the opposition of the Jesuits, of enrolling Protestant marriages in the Civil Register. The 1887 Paraguay Congress after much controversy enacted a law which provided that they should be enrolled as legal and on a par with Catholic marriages. In 1891 Drees reported that Juan Villanueva continued to meet with success. Attendance upon his services increased and the school enrollment advanced beyond one hundred.[58]

After scrutiny of all data Drees estimated that there had been in 1888, in the entire mission, at least 176 genuine conversions. He was encouraged also by growth of self-support.* Not less than $26,000. gold had been collected for all purposes. Of this amount $5,250. represented school income. Six languages were regularly used in the work of the mission: English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, French, and Italian.* The 1888 annual meeting discussed the obligation of the Church to the Brazilian freedmen emancipated by the government decree of 1888, and also to the Indian population of the country. No specific action was taken.[59]

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* Four charges were entirely self-supporting: First Church, Buenos Aires; Rosario and Carcarana; Central Santa Fe Circuit; and San Carlos Circuit. Three other churches contributed considerable sums toward self-support: American Church, Montevideo; Montevideo Circuit; and Rosario Circuit. Almost without exception all minor church expenses were borne by the congregation.—*Seventieth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1888), p. 39.

A mission press under direction of W. T. Robinson, earlier a Taylor missionary, supplied a sizable quantity of the literature distributed by pastors and colporteurs, chiefly in Spanish. Approximately 850,000 pages, tracts and periodicals, were reported in 1888 as having been printed. Books from the Mexico Mission press and from the American Tract Society were also circulated.[60]

Bishop John M. Walden convened the South America Mission in annual meeting in First Church, Buenos Aires, September 19, 1889. The meeting closed on September 24. Of the twenty members of the mission, seventeen were in attendence. Five of the W.F.M.S. missionaries were present, as also almost all of the twelve Local Preachers.

The membership of the churches increased in 1890 by 295, or about nineteen per cent. The Sunday schools added 385 to their enrollment. The ease with which children could be brought into the schools in Montevideo and Buenos Aires indicated to Drees that Sunday schools represented one of the most promising lines of missionary activity. On the Montevideo Circuit alone eight were maintained in 1891. On the Colonia Circuit the school opened in 1884 by Ugon had been expanded into an institute (Liceo Evangelico) which this year (1891) enrolled forty students. The theological department had been transferred in 1889 to Buenos Aires. T. B. Wood who had remained for the time being in Uruguay gave the school general supervision. The mission force was strengthened at this time by the arrival in Montevideo of A. W. Greenman† and wife. He was appointed pastor of American Church.[61]

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* J. M. Walden: "In what other Protestant mission on the globe, in what other field occupied by our world-wide Methodism, are there so many nationalities represented?" "Of the . . . twenty [missionaries] 6 were born in the United States, 4 in Spain, 2 in Great Britain, 2 in Switzerland, 1 in Italy, 1 in Portugal, and 4 in the Argentine Republic." Of the four Argentines "1 was of American parentage, 1 of Irish, 1 of Italian, 1 of Anglo-Portuguese. All but the 6 Americans, 2 Swiss, and 1 Spaniard were converted and called to preach within the mission . . . . The genesis of the local preachers . . . is almost as diverse as that of the traveling preachers . . . ."—In *Seventy-first Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1880), pp. 45 f.

† Almon Witter Greenman (1854-1942) was born in Newcastle, Ind. He attended Northwestern University, Garrett Biblical Institute, and Syracuse University (Ph.D., 1892). In April, 1880, he married Marinda R. Gammon. He was received on trial in the North Indiana Conference and appointed missionary to Mexico where he remained until 1889 when he was transferred to the Northwest Indiana Conference and appointed to New Carlisle. In October, 1890, he returned to the North Indiana Conference and was appointed missionary to South America. After fourteen years' service he left on furlough (1904). For two years he was in the pastorate (Wabash and Fairmount, 1905-1907) in the North Indiana Conference. For ten years (1908-18) he served as a missionary to Italy; and for a brief period, following a furlough, was again in South America (Peru). He retired in 1924, honored for his long, varied, and fruitful career.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

In Buenos Aires by 1891 twelve Spanish mission centers* were in operation in the city and suburbs in addition to the central church where on Sunday evening the congregation usually filled the building to its utmost capacity. Other than the Spanish work a meeting for Italian people was maintained in the suburban town of San Fernando, a dozen miles beyond the city limits. This year the Superintendent asked for a special appropriation of $300. to open mission work in Balcarce in the province of Buenos Aires, about 250 miles from the city. Soon afterward a Society was organized with a membership of sixty-two adults and a Sunday school of more than fifty children.[62]

In Buenos Aires T. H. Stockton was influential in the founding in 1890-91 of the North American Normal School, with an efficient corps of teachers, which soon had enrolled about a hundred pupils. While not organically connected with the Church, it was "designed to be an adjunct to it; and . . . ultimately incorporated therewith." In the Boca neighborhood W. C. Morris, an influential layman, was instrumental in inaugurating English language mission services. An English day school also was begun. Advance was also registered in the western Circuit of Mendoza and the newly opened San Juan area. On the Mendoza Circuit a day school was organized under the care of R. Griot, assistant pastor, with a sufficient number of pupils to provide for all the expense involved. In San Rafael, a town some distance south of Mendoza, a Methodist layman opened his home for religious services which he himself conducted. In San Juan, capital of San Juan Province, western Argentina, where colporteurs of the American and the British Bible societies had been active for some time in distributing tracts and selling Bibles, a few religious meetings had been held in private houses. Learning of the interest which had been awakened, a friend of the mission contributed £50 sterling toward the rental of a house for regular services. Venancio Aguirre, one of the colporteurs, was appointed as preacher. Within a few months twelve full members and nineteen probationers were enrolled, a Sunday school was begun, and the property purchased, the same friend contributing $3,000. Argentine currency as a first installment toward the purchase price.

In Central Argentina, comprising the Santa Fe and the Entre Rios Provinces, in 1891 there were five charges.† The Rosario church and congregation were specially interested in benevolent and charitable activities, of which one was a house of shelter for homeless wanderers. People of Waldensian descent in Tala on the Entre Rios Circuit donated land and raised $700. toward the cost of a chapel.[63]

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* Drees enumerated the twelve Spanish mission centers in his 1891 report to the Board. The central point of activity and influence was the church in the center of the city. To the north in Calle Junin was a mission with a day school enrolling about 180 pupils, a Sunday school, preaching and prayer services. Farther northward in a mission chapel in Calle Medrano, was a day school for girls and a Sunday school. Still farther to the north, in the suburban town of Belgrano, meeting in the same hall as the English congregation, was a Sunday school. Directly west from the central point, "along the main axis of the city" in Calle Pasco, a small hall of the theological school provided a place for preaching services and for a Sunday school. Farther westward, in the town of Flores, was another preaching place. Beyond, in San Miguel, the Young Men's Christian Association maintained a mission and another at the *estancia* of the same name. In the southwestern section of the city there were two places of worship, about a mile apart, each with a Sunday school. Still another Sunday school was held in a private home. In a little chapel located in North Barracas meetings were regularly held, and finally in a section of the city known as the Boca a variety of activities were carried on.—*Seventy-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1891), pp. 47 f.

† The five charges of Central Argentina in 1891 were: Rosario and Carcarana (English); Rosario Circuit (Spanish); Central Argentine Circuit (German); San Carlos Circuit (French, German, and Spanish); Entre Rios Circuit.

In January, 1890, Penzotti left Callao taking with him two colporteurs, J. B. Arancet and J. Q. Illescas, for a brief period of Bible distribution in south Peru. He sent his two helpers to a town near Mollendo and went on to Arequipa alone. A few hours after his arrival he was observed by the Roman Catholic Bishop in the act of selling a Bible. The Bishop ordered the police to arrest him. He was taken into custody and on the order of the mayor put into prison. Nineteen days passed while the authorities engaged in investigations and legal proceedings. On the morning of the twentieth day the mayor came to the prison with a telegram from the president of Peru ordering Penzotti's release. He returned to Callao and resumed his preaching services. Here he was visited by Drees and Milne who organized a Methodist Society. Following its organization vehement attacks were made in the press, adherents were maltreated, and an inscription was written on the door of the meeting hall, "mueren los Protestantes" (death to the Protestants). Then a judge issued an order for Penzotti's imprisonment, accusing him of violation of Article 4 of the Peruvian constitution, which read, "The State professes and protects the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion, excluding all other public worship." Pending trial he was arrested on July 26, 1890, and denied bail. In his 1890 annual report Drees gives an account of his imprisonment:

> [He was] dragged to prison in the common jail, where he has ever since been confined under circumstances whose description would in some points read like Kennan's portrayal of Siberian prisons. He is compelled to pass his nights in a common dungeon, half subterranean, with from 80 to 100 criminals of all descriptions, from common thieves to murderers. Four months have passed, and up to latest telegraphic news, on October 16, all efforts to secure his release on bail have been fruitless. Meanwhile, his trial is dragging its slow length along. . . . He is of martyr stuff, and, I verily believe, would not flinch though the iron stake still stood in the old plaza of the Inquisition in Lima . . . . His people, too, stand firm, and themselves maintain the meetings with all regularity, while their beloved pastor prays with them in the spirit from his prison cell. Both they and he are upheld by a firm faith that they are fighting the battle of religious liberty for Peru and that God will give them the victory.

The members of the Supreme Court were unable to agree on a decision but finally the president of the court "decreed . . . [his] liberty." Still he was not released. Three months later E. E. Olcott, a New York mining engineer, visited him, took photographs, and wrote an article on the case which was printed "in the *New York Herald* and other periodicals." This publicity awakened widespread interest and many influential persons intervened in Penzotti's behalf. Finally, on March 28, 1891, after eight months and two days of imprisonment he was released. On the following Sunday he resumed his church services.[64]

The Missionary Society regarded the persecution of Penzotti as a challenge to religious liberty in South America which could not be ignored. The Secretary of State of the United States intervened with the government of Peru in behalf of freedom of conscience. The Secretaries of the Board communicated with the Peruvian minister to the United States asking assurance that religious tolerance and liberty of worship be guaranteed to Protestant missionaries and colonists. The court's verdict set a precedent for a liberal interpretation of the law which in its original intent would exclude all liberty of teaching and worship.[65]

In 1890 Thomson arrived in La Paz, Bolivia, after an extensive tour during which he had visited all of the other important cities of the country, delivering public addresses on religion. Here he found J. B. Arancet, with his wife and family, who had been appointed to the city by the American Bible Society as their agent. In addition to Bible selling he was holding meetings in his house. Thomson cooperated with him in the meetings. Bolivia had a large Indian population, many of whom spoke some dialect of the Quechua language, the vernacular of about three million Indians. As a means of preparing the way for elementary religious instruction of Indians a little company of the liberal young men of the city was organized into a Society for the promotion of Indian Sunday schools.[66]

At the 1891 annual meeting held in Montevideo, October 8-14, the mission was organized into three Districts: Central District, C. W. Drees, Presiding Elder; Eastern District, A. W. Greenman, Presiding Elder; and Western District, T. B. Wood, Presiding Elder. Drees was also continued as mission Superintendent. During his absence in the United States on furlough the Central District "was provisionally divided into two," the Central, J. F. Thomson, Presiding Elder, and the Andine, C. W. Miller, Presiding Elder. In San Juan on the Andine District in less than two years after the beginning of evangelical preaching services, weekly meetings were conducted in three halls besides services in various homes of friendly families—one conducted in French. A primary day school had also been begun.[67]

On the Eastern District the great increase of immigration in Brazil and the consequent stimulation of commercial activity increased the importance of Rio Grande do Sul as a fruitful field for missionary effort. With two congregations, two Sunday schools, and three day schools, Porto Alegre became one of the most influential of the mission centers. A wide field was also opened in the colonies in the northern part of the state. At Alfredo Chaves, with twenty-six full members and sixteen probationers, a chapel was in process of erection, made possible by the contributions of money and labor of the members. At Bento Gonzales thirty full members and fifty-four probationers were enrolled.

Thomas B. Wood, appointed to the newly constituted Western District, proceeded promptly to Lima and in June, 1892, reported schoolwork having developed so rapidly and unexpectedly that it was absolutely necessary for a man and two women teachers to be sent out as reinforcements "at the earliest possible day." He had a high school for boys under his direction; a high school for girls and a primary school for boys and girls, both under direction of Miss Elsie Wood, his daughter; with a total enrollment of ninety-nine pupils. The teachers were "all Christians, all evangelical workers, and the schools . . . [were] mission schools." By 1893 five day schools were in operation at Callao, the Society had a hundred members, preparations had been made for a high-grade school at Lima, a theological school was projected, and other Societies were in process of formation in and about Lima. Wood felt there was a possibility of developing a strong Circuit composed of points within easy reach by rail from Lima and in 1892 asked the Missionary Society to reclaim Penzotti from the Bible Society for this purpose.

> No other man . . . can do this so well as Penzotti . . . . His sufferings and triumphs on this ground give him a peculiar advantage that no other can have. . . . Let him return to his calling, the ministry, and to his former employ under the Missionary Society.

Wood's request was not granted by the Missionary Society and Penzotti continued in the employ of the Bible Society.

On July 29, 1892, Thomas H. Stockton, pastor of First Church, Buenos Aires, died from an attack of the grippe, at that time epidemic in Argentina. "The nine years of his service in the mission were years of unremitting toil." His influence had been widely felt and his death was a serious loss to the mission. He was succeeded by William P. McLaughlin* of the Louisiana Conference who arrived in Buenos Aires on December 22, 1892.[68]

WOMEN'S WORK IN SOUTH AMERICA

In 1872, two years after beginning work in Rosario, Thomas B. Wood appealed to the W.F.M.S. for assistance in missionary work among South American women. "We want a few Christian women . . . to show these people that a woman's mind and soul is her own, and not her priest's." There were some women, he said, who were beginning to realize this, but it was impossible for a man to go to their homes to talk with them about religion. Wood's letter was printed in the *Heathen Woman's Friend* and met with immediate response. The W.F.M.S. General Executive Committee at its next meeting provided for an appropriation of $50. "to be used by Mrs. . . . T. B. Wood of Rosario, S.A. for the employment of Bible readers in the mission work in that city." In 1873 the Northwestern Branch appropriated $1,500. for a "missionary teacher, outfit, passage, salary, and incidentals." [69]

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* William P. McLaughlin (1849-1921) was born in Cincinnati, Ohio. He attended Ohio Wesleyan University (A.B., 1871; A.M., 1874) and the Boston University Theological School (S.T.B., 1875). In 1873 he married Mary R. Long of London, Ohio. He was received on trial in the Ohio Conference in 1875 (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1875, p. 146) and for ten years (1875-85) held pastorates in that Conference. He then transferred to the Louisiana Conference and became Presiding Elder of the Mission District. He and his wife sailed for South America on Nov. 9, 1892, under appointment to the First Methodist Church, Buenos Aires. For twenty-nine years—until the day of his death, Feb. 18, 1921 he continued as its pastor. Up to that time this was said to be the longest pastorate in the history of Methodism. He had friends in every circle of influence in the largest city of Argentina and was an indefatigable worker for religious and civic welfare, honored and esteemed far beyond the circle of members of his church.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

Among the girls attending the Rosario school and Sunday school Wood found a young woman whom he trained as a home visitor. Within a brief time she was distributing "more gospel portions and tracts than any other two or three . . . distributors" wholly on her own accord. "She penetrates the houses, and *reads the books to the people* . . . chiefly to the women. . . . Wherever she goes, they treat her kindly, and urge her to come again." Account of her work, published in the 1873 W.F.M.S. *Annual Report,* stimulated a wide interest among the Branch Societies and in 1874 four Branches made appropriations to South America, ranging from $200. to $1,442., a total of $2,922. In 1875 appropriations were increased to $3,822.[70]

On January 21, 1874, Miss Jennie M. Chapin of the New England Branch and Miss Lou B. Denning of the Northwestern Branch sailed from New York en route to Rosario. Following their arrival they devoted themselves energetically to the study of Spanish and to acquainting themselves with the needs of the women and children of the city. What impressed them most was the limited educational facilities and the inefficiency of such schools as existed. The principal of the one municipal school for girls "could teach nothing higher than Las Tables (the tables of the four fundamental rules of arithmetic)," yet she was reputed to be the best equipped of any teacher in the city. The two missionaries soon decided that their first task was to establish a girls' school and by September, 1875, five pupils had been enrolled. By 1876 the five had increased to ten: four Spanish, three German, and three English. The school was begun under the direction of Superintendent T. B. Wood but this year word was sent from W.F.M.S. headquarters that the work must not be subject to administration of the Missionary Society.*

The homes of the pupils' parents and those of many other families were open to the missionaries and they gave much time to visiting, talking, praying, and singing with the women.

> The women sit on the ground, smoking their cigars, and drinking their mate; yet they listen gladly and thankfully. As one poor soul said, 'Nobody before ever cared to teach me so much as to say the Lord's Prayer, or to wash a kettle.' [71]

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* *Fifty-ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1877): The two missionaries "began work under Brother Wood's direction . . . but in 1875 instructions came to them from their Executive Committee that the existing arrangement was unsatisfactory, and they must commence a separate work." Superintendent Wood made a direct appeal to the W.F.M.S. Executive Committee but "a resolution was passed declaring the request contrary to their constitution."—P. 41. See also *Seventh Ann. Rep., W.F.M.S.* (1876), p. 25.

By 1877-78 the school, now with ninety-five pupils—eighty-eight day scholars, four boarders, and three orphans—required the entire time and effort of the two missionaries. The three waifs were the nucleus of a proposed orphanage.

Under the increased burden of the larger school enrollment Miss Denning and Miss Chapin both failed in health. On August 4, 1880, Mrs. E. M. J. Clemens of the Northwestern Branch, who had come to Montevideo from England, arrived in Rosario and at almost the same time Miss Julia E. Goodenough, also of the Northwestern Branch, reached the city. They immediately took over the school and on August 13 the Misses Denning and Chapin left Rosario on furlough. Mrs. Clemens described the school as it was when she and Miss Goodenough took charge:

> There were fifty-five pupils in all. Instruction was given to thirty-seven classes, and in three languages, Spanish, English, and French. Geography, arithmetic and grammar were taught in both Spanish and English; astronomy in Spanish only. Drawing, writing, sewing, knitting, and fancy work each had its allotted time. . . . The pupils were mainly well dressed . . . indicating that they were chiefly from the wealthy families . . . . There were, however, representatives from the descendants of the aboriginal Indian population . . . .
>
> At 7:30 A.M., a bell for family prayers, after which breakfast. The school opened at nine. . . . Thirty minutes recess for lunch; and recitations closing at 3 P.M.[72]

The administration of the work under Mrs. Clemens and Miss Goodenough was far from satisfactory to the Society. Without consultation the school was divided into two departments—virtually two separate schools. The primary department, set up by Miss Goodenough in a separate building some distance removed, had only fourteen pupils. Mrs. Clemens was left alone with increased responsibilities under which she became entirely prostrated and was compelled to close the school summarily. To relieve her the Society sent out a capable matron, Mrs. L. Turney of Michigan, but she arrived too late to save the situation. Mrs. Clemens left Rosario on June 16, and reached New York on August 7. Fortunately, by this time Misses Chapin and Denning were ready to return. They arrived in Rosario on February 9, 1882. Arrangements were made for Miss Goodenough's employment as a teacher in a school at Cordoba.

> [As soon as Misses Chapin and Denning] arrived they entered upon the difficult task of procuring suitable accommodations for the school and family. . . . The derangement of the whole work made the task of bringing back system and order no easy one, but with patience and persistency . . . [they] succeeded in regaining some of the ground which had been lost.[73]

W.F.M.S. work in Montevideo was opened in 1879. When John F. Thomson was on his visit to the United States he described the educational need and opportunity in the city and recommended the employment of Miss

Cecilia Guelfi, an Argentine, as a person well qualified to take charge of a school. The Society promptly sent forward an appropriation sufficient for the missionary salary of Miss Guelfi and for the rent of a schoolroom. On February 10, 1879, she began the school with forty pupils. The next year division was made into two schools: one for young children, principally children of the mission church, who were taught gratuitously, and a normal school whose pupils paid a small tuition fee. These were principally from Catholic families. Miss Guelfi was highly commended by T. B. Wood, who declared that she was equal to any two teachers who could be sent out from the United States, at least until they had had not less than five years' experience. The government offered her twice the missionary salary which she received but she preferred missionary service. In June, 1883, there were 159 pupils enrolled and three additional places were calling for schools. Mrs. L. A. Alderman, W.F.M.S. official correspondent, was confident that Miss Guelfi was capable of managing a system of six schools and declared that she would "answer for their installation and organization." Miss Guelfi died on April 19, 1886, but she had laid a strong foundation for women's educational work in Uruguay and in 1887 there were fourteen schools in operation, with twenty-six teachers and assistants, and 625 pupils.[74]

By 1883 the Buenos Aires Ragged School had grown to such proportions that division into two schools seemed necessary. In response to urgent requests Miss Goodenough, who had gone from Rosario to Cordoba to teach in a small Anglican school, came to Buenos Aires to take charge of the girls' division. The W.F.M.S. agreed to support the work, to be known as the Girls' Evangelical School, and made for it an appropriation of $2,190. In January, 1884, the school opened with forty pupils and by March had an enrollment of ninety. The program was expanded to include activities among the pupils' mothers and other women. It was reported:

> Monday evening is the woman's meeting, led by an energetic Italian woman, who speaks in Spanish or Italian, as occasion requires. Tuesday afternoon, a sewing meeting; Tuesday evening, a class and Gospel meeting in the school room; Friday night, an English prayer meeting.[75]

In Rosario the rented building which served as a home was entirely unsuited for the purpose. Miss Denning gave a graphic description of the house:

> Imagine yourselves in a brick house, brick floors under your feet, brick ceilings over your head, vegetation growing on the dank walls, roofs, and even on the matting over which you walk—no fire all winter, and the thermometer from 50 to 35 degrees, and sometimes below the freezing point. On a rainy day you have to put on waterproof and rubbers to go from the sitting-room to the dining-room, and from every room to the kitchen.[76]

The Society decided that a situation so uncomfortable and detrimental to the health and usefulness of the missionaries should not be allowed to continue and in 1882 the construction of a building for a home and school was authorized. On March 3, 1884, the school opened in the new house with an attendance of sixty girls from five to fifteen years of age. On Sundays a Spanish Sunday school was held in the schoolrooms with an enrollment of thirty-six.

On March 5, 1885, the two missionaries opened a second school—a day school for poor children—with an enrollment of fifty girls, with Paulina Ladavese, one of the orphans of the home, in charge. No authorization or appropriation had been made for the enterprise, but as the income of school No. 1 supplied sufficient margin above its own incidental expenses to pay the rent, the missionaries acted on their own responsibility. In 1887 a cholera scourge occurred which sadly interfered with all activities in the city but the two schools were able to open in March with an increased enrollment. Nine "cholera orphans" were taken into the home, increasing the family to twenty-four. In 1888 pupils in the two schools numbered 250; orphans and boarding pupils, 20; income from tuition, $1,500., Argentina currency. Preaching, prayer services, and the Sunday school were regularly held in the schoolrooms. Misses Chapin and Denning retired in 1890 after sixteen years of faithful, efficient service. Administration of the schools was taken over temporarily by Miss Elsie Wood, who had been chosen by the New York Branch for work in Lima, Peru. In February, 1891, Miss Mary F. Swaney, under the auspices of the Topeka Branch, arrived to take charge. The school at this time was suffering from effects of competition of the government schools, in which teachers were paid higher salaries. The principal asked the Society for increased funds for larger and better accommodations but no increase was forthcoming. Despite her disappointment Miss Swaney kept bravely at her work and in 1893-94 the number of day pupils was largely augmented. As the period closed (1895) enrollment in the two schools was the largest in several years. Numerous applications to the lowest grade had to be refused for lack of seating room. The second school—now known as the San Luis school—with 134 pupils was also overcrowded.[77]

In Montevideo, following the death of Miss Guelfi, the day schools were at first continued under the supervision of her brother, the Rev. Antonio Guelfi. The fourteen schools attracted wide public attention and won much favor for the evangelical cause. Sunday schools were held in most of the schoolrooms and in many of them preaching services and prayer meetings were established. In view of this fact a portion of the rent, in addition to half of the current expenses, was paid by the Missionary Society. The W.F.M.S. sent out several missionaries as teachers.* It was planned that Miss Minnie J. Hyde should be given charge of the central school, reorganize it, add an advanced grade for training assistants, and draw volunteers for teacher training from the primary grades. In 1892 Miss Rebecca J. Hammond, of the Cincinnati Branch, a former Taylor missionary, arrived to assist her. They consolidated the schools into six centers. The results of their management were seen in better organization, better discipline, and a larger attendance. The schools were thoroughly graded, the course of study extended, and English language added as a requirement for Spanish pupils. Young people's meetings were held, a temperance society instituted, and a benevolent society organized whose members made and repaired garments for the poor. A new building was completed for the central school. Its location and the facilities which it provided were most satisfactory and the mission was confident that it would add greatly to the influence of the Church in Montevideo and to the cause of Protestantism in the province.[78]

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* Miss Minnie J. Hyde was sent out by the Northwestern Branch in 1888. After five years of exceptional service she returned in ill health in 1893. Miss Mary E. Bowen went out under the New England Branch in 1888 to Rosario. She later served for a time in Montevideo. After a furlough she returned in 1895 to Rosario. Miss Lizzie Hewett, after several years' service in Mexico under the auspices of the Northwestern Branch, was transferred in 1893 to Montevideo where she spent two years.

In 1888 Miss Eleanor LeHuray of the New York Branch was appointed to Buenos Aires and infused new life into the Girls' Evangelical School and into a second girls' school begun some time before in the western part of the city. She already possessed a knowledge of Spanish and was able to enter at once upon her work of supervision. Improvement in regularity of attendance of pupils, good order, and steady advancement in their studies was soon evident. Her visits to the parents' homes also was productive of much good. By 1890 she had established a boarding school for the preparation of teachers for the free evangelical schools throughout the republic. The pupils were mainly from Protestant families in all parts of the country—English, German, Italian, and Spanish. A Class meeting and a meeting for women were held weekly in the schoolroom. The next year the training school had twenty-five pupils. By 1893 the city day school registered 146 pupils and a need was felt for increased space. The training school was showing advance in scholarship and was receiving commendatory reports from public examiners. When Bishop and Mrs. Newman visited Buenos Aires in 1893 a children's rally was held in a public hall attended by more than twelve hundred children from the Methodist Sunday schools of the city. A women's meeting was also held at which Mrs. Newman organized a Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.[79]

In 1894-95 a more extensive educational program than ever before was under way. The day school had 160 in attendance; the boarding school twenty-two, of which five were in the normal class—a decided decrease—but Miss LeHuray declared them to be the "very best girls in every sense of the word, members of the church, responsible and true." Public demand had made it necessary to admit little boys to the girls' schools, though this was against Miss LeHuray's inclination. A Bible woman had been employed for house-to-house visitation. She also had a Sunday school of seventy-five in her home.[80]

The first evangelical school in Peru was opened by Elsie Wood in Callao on September 15, 1891. Twenty pupils were in attendance, all that the small room could seat. A year later there were four rooms and 128 pupils. A second school, "called for convenience the Callao high-school," was "held in the best school room[*] in the city." In 1894-95 the W.F.M.S. reported in Peru "two missionaries, eight assistants, and seven schools" with 276 pupils in all. The appropriations of the Board and the W.F.M.S. were combined so that it was impossible to estimate how many pupils were supported by the Society. A revolution in March, 1895, accompanied by much fighting in Lima and its environs, caused many pupils to leave the schools. Other losses resulted from persecutions and threatenings incited by friars from a Lima monastery so that the educational program for the time being was seriously interfered with.

In 1894 Rebecca J. Hammond was transferred from Montevideo to Asuncion, Paraguay, to assist in schoolwork which had been under way for seven years but was said to be in a disorganized state. The Society reported in 1895 that under Miss Hammond's direction the school had "become well organized and . . . [was] winning increased confidence on the part of the public." In one of the suburbs of Asuncion a "ragged school" had been opened.[81]

William Taylor in South America

"On the 16th. of October, 1877," wrote William Taylor in his *Story of My Life,* "I bought for myself and for my brother, Rev. Archibald Taylor, a through ticket from New York to Callao, Peru, and embarked on the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamer, the *Acapulco* . . . ."

Two years before he had committed himself to return to India to carry on his evangelistic campaign there[†] but now he firmly believed that God had called him to plant missions on the South America West Coast.[‡] He says in his memoirs that he labored hard to get the concurrence of the Bishops in his plan:

> I offered to go in their name, pay all my own expenses, and found self-supporting missions, if they would consent to ordain and appoint the men required and allow them to retain a Conference connection at home and be returned on the Minutes as 'missionaries to South America,' and thus keep the whole movement under their own control.[82]

It is plainly evident why the Bishops declined to concur in Taylor's plans.

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[*] "These rooms with good-sized courts or play grounds" belonged "to the committee in charge of the English Protestant church, which . . . [had] been for years without a pastor."—*Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep., W.F.M.S.* (1892-93), p. 72.

[†] See p. 533.

[‡] Taylor tells how his attention was first directed to South America as a mission field. One of his "fellow-pioneer" missionary friends in California during his early days had been J. A. Swaney. Subsequently Swaney was employed for six years on the Pacific coast of Peru and Chile by the American Seamen's Friend Society as chaplain. "It was he," wrote Taylor, "who first interested me especially in the South American field; and by him I was greatly helped in the very difficult task laid upon me by the Holy Spirit of planting self-supporting missions in that great country."—William Taylor, *Story of My Life* . . . , p. 681.

He specified that the missions which he proposed to found should not be "under the control of the Missionary Society." As previously in India he was determined to be wholly independent, in no wise responsible to the Church's organization for the founding and administrative control of Methodist missions. One would have supposed that the failure of the self-supporting phase of the South India mission would have demonstrated how impracticable his plans were. Not so. With or without the Bishops' assent to the ordination of the men he should select, he proposed to go. In pursuance of his plans he made three trips to South America, in 1877-78 to the West Coast; in 1880 to Brazil; and in 1883-84 again to the West Coast.

Taylor arrived at Callao, Peru, on November 3, 1877. It was then a city of about 30,000 and was the port of entry for Lima, the capital of the country. He found there a considerable colony of English and Scotch, of whom about a hundred were employed in the repair shops of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company. Besides these there were many who were employees of business houses, export firms, and heads of commercial companies. About seventeen years earlier William Wheelwright, an American and the founder of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, had had a church edifice framed in New York and shipped to Callao. Some of his friends purchased a site and the building was duly erected. During the intervening years Church of England clergymen had served as pastors but for six weeks prior to Taylor's arrival the church had been without a pastor and he was invited to supply the pulpit. This would seem to have offered an open door of opportunity but at the end of two months he reported with a tinge of disappointment that he "did not establish a mission." His work, however, was not without result. Archibald Taylor preached in Callao almost a year. He was succeeded by J. M. Baxter who remained for more than three years.[83]

On January 5, 1878, Taylor arrived at the little town of Mollendo, Peru, about five hundred miles south of Callao. Here were located the shops of the Arequipa and Puna Railroad, employing "a large number of English and American mechanics." He established headquarters at the house of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company's agent and in the evening called on many of the townspeople. On Sunday he preached to a small congregation who assembled to hear him and on Monday forenoon, accompanied by another friend, canvassed as many as possible of the people. His subscription paper read:

> Believing a school-teacher, being also a Gospel minister, to be greatly needed in Mollendo, I propose to send hither a competent man, combining in himself the twofold character of teacher and preacher, the first engagement to cover a period of at least three years, I respectfully ask the friends of this movement to contribute the funds for passage and a guarantee for support till the school shall become self-supporting. It will require three hundred and thirty dollars paper currency, for passage, and at least one hundred and fifty dollars per month for sustentation.

Taylor's first call was on an American railway contractor who said he was a Roman Catholic and did not wish to put his name to the subscription paper but would give fifty dollars "to bring the man out," and one hundred dollars more if necessary, and thirty dollars per month for his support. The first call assured almost one-fourth of the required total! This, said Taylor, "was my first financial strike in South America."[84]

Taylor's experience of two and a half months caused him to view the West Coast South America situation in a new light. The English-speaking residents whom he had hoped to enlist in the evangelization of the continent were not primarily interested in churches or, for that matter, in religion. They were, however, concerned for the education of their children. No country on the West Coast had a good school system. There were few public schools and those which existed were inferior. Many British residents at great expense sent their children to England to be educated, which involved years of separation. German, French, and American residents were in a like situation. If he could send well-prepared teachers who were at the same time Christians—the men preachers as well as teachers—he would be able to lay the foundation on which within a few years an evangelical Church could be built. After a night of meditation the course he should follow was clear.

His next stop was at Tacna, Peru, forty miles inland from the port of Arica. This, he said, "was to be my first departure from the old lines of purely evangelistic work to the new line of school work . . . where nothing more is at present possible." He wanted to raise thirty pounds sterling for passage of a single man and a guarantee of one hundred dollars a month until the school became self-supporting. Eight men signed the subscription, volunteering more than twice the amount for "a good man and his wife" for three years.

At Iquique, after Taylor had met some discouragement from "half a dozen leading gentlemen" the station master offered to subscribe liberally for a school and assisted in plans which resulted in a list of fifty names with subscriptions in excess of the amount required.[85]

From Iquique Taylor went on to Pabellon de Pica and Huanillos, both in Peru; Antofagasta, then a Bolivian port; and Caldera, Copiapo, Coquimbo, Valparaiso, and Concepcion* in Chile.

At Pabellon de Pica, Huanillos, and Lobos Island Taylor found 105 vessels loading guano. The captains and crews at each of the two first-named places subscribed enough to support a chaplain. Articles of agreement guaranteeing passage and support, drawn up by Taylor, were readily signed by the captains and witnessed by the British consul. At Antofagasta, the chief seaport of Bolivia, Taylor found a colony of English-speaking people, some of whom held positions paying large salaries. They were pleased with his proposal to send them a teacher and subscribed $495. for passage (an amount almost three hundred dollars more than Taylor asked) and $145. a month for salary, also more than he suggested. Only a small number of people at Caldera, the next port, seemed interested in a school so Taylor accepted an invitation to go inland forty miles to Copiapo where a goodly number of British, mostly Welsh, were engaged in mining, railroading, and business. A Wesleyan Local Preacher had been instrumental several years before in holding preaching services there, and in organizing a church. His health had failed so he had gone away and the people were eager for a preacher to be sent to them and readily subscribed.[86]

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* The order in which Taylor visited the places named differs in his account from Arms' account. The latter names the places (with the exception of Santiago) in geographical sequence from north to south. As Taylor was journeying southward along the coast Arms' order as given above seems the more plausible.

Taylor's next stop was at Coquimbo, an important seaport of northern Chile with extensive copper-smelting establishments from which large amounts of copper, and some gold and silver, were annually exported. He found among the British managers and operatives of its industries some earnest Christian men among whom he readily organized a committee which agreed "to provide a place of worship and support for a preacher." [87]

From Coquimbo Taylor went to Valparaiso, a commercial city of approximately 80,000 population with the largest trade by sea of any port on the Pacific coast of South America, a terminal and port of call of several United States and European lines of steamers. At Valparaiso Taylor found three English churches—Anglican, German Lutheran, and Union. The Union Church membership was made up of Presbyterians, Methodists, and people of several other denominations. The pastor of this church was David Trumbull, of the widely known Trumbull family of Connecticut, a man of great influence not only in Valparaiso but also among leading citizens of the republic. To him Taylor suggested the appointment of a seamen's chaplain, a proposal which Trumbull heartily endorsed. However, Taylor says, no one was available to make contacts for him with the ship captains. On March 15 he got a longshore boat to put him aboard the nearest ship in the harbor. He introduced himself to the captain and asked him to assemble the crew.

> . . . in five minutes I had a congregation. I sang a solo or two, and then distributed hymn books, and had good congregational singing, followed by a plain sermon of twenty minutes, and closed with prayer. I then explained our wish to appoint a man of God as seamen's preacher for that port. Then all who wished to have a share in the business came and wrote their names and amount of their donations in my book, to be paid over to the treasurer by the captain on account of his men.

Each captain sent him in his boat to the next ship. On Monday he had completed his canvass and on Tuesday afternoon he held a meeting of the captains, submitted a proposal for the organization of the Valparaiso Seamen's Evangelical Society, and got the meeting to approve the organization and vote an appropriation for passage and support of the man whom he would send to them.[88]

Continuing his journey southward for Valparaiso Taylor visited Talcahuano, the seaport nine miles from Concepcion. Here the American consul gave him cordial cooperation, and a subscription of $400. was raised for a teacher. At Concepcion Taylor called on William Lawrence, "a wine merchant and a man of wide influence," and several others. The governor of the province was much pleased with his plan to establish a school and made a liberal contribution. Altogether, $800. was subscribed, with assurance that an ample amount would be secured to bring out three teachers.[89]

Taylor next went on to Santiago, the capital of Chile. The American minister presented him to the president of the republic and to the minister of justice and education. They were liberals, much interested in education. They expressed appreciation of what Taylor had done in establishing schools and promised their aid. The minister of education asked about the possibility of a school for girls but Taylor made no plans to secure pledges.

On March 20 Taylor embarked at Valparaiso on his return journey. En route he stopped at Panama, and for one day at Colon, and arranged to send a preacher. He arrived in New York on May 3, six months and eighteen days from the date of his leaving. He had opened, according to his report, "twelve centers of educational and evangelizing work." Arms in his *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Missions in South America* says that he had arranged to send out six preachers: one each to Callao, Coquimbo, Colon and Panama; to a seamen's mission at Valparaiso, and to Huanillos and Pabellon de Pica (Peru); and a single man as preacher and teacher at Iquique. He planned to send, beseides, three teachers for schools at Mollendo, Antofagasta, and Copiapo—in each case the teacher to serve also as a preacher—and teachers to Tacna, Concepcion, and Talcahuano. In all, thirteen persons would be sent. Before leaving New York Taylor had arranged with A. P. Stowell, a student at Boston University, to act as his "recruiting sergeant" for the enlistment of first-class workers. On his return Stowell sent him the names of eight candidates "who were ready for orders." [90]

The first remittance Taylor received from the field, "and it came in due time," was from the Roman Catholic patrons of Tacna, Peru, passage for man and wife, amounting to $436.95. However, even before this was received, in May, 1878, he found himself in financial straits, without funds to pay the passage of the first party whom he had planned to send. The same mail which contained the check from Tacna brought also a letter from the chairman of the Concepcion committee, who feared that the movement would imperil his business, and he had ordered the collector "not to collect the subscriptions." This convinced Taylor that he could not depend wholly on the promises made to him on the field. He did not have available funds for the outgoing transit of his missionaries and he began immediately to solicit his friends, to arrange for appeals in churches, at Conferences and Camp Meetings, and in religious periodicals—particularly the *Christian Standard* and the *Christian Witness*—and to go about selling his books in an effort to raise the necessary amount.[91]

OUTGOING OF TAYLOR'S RECRUITS

During 1878 three groups of missionaries recruited by Taylor went to the field. The first party of nine preachers and teachers consisted of A. P. Stowell, William A. Wright, and Ira Haynes La Fetra, from Boston University School of Theology; Mrs. Stowell, J. W. Collier, J. W. Higgins, Miss Lelia H. Waterhouse, Miss Sarah Longley, and Miss Cora B. Benson. When the party had assembled at New York they found that Taylor had not received sufficient remittances from South America to pay outgoing expenses. Miss Waterhouse wrote: "With farewells said and all our arrangements made, the party was . . . ready to sail. What could they do? Go back home? They took steerage passage."

> Each was provided with a small blanket and mattress or a hammock. We put our mites together and bought some canned goods and remedies.
>
> The first night out I spent down in the hold, in foul air, with portholes all closed and for fellow voyagers had the lowest class of emigrants . . . . My bed was a piece of canvass stretched on poles. For bedding I had a blanket, my shawl, and a little pillow . . . . By morning I was in a stupor and they had to carry me on deck. The next three nights I slept out on the hurricane deck . . . on my . . . mattrass [sic]. . . .
>
> . . . We stood around a long, bare, swaying, swing shelf [at supper], each one provided with a tin cup, spoon and plate, and an old steel knife and fork. One huge dish in the center contained the mess from which we were all supposed to dip. I never attempted to eat there again, and hardly know how I subsisted. . . . We opened our canned food . . . but with no way to heat or season it 'twas not very palatable. On the fourth day, while lying on one of the hatchways . . . I had a sinking spell which alarmed both sailors and passengers. After trying in vain to rouse me they summoned the ship's surgeon who swore big oaths because they did not call him sooner. He forced champagne between my lips, ordered the stateroom next to the purser's to be vacated, had the burly purser carry me to it and detailed one of the ladies to remain in the stateroom to watch me. He also ordered food to be served to me from the cabin table . . . and . . . was very kind . . . although rough and dissipated . . . .
>
> I was ill all the way to Aspinwall [Colon].[92]

The second group of recruits to leave sailed from New York on August 30. It consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander T. Jeffrey and Mr. and Mrs. Lucius C. Smith. The third party included Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Birdsall, Mr. and Mrs. Magnus Smith, Charles Newhouse, and Miss Edith Collier, sister of J. W. Collier. They sailed from New York on November 30, 1878. Several others recruited by Taylor arrived on the West Coast in

1879. Early in the year Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Hoffman and Oscar von Barchwitz-Krauser came to work among the German colonists in southern Chile. In July Mrs. Marietta Vasbinder, a sister of Lucius Smith, came out to aid her brother. Later, probably in August, Mr. and Mrs. James P. Gilliland arrived.

In all, during 1878-79 twenty-five missionary teachers and preachers went out under Taylor's auspices. He had given no instructions as to how they were to proceed on reaching their destinations. An appointment had been given to each, together with the name of the committee chairman, or other person, who had agreed to be responsible for the raising of funds for salary and expenses. "There was no uniformity, no general organization, no central authority." Many of those who went to the field did not find the welcome they expected. They understood that the people were anxious for schools and ready to supply funds to get them started. It would take only a short time to build up a school of a hundred and in some places several hundred pupils. Afterward tuition fees, commissions on textbooks and on furniture imported from abroad, together with free-will offerings, would furnish ample support. However, not all the promises made to Taylor were kept.

The actual conditions which the missionaries met varied widely. Magnus Smith, a well-equipped young minister with graduate study in Germany, and his wife were appointed to Mollendo. No one met them on their arrival and no one offered them hospitality. Instead of the large number of English and American mechanics Taylor had counted on, Smith found "very few English and American residents." The population was chiefly Peruvian and Italian. At the beginning of his boys' school on January 7, 1879, he had five pupils and up to March 10 fourteen. On January 27 Mrs. Smith began a girls' school with five pupils. A Sunday school was started with six children. Smith wanted to begin preaching services but was told it would not do. Of the men who had pledged to support the school nearly all failed to keep their promise. Smith had incipient tuberculosis before leaving the United States. He was stricken with fever and while he was very ill the port was bombarded by the Chilean fleet. The residents of the town fled and Smith had to be carried out on his bed. A few days later he died. His widow, heartbroken and destitute, and without a home, returned to the United States. The school was abandoned and never reopened.[93]

Taylor's appointees to Tacna, the second point at which arrangement had been made for a school, were the Stowells and Miss Cora B. Benson. Taylor was confident that here he had a group of responsible men back of his project and he purchased school desks, a piano, and other equipment in New York, which were sent on in advance. The party arrived at the port on July 24, 1878, went on at once to Tacna, and reported soon after their arrival that "the work had opened far beyond their anticipation." For their first year they were paid $2,500. In August, 1879, both Stowell and his wife became ill, and the school was closed. On the voyage to New York he rapidly recovered but two weeks after Mrs. Stowell arrived at her mother's home she died. To take their place Taylor appointed Fletcher Humphrey and his wife who reopened the school on March 1, 1880, the beginning of the new school year. Miss Benson in the meantime had remained in Tacna, unwilling to abandon her teaching work. Charles Newhouse also came out, with the third party of recruits, to teach in the school. By the end of the first term of school Arica and Tacna had become the principal theater of war between Chile and Peru and the school had to be abandoned.[94]

To Iquique, Taylor's next port of call, he appointed J. W. Collier. It was a principal point of the nitrate industry, which he later characterized as "the most promising field we had in South America." When he had arrived in New York in June, 1878, a remittance from the Iquique committee was awaiting him. Collier, whom Taylor described as a "professor" and a minister, arrived at his designated station on July 25, 1878, and was delighted with it: "the richest, the wickedest, the most inviting to the missionary" of all places in Peru, and felt that the promise was very great "for a good, thorough work." Since Collier was a bachelor Taylor sent out his sister, Edith Collier, to assist him. Here again war interfered with the missionary enterprise making it necessary for a time for all activities to be given up. The two missionaries went to Lota, a chief coal mining center of Chile, where they began a school and church services. Soon afterward Collier was called to Valparaiso to fill temporarily the pulpit of the English Union church. After the close of the war work was resumed at Iquique on an extensive scale. A building for a chapel, parsonage, and school was built by Gilliland in 1885, a school having been founded by him in 1884. He was also zealous in evangelistic effort and in 1888 began preaching in Spanish. Others collaborated with him, notably W. C. Hoover who, with his wife, came to Chile in 1889 to teach but in 1893 gave up schoolwork to devote full time to the Spanish pastorate.[95]

From Iquique Taylor had gone on to Pabellon de Pica, and to Huanillos, the last port of Peru. Arms says that at each place Taylor had arranged to send a preacher. But neither Taylor nor Arms states that preachers were actually sent.

To Antofagasta, at the time of the outgoing of the early recruits still a Bolivian port, Taylor appointed Alexander T. Jeffrey and wife. They started a school on September 28, 1878, and on October 14 wrote to a fellow missionary that the school had opened well and increased its enrollment beyond all expectations. A religious service had been held in the home of one of the patrons, attended by twenty-five people. When on February 12, 1879, war was declared between Chile and Bolivia, Jeffrey found it necessary to leave and Antofagasta was left for years without further missionary attention.[96] As one result of the war Antofagasta became a Chilean port.

In 1891 Karl Beutelspacher, a converted German sailor, arrived in Antofagasta and supported himself by laboring in the railroad shops. He began to hold religious services in English and after a year became a colporteur and preacher. He also commenced preaching in Spanish and after a few months devoted himself wholly to Spanish language evangelism. By 1896 he had "built up a church of vigorous Christians, ready to give for the support of the church and ready to work for its extension." Several of his converts entered the ministry; two became members of the Conference. It was said of the Antofagasta converts "that they all appeared to be preachers and raised up congregations wherever they went." [96]

At Copiapo Taylor had found in 1878 an inviting situation. For some ten years religious services had been conducted by a Wesleyan Local Preacher, who succeeded in organizing a Wesleyan Society and a Sunday school. His health had failed some time before Taylor's arrival and he had gone away. The members of the church desired a preacher and readily subscribed funds for support. The city was the center of a rich silver and copper mining region. To this attractive opening Taylor appointed Lucius C. Smith and his wife. Within nine months Smith had developed ability to preach in Spanish, and regularly conducted English and Spanish services and maintained a Sunday school. Mrs. Smith had private classes in vocal and instrumental music. Within a few months she died of an attack of typhoid fever. Smith remarried and for a time, according to Taylor's account, they pushed the battle grandly. Early in 1883, however, Smith left to aid in the English work at Santiago. In 1882 the Gillilands moved on to Caldera to start a school and do such evangelistic work as was possible. Mrs. Vasbinder, left alone at Copiapo, continued for several years to carry on the school. Meanwhile, as the silver mines were being gradually depleted the principal supporters of the church and school moved elsewhere. Taylor wrote:

> I sent a new man from America to take charge . . . but its resources had become so reduced that he ate up our house and school furniture and left the field.

Mr. and Mrs. Harry B. Compton arrived in 1883, accompanied by Miss Rebecca J. Hammond. Later the Comptons transferred to Coquimbo; Miss Hammond to Concepcion; and in 1888 Copiapo was abandoned.[97]

Taylor's 1877-78 itinerary had taken him next to Coquimbo. To this place Taylor appointed J. W. Higgins, a single man, who arrived near the end of July, 1878. The committee boarded the steamer when it reached port and announced that they had remodeled a dwelling house for a chapel at an expense of $600. He reported that everyone seemed interested. He organized a Sunday school and a fellowship band, and began prayer meetings, but made no effort to organize a Methodist Society. Before the middle of 1882

Higgins left for the United States.* He was succeeded by J. W. Collier whose period as a supply at Valparaiso had ended. During the year Miss Rachel Holding came from the United States and started a school. Because of ill health Collier was obliged after a short time to resign the pastorate and in May, 1883, died. At the invitation of the committee A. T. Jeffrey, who had gone to Coquimbo to recoup his health, agreed to fill the vacancy temporarily. Taylor was in Chile at the time (1883), having made the trip from New York partly to visit the West Coast missions and partly—as he wrote later—to get away from controversy regarding the pros and cons of his self-supporting missionary plan. As Jeffrey's health did not improve Taylor took upon himself the pastorate of the Coquimbo Circuit which included, besides Coquimbo, Guayacan, Serena, "and the copper mines in the mountains." At this time he bought a site for the boys' and girls' school, the first real estate purchased for the Chile mission. For months he and W. T. Robinson,† who had recently come from Brazil and had formed a small day and a night class for boys, labored with their own hands in the erection of a two-story school building.‡ The work was not entirely to Taylor's liking, as a letter written at the time shows:

> to have my wings clipped and to be stuck down in a duck pond with the tadpoles for nearly a whole year, is no joke for a man of my years; but I accept it as of the Lord, and he gives me strength according to my need.[98]

Some years later (1888) Spanish services were begun at Coquimbo and also at Serena—the capital of the province—by a Local Preacher of the church who after a year was assisted by Harry Compton. He and Mrs. Compton had come to take charge of the school but were also interested in Spanish evangelistic work and continued in it actively until 1890, when it had reached such proportions that Dr. Juan Canut de Bon,§ a Spaniard, was appointed pastor. During the first months of his pastorate he suffered severe persecution, on one occasion being attacked by a mob of a hundred people. He continued as pastor, preaching at Coquimbo and neighboring towns, for two years. During 1892-93 Harry Compton became pastor. In 1892 Gilliland was appointed pastor at Serena.[99]

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* On his return to the United States Higgins transferred from the East Maine to the New England Conference and was appointed to the Cottage Street Church, Cambridge.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1883, p. 50.

† William Theodore Robinson (1850-1932) was born in Utica, Ind., and converted at the age of twelve. He attended Iowa Wesleyan (A.B., 1871; M.A., 1873) and continued there as professor of mathematics and astronomy until 1879. In November, 1880, he sailed for Pernambuco, Brazil, appointed by Taylor, but left in 1883 for work in Coquimbo and Concepcion, Chile. In 1888 he was appointed to the Buenos Aires Circuit and made Agent of Publications. He went to the United States in 1898 for three years, where he was a member of the Des Moines Conference, and returned to South America to continue mission work in Ecuador and Chile. His forty years' service in Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, and Argentina was spent as pastor, educator, manager and editor of the mission press, and Presiding Elder of the Northern District of the South America Conference.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

‡ While in Coquimbo Taylor received official notice of his election by the South India Conference as a lay delegate to the General Conference meeting in Philadelphia, May 1, 1884, and left for the United States.

§ Juan Canut de Bon was an ex-priest, who had been converted to Protestantism and had become a fervent evangelist. He was one of the first evangelical Spanish preachers in Chile and held services in many places. So many were his converts and so strong was the impression that he made on the minds of the people that for years evangelical Christians were popularly known as "Canutos," that is, followers of Canut.—W. E. Browning in Webster E. Browning, John Ritchie, and Kenneth G. Grubb, *The West Coast Republics of South America: Chile, Peru and Bolivia,* p. 30.

In the home of a friend in Boston, in June, 1878, Taylor met Ira Haynes LaFetra[*] who had recently completed his training at the Boston University School of Theology. After a few moments' conversation Taylor said to him, "I want you to go to open the work at Valparaiso." His words came to LaFetra as a "call from the Lord" and within a few weeks he was on his way. His first religious service on shipboard was on August 4 on the Sarah Anderson, with seven captains, several masters, and, in all, more than fifty present. According to his own account he was given "a most kindly greeting as their chaplain" by the committee of the Seaman's Evangelical Society. Shipmasters, officers, and men—all were most cordial. His plans included the organization of fellowship bands on every vessel for weekly meetings on the voyage. On shore, also, his visits at the English hospital and boarding houses gave much promise of good.

When the Jeffreys had to leave Antofagasta they went to Valparaiso as a place of refuge. LaFetra, thinking he could find support more easily than the Jeffreys, since he was a single man, gave over the seamen's chaplaincy to them and went to Santiago. On Christmas Day, 1879, Jeffrey was joined by Otto von Barchwitz-Krauser who had returned from an unsuccessful missionary venture in southern Chile. Shortly after his arrival Jeffrey transferred to Concepcion and Krauser was left in full charge. In his book, *Six Years with William Taylor in South America,* Krauser gives a detailed account, including many personal incidents, of his work from January 2, 1880, to February 19, 1883. At the termination of his service the mission was taken over by the American Seamen's Society.[100]

From Valparaiso in 1878 Taylor had continued his journey southward and visited Talcahuano,[†] a seaport, Concepcion, and Santiago. He appointed to Concepcion William A. Wright, Ph.B., Miss Sarah Longley, and Miss Lelia H. Waterhouse. They embarked from New York as members of the first party of nine missionaries. Mr. Lawrence, chairman of the committee of sponsors, had been informed in advance of the date of their arrival but no one met them at the Concepcion station. They made their way alone through cold and rain to the Lawrence home. What followed was graphically described by Miss Waterhouse:

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[*] Ira Haynes LeFetra (1851-1917) was born at Harveysburg, Ohio. He became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1868, and was licensed to preach in 1872. In the same year he graduated from Ohio Wesleyan (A.B., 1872; M.A., 1875), and in 1877 from Boston University School of Theology. In 1879 he was received on trial in the East Maine Conference. In Chile and in the United States he came to be known as the "builder of the Chile Mission." In September, 1882, he married Adelaide Whitefield and together for twenty-five years they labored for the founding and development of Santiago College. LaFetra's "outstanding characteristics were his daring initiative, his statesmanlike foresight, his calm perseverance, and his invincible determination." Ill health compelled his retirement in 1906.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions; Charles E. Locke, "A Memoir," *California Christian Advocate,* Jan. 17, 1918, p. 9.

[†] In an "index of the work and the workers" in his *Story of My Life* Taylor made no mention of having sent a teacher to Talcahuano, nor does G. F. Arms include the place in his account. It is included among the locations at which Taylor established work by Reid and Gracey, in *Missions and Missionary Society* (I, 380), presumably by error.

> [We] waited . . . in the parlor, as they were at breakfast. When she came in we saw a pleasant looking . . . English lady, but she looked constrained and distressed, and after a . . . formal greeting said: 'I am going to be very frank with you. I think the best thing you can do will be to turn right about and go home. My husband . . . declines to have anything to do with the school, for it may hurt his business among the Catholics. He has not taken any of the subscriptions and says the time has not come to start an English school.'[101]

Miss Waterhouse was the first to find her voice, and she said firmly, "But . . . —*we have come to stay.*" Soon the situation began to clear. Mrs. Lawrence confided that as for herself she was anxious for an English school as she did not want to be obliged to send her youngest daughter to England to be educated. Mrs. Willson, wife of a member of the committee, came in and the two women quickly became interested in the plans. With their cooperation a vacant house was rented, cleaned, and furnished. Since it was midyear, the school had to begin with only a few pupils. The English-speaking community was small but soon two schools were established, one for girls and another for boys, with sufficient patronage to maintain them. The girls' school was in the charge of Miss Waterhouse. It was called Colegio Americano para Senoritas (a few years later, Concepcion College). Some of the pupils were from poor families, able to pay little or nothing for tuition, and the school was maintained by the principal at great personal sacrifice. Soon after the arrival of the party, Miss Longley married Mr. Wright and in about a year they returned to the United States. For some months A. T. Jeffrey was in charge of the boys' school. On March 20, 1881, his brother, George M. Jeffrey, arrived to assist. Soon afterward Martha M. Boyce and Mary E. Elkins were sent out by Taylor. John M. Spangler and Mrs. Spangler came in March, 1883, to take charge of the boys' school, now known as the Colegio Americano. After four years of heroic work Miss Waterhouse, broken in health, was forced to retire from the field. Esther L. Spinks followed her as director of the girls' school * but she soon became tired and discouraged and returned home.[102]

Concerning the first decade of the two schools (1878-88) G. F. Arms wrote:

> The schools for boys and for girls were able to secure sufficient patronage to maintain themselves. At no time, however, could the work have been called a real success. Without doubt this was due in part to the frequent changes in the missionary forces. The first principal . . . and one of the two teachers left within two and a half years. The former's successor remained two years. The third principal remained but two years and the fourth only three. Several of the teachers gave but one, others but two years' service.

Attendance at the boys' school was small, but twice that of the girls' school. Property had been purchased and a building erected for the boys' school in 1886, on which a debt of $5,000. remained. Interest on the debt amounted to $600. annually. Rent for the girls' school required $600. These charges plus insurance, repairs, and other expenses absorbed almost the entire income. The missionary teachers received no salary and the other teachers only part salary. The situation had become desperate and an urgent call was made for reinforcements. The Transit and Building Fund Society responded in 1888 by sending Goodsil F. Arms* and Mrs. Ida Taggard Arms. He had been a pastor for eight years and Mrs. Arms a successful teacher. They were given charge of Colegio Americano and Mr. Arms was also made responsible for Concepcion College. For fourteen years they were in close relation in various capacities to the two schools—although much of Arms's time was given to evangelistic work—a period as he states in his history "of uninterrupted prosperity." The success of the schools, he says, "was due chiefly to Mrs. Arms and the most excellent teachers† who cooperated with her."

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* Some other teachers who served for brief periods at Concepcion College during the years 1882-87 were: Henrietta C. Ogden, Mary E. Sanborn, Rebecca J. Hammond, Emma Bard, Mary Knoll, Rose M. Williams, and Mrs. Ira Ross.

The stay of most of the missionaries and teachers who served in Concepcion was too brief for them to gain facility in the use of the Spanish language. Consequently no evangelistic work was begun during the early years. A beginning was made, however, by Pedro Yanez when he became a teacher of Spanish in Colegio Americano in 1891, the services attended chiefly by the school's boarding pupils. When he was dismissed as a teacher Arms continued the Spanish meetings. In 1893 Canut de Bon was sent to Concepcion. After six months' effort and an advance of a thousand pesos on rent a house was secured for use as a chapel, but unlike the work in Serena, only a small attendance at services could be won. Among the few converts was Indalecio Romero, who later became a successful pastor. While Canut de Bon was stationed in Concepcion he visited Angol and Temuco several times. The following year (1894) he was assigned to the Angol and Traiguen Circuit; he made many converts (one later became mayor of the city of Angol) and was soon able to organize churches in Angol, Traiguen, Los Angeles, and Mulchen. In Angol a chapel was fitted up for religious services. During the same year

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* Goodsil F. Arms (1854-1932) was born in Sutton, Quebec, Canada. He united with the Church in June, 1868, was licensed to preach in 1876 and in the same year entered Montpelier Seminary. His college education was at Wesleyan University (A.B., 1880; M.A., 1883). He was admitted on trial in the Vermont Conference in 1880 (*Gen'l Minutes*, Spring, 1880, p. 84) and appointed to St. Alban's Bay. On Jan. 17, 1883, he married Ida A. Taggard, also a graduate of Montpelier. In 1888 they began a period of almost forty years of missionary service in Chile. For many years he was related in various capacities to Colegio Americano, Concepcion, the boys' school, and the Concepcion College for girls. He also held numerous other appointments, including that of pastor of the English church (1888-94); pastor of the Spanish church (1895-1901); Presiding Elder of Concepcion District (1896-1901); superintendent of schools, Concepcion (1910-12); pastor at Coquimbo (1916-20); consular agent, Coquimbo (1916-20); District Superintendent, Northern District (1921-26); president, Union Theological Seminary, Santiago (1923-27). He was a versatile man: a competent educator, pastor, evangelist, administrator, and author.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

† Among those associated with Mr. and Mrs. Arms in the work of the schools were: Edwin P. Currier, Buel O. Campbell and Mrs. Campbell, George B. and Mrs. Benedict, B. B. Keister and Mrs. Keister, Kate Russell, Cora M. Starr, Emma Grant, Elena Neissmann, Mary A. Stout, Marian A. Milks, and Alice H. Fisher.—Goodsil F. Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-Supporting Missions in South America*, pp. 127-32.

Romero was appointed to develop the Spanish work at Temuco; within two years he organized a church of thirteen full members and thirty-nine probationers. Upon Canut de Bon's assignment to Angol, Harry Compton was appointed to Concepcion. However, he left toward the end of the year for Argentina and the Presbyterians absorbed much of Canut de Bon's work, while some members moved away. When in January, 1895, Arms took over the Spanish work in Concepcion in addition to his work at the college only seven or eight converts were to be found.[103]

Taylor recognized the importance of a strong educational institution in the capital of Chile and on his return to the United States in 1878 set about locating someone equal to the task of developing a girls' school. At the Mount Allison Seminary, Sackville, New Brunswick, he found Adelaide Whitefield,* the preceptress, a gifted, experienced teacher, whom he asked to go to Santiago for this purpose. The trustees were unwilling to let her go but finally agreed to release her for two years. She sailed for Chile, taking with her a well-qualified teacher, Miss Lizzie Kipp, and also a trained kindergarten teacher, Miss Rosina Kinsman. It was a daring venture and an inspiring example of faith.

> Where has it a parallel? Three . . . [young women], *without funds,* without any missionary society to sustain them, without a knowledge of the language, to enter a foreign land where the strong social currents and the dominant intensely hostile church were bitterly opposed and expect to establish there a high-grade boarding and day school for young ladies, covering the expenses with the current income!

The three young women arrived at Santiago on September 11, 1880. Fortunately, the project which they were to undertake was not entirely unprepared for. When LaFetra came to Santiago from Valparaiso he found that English services had been held there some time earlier but had been abandoned. LaFetra succeeded in reviving interest in them and started a movement that later resulted in the organization of the Union Church of Santiago which through the years did a great work for evangelical religion in Chile. He had been in the city about a year when the three missionaries arrived and was able to be of immediate assistance to them. Within a month he rented a house on Vergara Street (No. 17) and made arrangements for opening a school on October 1 with departments for both girls and boys. The plans which he made in association with Miss Whitefield envisioned a school that would appeal not only to British and foreign residents but also to upper-class Chileans. LaFetra secured the endorsement of the American minister, the consul, and several distinguished, liberal citizens of Chile. The school was beset with difficulties that would have discouraged less stouthearted and capable educators. By their energy, perseverance, and wise administration LaFetra and Adelaide Whitefield LaFetra, his wife, in the course of years developed the school (later Santiago College) into one of the most outstanding educational institutions of the nation.

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* Adelaide Whitefield was born near Ransomfield, N. Y., and educated at Wilson Academy and at Houghton Seminary. Following graduation in 1868 she continued as an instructor for three years and then transferred to Lasell Seminary, Auburndale, Mass. From there she went to Mount Allison. For twenty-five years she gave herself with unfaltering faith and rare devotion to the education of the girls and young women of Chile. "Her beautiful personality, her wide culture, her unusual power of entering graciously into the lives of the young women under her care, her deep spirituality made an impression upon the womanhood of Chile which will never be effaced."—Frank Mason North, "The Missionary-Minded Women of Methodism," ms., Board of Missions Library, pp. 50 f.

When Lucius C. Smith came to Santiago in 1883 to aid in the English church work he soon inaugurated Spanish services* in a room rented for the purpose. Soon after the meetings were begun the room was raided by a mob which carried off the seats, Bibles, and hymnbooks and burned them in a street in the central part of the city. Smith narrowly escaped being killed. He afterward resumed the services in a different location but as no provision could be found for his support as a Spanish language evangelist he requested and received a transfer to Mexico.[104]

When on his outbound trip Taylor had disembarked at Colon on the Isthmus of Panama he had spent the brief interval before the train left for the city of Panama in walking about the town. From numerous Negroes he then learned that most of them were Wesleyans from Jamaica and were without a minister. He promised them "that he would try to send them a man on his return to the States." True to his promise he appointed Charles W. Birdsall and his wife who went out as members of the third party of missionaries. Birdsall was not mindful of the dangers of the hot, malarial climate and died within four months. To take his place Taylor appointed E. L. Latham of the Providence Conference, who organized a Methodist Society and erected a combined chapel, schoolhouse, and parsonage. He stayed for three years before going on to Nicaragua. Taylor then sent out B. S. Taylor of the Troy Conference who within a short time was stricken with fever and after a narrow escape from death returned to the United States. To Panama City William Taylor sent Richard Copp, whose name is listed, with no particulars, in his "official report for 1881." When B. S. Taylor left Colon Copp took charge in both places, working effectively until after more than ten years his health failed. Taylor then transferred the mission, including the property, to the Wesleyan Church. The story of the beginning of work in San Jose, Costa Rica, is much the same. Taylor appointed John E. Wright as missionary. "He did a good work, got a good support, . . . [married a young woman from California and together with his wife] developed an important school work." Mrs. Wright's health failed within a short time and they left Costa Rica for California.[105]

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* The first regularly constituted Spanish preaching services in Chile were held in 1868 in Santiago. Nathaniel P. Gilbert was sent by the American and Foreign Christian Union in response to an appeal from the foreign residents of the city. He arrived in 1862, and in connection with his English services taught a Bible class of Chileans. In 1866 he began regular preaching in the Spanish language. The first Chilean evangelical church was established on June 7, 1868. By 1871 it had nineteen members. David Trumbull began work in Valparaiso among English-speaking people in December, 1845. In 1847 he organized the Union Church for English-speaking Protestants but his primary interest was in the people of the country. Services in Spanish were gradually begun and in 1869 the second church for Spanish-speaking people was organized in Valparaiso. In 1872 because of financial difficulties the American and Foreign Christian Union, under whose auspices Trumbull was serving, asked the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, U.S.A., to take over its work in Chile. This was done in 1873 and stations were soon opened in various parts of the country.—W. E. Browning, in W. E. Browning, J. Ritchie, and K. G. Grubb, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.; Florence E. Smith, in W. Reginald Wheeler *et al.*, *Modern Missions in Chile and Brazil*, pp. 137-42, 150 f.

After Taylor's dispatch of the third party of missionaries to the South America West Coast others, as we have noted, continued to be sent. One whom Taylor hoped to include in the third group was Oscar von Barchwitz-Krauser, an itinerant Local Preacher. He was an acquaintance of Charles W. Birdsall who told the evangelist about him. From Toronto Taylor wrote, "The Lord wants you to go to South America in my self-supporting missions, and preach on faith line to the Germans in the south of Chili, your own country people." Within a few days Krauser replied, "I say from the bottom of my heart, 'Here, Lord, am I: send me.'" In company with Charles H. Hoffman and wife he arrived at Valparaiso on January 5, 1879, and from there went on by the next steamer to work among the Germans at "Osorno [in the south of Chile], Puerto Varas, and the scattered settlements around Lake Llanquihue." The Hoffmans went to Valdivia, also in the south, but found the people unresponsive, not caring "to have anything to do with church services" and scorning evangelistic efforts. Considering his work a failure he joined Krauser. They started a small school which furnished them a little support, and held meetings in a few homes for preaching and Sunday-school teaching. Soon Krauser left the work around the lake to Hoffman and went to Osorno where he succeeded in making friends and had several conversions. Apparently for lack of support both Krauser and the Hoffmans returned to Valparaiso where Krauser joined A. T. Jeffrey in the Seamen's Bethel. Some of the missionaries and other friends contributed steamship fare for the Hoffmans and they returned to the United States.

When the Gillilands arrived in 1879, they came with the expectation of opening work at Majillones, a Bolivian port, but they found it blockaded and decided to go instead to the Lobos Islands (Peru) for work among the seamen. They were received cordially by the captains of the vessels loading guano at the islands and were given aid in making contacts with the crews and in securing support. Unfortunately, the islands were attacked by a Chilean gunboat and the vessels warned to leave. There was no alternative than to seek another field of service. On February 14, 1880, they reached Callao, then went on to Lima where they rented a house and for a time held religious services. Here also war interfered and for a while in 1881 they were engaged in teaching at Copiapo before going early in 1882 to start a school at Caldera.

J. G. Price organized a mission at Guayaquil, Ecuador, late in 1880, supporting himself by private teaching. In the report of the January, 1881, conference of West Coast missionaries it was stated that Price had "returned to the States on account of ill health." Guayaquil was later listed as one of the abandoned stations.[106]

On his second trip to South America, this time to Brazil, Taylor took with him Justus H. Nelson,* his wife, and "one other helper." The party of four arrived in Para, capital of the state of Para, on June 19, 1880. Schoolwork was begun later in the same year at Pernambuco, and was also started but continued for only a short time at Maranham and Bahia. Taylor's stay at Para was very brief—only two weeks—but he said that he "opened the way for a college for the natives," a foundation on which Nelson built. At Pernambuco he laid the groundwork for a mission and appointed to it "several very strong men . . . , but they set their plow too deep" and all left, sick and discouraged, except George B. Nind who continued for some ten years teaching music and preaching every Sunday in the streets and parks. At Para Nelson's educational efforts were so successful that additional missionaries were needed and in June, 1881, Taylor sent John N. Nelson, a brother of Justus; Miss Hattie Batchelder, a graduate of Kent's Hill College, Maine; and Miss Clare Blunt, a graduate in music from the same institution. Shortly thereafter ill fortune swept in like a flood on the mission. The school building and all the furniture and schoolbooks were destroyed by fire. John N. Nelson and Miss Batchelder were taken away by yellow fever. These calamities caused the school enterprise to be given up. Justus H. Nelson began to teach part time in government schools and to give himself to preaching. A Methodist Episcopal church was organized on July 1, 1883. Nelson reported several years later (1893) that under his supervision Marcus E. Carver began a successful mission at Manaos in December, 1887, but soon decided to withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church and to continue entirely independent of any denomination.[107]

ORGANIZATION AND SUPERVISION OF THE TAYLOR MISSIONS

A serious defect in Taylor's West Coast missionary program was lack of organization and efficient supervision. He acted independently, proceeding as though the Church had no official Missionary Society. Most of the missionaries were young and inexperienced. They were related to no supervisory missionary society. The men who were Conference members held only a casual relationship to their Conferences and were not eligible for ordination. Theoretically both men and women were responsible to William Taylor and subject to his direction but he did not have the relation to them of Bishop or Presiding Elder. Each station was independent in finances and administration. Taylor had made arrangements for establishing schools, for the payment of salaries of teachers for three years, and for payment in whole or in part of outgoing expenses. But he did not guarantee salary payments and made no provision for return expenses in case of illness, or for support of those who became disabled in service.

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* Justus H. Nelson (1851-1937) was one of the few Taylor self-supporting missionaries to South America who remained for any extended period of time. His case was also exceptional in that he was appointed by a Bishop, having gone to Brazil by appointment of Bishop Thomas Bowman in June, 1880. He was a native of Wisconsin; was graduated from Lawrence (Wisconsin) College (A.B.) and from Boston University School of Theology (S.T.B., 1879). He also took a one-year eclectic course in Boston University School of Medicine. He was admitted on trial in the Providence Conference, 1880 (*Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1880, p. 68); and transferred to the Wisconsin Conference, 1881 (*ibid.,* Fall, 1881, p. 256). He retired in 1926 after forty-five years of fruitful service.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

Despite these conditions the missionaries went to the field with the feeling that Taylor would stand back of them—they spoke of him as "Father Taylor"—and thought of him as the authority to whom they could look for counsel, supervision, and help if difficulties developed. However, there was no way of communicating with him except by letter, and he was far away and fully occupied in intensive efforts to recruit additional men and women as replacements for those who resigned or died on the field and in raising funds for their outgoing. It was only a matter of months after the first missionaries reached the West Coast when vacancies occurred, readjustments had to be made, and transfers were necessary.[108]

This situation was very largely brought about by the outbreak on February 12, 1879, of the War of the Pacific. Chile first declared war against Bolivia in an effort to gain control of the nitrate beds of the north, particularly in the region of Antofagasta, then a port of Bolivia. Since an alliance existed between Bolivia and Peru, Chile also declared war against Peru. A decisive naval battle was fought on May 21, 1879, in which Chile defeated the Peruvian fleet. The war continued by land until October, 1883, when Peru was forced to sign a treaty of peace. Peru ceded to Chile the province of Tarapaca and agreed to Chilean occupation of the territories of Tacna and Arica for a term of years; and Bolivia ceded to Chile the province of Antofagasta, thereby losing all access to the Pacific. During the four years of the war every port from the northern boundary of Peru to the Straits of Magellan was jeopardized and, as has been noted, one station after another had to be abandoned.[109]

When he returned from his first trip to the West Coast Taylor attempted for the second time to get the concurrence of the Bishops in his undertaking, asking them to agree to appoint as missionaries the men whom he would select, ordain them, allow them to retain Conference membership, and record them in the *Minutes* of the Conferences as "missionaries to South America." They were "courteous and kind," he stated later, but emphatically refused, saying that the Church had no missions in the country and that *as Bishops they had no power to create a mission or to appoint men to one which did not exist.* Their position was incontrovertible but to Taylor it seemed unreasonable. As a courtesy to him the first preachers whom Taylor sent out were admitted on trial to Conference[*] but the Bishops ruled that "they could not be elected to orders nor be under episcopal supervision unless the mission was in 'a region within the control of the Missionary Society.' " The General Missionary Committee at its 1878 annual meeting, also by request of the Bishops, extended the jurisdiction of the Society to include all of South America and made a general appropriation of $500. Taylor objected to this action, contending that it would bring him under the supervision of the Society and restrict his freedom of action. Thereupon the Society withdrew its jurisdiction, and some of the preachers were dropped from Conference rolls and left without any kind of official status in the Church.[110]

The need for some form of organization and for supervisory leadership for the Taylor missionary enterprise as a whole was so strongly felt by the missionaries that early in 1879 an effort was made to get the group together for consultation, for definition of purpose, and for planning means and methods. A meeting was called for January 24, at Coquimbo. But too few could come for organization to be attempted. Only J. W. Higgins, pastor at Coquimbo, Lucius C. Smith of Copiapo, A. T. Jeffrey of Antofagasta, and I. H. LaFetra of Valparaiso, all Chile missionaries, were present. Letters from most of the others were read, different urgent matters discussed, and decision made to send a report of the meeting to the absentees.

Because of the war most of the missionaries were in critical circumstances and some were finding it "almost impossible to provide themselves with the bare necessities of life." Under these conditions a second effort was made to form a field organization. On January 22, 1880, ten missionaries met at Santiago.[†] LaFetra was elected president of the conference, and also chairman of an executive committee to supervise the work during the year. The published report said:

> We came here without anyone to look after us, and have been working as best we could. The Lord has wonderfully guided us and enabled us to organize our work so that it really begins to take permanent shape. . . . It is the unanimous feeling among the workers that God sent us here to stay, and that our work is to take Chile for Christ.[111]

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[*] In 1879 John W. Collier, W. A. Wright, I. H. LaFetra, Alexander P. Stowell, Israel Derrick, Alexander T. Jeffrey, and Magnus Smith were admitted on trial in the East Maine Conference and listed in the appointments of the Bangor District as "missionaries to South America." (*Minutes, East Maine Conference,* 1879, pp. 14, 44.) With the exception of Magnus Smith and the addition of Oscar von Barchwitz-Krauser and J. W. Higgins the same list of appointees was included in 1880. In 1881 John E. Wright, John N. Nelson, and Charles H. Hoffman were admitted on trial and included in the list of members of Conference as "missionaries." (*Ibid.,* 1881, pp. 15, 53.) That same year John E. Wright and John N. Nelson were transferred to the Wisconsin Conference, where Nelson's brother Justus and he were listed as "Missionaries to South America," and Wright listed as "Missionary to Central America." (*Minutes, Wisconsin Conference,* 1881, p. 40.) In 1882 Alexander P. Stowell and Israel Derrick were discontinued. There is no evidence in the sources that Derrick went to South America. In 1883 W. A. Wright was transferred to the New England Southern Conference; J. W. Higgins to the New England Conference; and I. H. LaFetra, Oscar von Barchwitz-Krauser and Lucius C. Smith "were discontinued, being engaged in Christian educational work in places beyond the supervision of the Church."—*Minutes, East Maine Conference,* 1883, pp. 10, 21.

[†] Those present at the second meeting were: I. H. LaFetra of Santiago; W. A. Wright and Lelia H. Waterhouse of Concepcion; Lucius C. Smith and Mrs. Marietta Vasbinder of Copiapo; A. T. and Mrs. Jeffrey; J. W. and Mrs. Collier, and Oscar von Barchwitz-Krauser of Valparaiso.—G. F. Arms. *op. cit.,* p. 57.

It is to be noted that the action in organizing a field conference was taken by the missionaries on their own initiative, without any suggestion from Taylor. Apparently he had not felt need for a field organization, or for supervision other than what he was giving by correspondence. However, he made no objection to what had been done and agreed to cooperate.

> I will concur in the action of your Conference in all things in harmony with our self-supporting principles, and do my best to help you to carry your wise counsels into effect. . . . The president elected by the Conference for the year will be my representative in my absence in all things he can do in connection with his own pastoral charge. The Holy Spirit must lead the whole movement to make it a success.[112]

At the third meeting of the field conference, held at Santiago on January 14-17, 1881, "seven central stations" were reported in operation, at four of which there were schools employing fifteen teachers. Six preachers, including the seamen's chaplain at Valparaiso, were engaged in wholly religious work. In addition a large number of outlying points were regularly visited by preachers and teachers. At all of these points Sunday schools had been organized. The religious work was supported almost entirely by English-speaking people. It was not possible for any preacher to secure a living if any considerable part of his time was given to Spanish preaching. Besides the abandonment of a large proportion of the stations favorable prospects at others had been diminished by the departure of many foreign residents as a consequence of the war. The report of the third meeting indicates that as time went on proportionately larger effort was being devoted to religious work.[113]

Another difficulty arose during the early years in connection with the holding of property by the mission. Under Chilean law any property purchased by or for the mission—whether school or church property, or furnishings purchased for churches or schools—had to be held as the private property of some person. Because of the frequent changes of personnel this caused such serious inconveniences that Taylor sought legal remedy, but without result.[114]

GRADUAL MODIFICATION OF MISSION OPERATION

By 1881 thirty-three men and women had been sent to the field by Taylor. Of these three had died and seven had returned to the United States by reason of ill health, failure to make satisfactory adjustment, or dissatisfaction and disillusionment. There was a tendency for discouragement to increase. The next year, before leaving for home, A. T. Jeffrey wrote:

> It seems darker to me the farther we go. There must be something materially wrong with the plan. We have tried to be as faithful as we could, yet what have we done? The work is as dear as life, but I have a wife and two helpless children. If I remain here, it will be only to eke out a miserable existence. This is not all:

> I shall rejoice when the Lord relieves me from school work and places me where I can devote the remainder of my life to the preaching of the Gospel.[115]

In 1881 Bishop W. L. Harris visited the West Coast on a tour of inspection. He arrived at Valparaiso on December 13 and sailed on the twenty-ninth for Talcahuano and the East Coast. Despite the earlier decision of the Bishops that Taylor's missionaries were not eligible for ordination he ordained eight young men* who had previously been "elected to orders by one Conference or another, under varied circumstances." [116]

While teaching of the Bible was, by Taylor's agreement with some of his patrons, not permitted as a part of the curriculum of the schools, earnest teachers found ways of inculcating evangelical truths and Christian attitudes. Miss Waterhouse told of her methods at Concepcion:

> I kept a space on one blackboard for 'General Exercises.' Upon this I had a passage of Scripture credited . . . to its author, St. Peter, St. John, Jesus, Mary the mother of Jesus, Solomon, David, Isaiah, etc., and beneath this passage was a quotation from some poet. Each pupil was required to commit the selections to memory, translate them into Spanish, and examinations were had, and credit marks were given as in other studies. I arranged the Lord's Prayer as a chant and that was used for an opening exercise in each room.

On Sunday afternoons she met the girls in a schoolroom where she had written Jesus' parables and incidents of His life on a blackboard for them to copy into blank books to take home and read to their mothers.[117]

The election of William Taylor as lay delegate to the 1884 General Conference, by the South India Conference, had important and unexpected effects on his West Coast Self-supporting Mission. "I saw that my Lord meant that I should be there," he wrote later, "so when the General Conference roll was called, in May, 1884, I answered, 'Here.' " He presented a memorial which in substance asked for the recognition of his West Coast Mission as a regular mission of the Church, "without being put under the jurisdiction of the Missionary Society," and local Societies within the mission as being in "a direct legitimate relation" to the Church. The memorial was read and referred to the Committee on Missions which for three weeks took no action on it. In the meantime, on May 21, William Taylor was elected† Missionary Bishop for Africa.[118]

The election of Taylor as Bishop was equivalent to an endorsement of his plan and method of missionary expansion. General Conference to be consistent had to legitimatize what he had done in Chile, an action which the Bishops had refused to take and the General Missionary Committee had declared to be illegal. This was done in the following form:

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* The 1882 *Minutes* of the East Maine Conference state that a certificate of ordination from Bishop Harris of "several members of the Conference, employed as missionaries in South America, was read" (p. 6). Names are not given.

† Taylor's comment on his election was: "Meantime the Lord had put me through on a fast train into the missionary episcopacy, with authority to open missions and develop Methodist churches on my own missionary methods anywhere in Africa."—*Op. cit.*, p. 688.

> Wherever Methodist Churches are organized in territory outside of an Annual Conference, or of any regular Mission of our Church, such work may be attached to such home Conferences as the said Churches may elect, with the concurrence of the Bishop having charge of said Conference, and may be constituted a Presiding Elder's District.[119]

Taylor's election as Bishop made it impossible for him to retain his former relation to the West Coast Mission. Such supervision as he had previously exercised was ended and he could no longer be personally related to the mission for its financial support. He immediately called together members of a group of supporters who had been most sympathetic and cooperative and arranged for the incorporation of the Transit and Building Fund Society of Bishop William Taylor's Self-support Missions, with trustees, officers,* and counsel. Headquarters were established in New York City. The purpose of the society was stated as follows:

> The particular business and object of said Society is to provide ways and means, and to manage and appropriate the same as follows: To pay passage of missionaries to foreign countries from New York, also the traveling expenses of pioneer evangelists in the countries; to build or purchase dwelling and schoolhouses or houses of worship for the use of the missionaries.
>
> The funds of the Society shall not be used to pay salaries of agents at home, or preachers or teachers in foreign countries.
>
> There is no provision made by this Society for missionaries returning from their field of labor.
>
> The Society does not deem itself justified in paying the out-going expenses entire where less than five years' service is rendered.[120]

The society at once assumed complete direction of the Taylor missions. At a meeting held on May 7, 1885, I. H. LaFetra was made general agent and attorney for the purchase and transfer to the society of all the property, real and personal, of the West Coast Mission.

With the election of Taylor as Bishop the primary emphasis shifted from establishing schools to evangelization and the founding of churches. It was proposed to bring the missions to be established in Africa under the jurisdiction of the society, although it had no organic relation to the Church. In effect, there were now in the Methodist Episcopal Church, by authority of the General Conference, two missionary societies with the same general objective but organized on different bases, and operating on quite different principles, an anomalous situation which must have been readily apparent.

In 1885 a liberal charter was secured from the Chilean government which provided conditions under which missions of the evangelical Churches could operate freely without fear of official interference. The charter provided:

> Those who profess the Reformed Church religion according to the doctrines of Holy Scriptures, may promote primary and secondary instruction according to

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* The officers elected were: *President,* William Taylor; *First V. P.,* the Rev. Asbury Lowrey; *Second V. P.,* Anderson Fowler; *Corresponding Secretary,* the Rev. Alexander McLean; *Recording Secretary,* Mrs. Asbury Lowrey; *Treasurer,* Richard Grant.—G. F. Arms, *op. cit.,* p. 95.

> modern methods and practice, and propagate the worship of their belief obedient to the law of the land.[121]

The charter also made provision for acquiring lands and buildings for these objects and their retention by act of legislature.

An annual meeting of the field conference was convened in January, 1886, in Santiago. Time was allowed for ample discussion of all problems. The conference unanimously favored the organization of a Methodist Society at every station where practicable, and also the attaching of the mission as a whole to some Annual Conference as a Presiding Elder's District, as provided by the 1884 General Conference.[122]

In July, 1887, Asbury Lowrey arrived in Chile for an official visit as vice president of the Transit and Building Fund Society. He brought with him as missionary reinforcements Ira G. Ross and wife, with two children, and Miss Isabel MacDermott. He visited the various stations and laid much stress on forming regularly organized Methodist churches. He was convinced that a mistake had been made in not making greater effort to do this in the past. Concerning Iquique he said:

> A chief obstacle to productive work here, as in every place on the coast, is the erroneous idea that a specific church organization is inexpedient and would be damaging. This prejudice has been so cultivated and diffused that it is exceedingly difficult to induce persons who were acceptable members of some denomination in the country from which they came to unite in church fellowship here.[123]

At Concepcion Lowrey organized a Methodist Society with thirteen members. He either found or himself organized a Society at Colon and at Para (Brazil). Arms is critical of Lowrey's insistence on organization of churches with denominational affiliation, feeling that "he little realized the difficulties in the way, and especially if the work were made sectarian in character." The church at Concepcion, he says, was composed of the nine missionaries, two of whom were clergymen, three young women who were educated in the girls' school, and a young German. What was the outcome?

> Before his report was published the church was without a minister, one of the two had gone to Argentina with his wife and family, and the other to the States. One missionary teacher had died and another had gone to Santiago, as had also the young German. Two of the three young ladies were gone, leaving only three missionary lady teachers and one student. The organization had come to nothing. But in the community there was quite a British colony, the members of which, though not willing to join a Methodist church and obey the rules in regard to theatergoing and abstinence from the use of wines, were willing to attend services and help support them.[124]

On July 1, 1888, ten years had passed since the first party of Taylor's missionaries had sailed from New York. Of more than eighty that had been sent out only twenty-two were on the field. The average length of service of the sixty who had left the field was about three years and two months.

Of the many stations where work had been begun only nine remained. In Chile the mission was limited to four cities where property had been purchased as centers within which an ongoing program could be maintained: Iquique, Coquimbo, Concepcion, and Santiago. In addition a school had been opened among the Germans at Angol in 1887 by W. F. Griewe and his wife who had come to the field in 1884 to work among the colonists. The school continued for some eighteen months. It was closed when the Chilean government established a free school in Angol. At Colon on the Isthmus of Panama a Society of forty-six members had been organized, a mission house and church built, and a Local Preacher licensed. In Brazil work was in progress at Para, Pernambuco, and Manaos. The disheartening list of abandoned stations on the West Coast included Mollendo, Callao, Lima, Tacna, Antofagasta, Guayaquil (Ecuador), Lobos Islands, Copiapo, Caldera, Valparaiso (Bethel work), Valdivia, Osorno, Lake Llanquihue, and Contulmo.[125]

Abandonment of the missionary work in a number of the stations was caused by war and would have taken place under any administrative auspices. The Missionary Society, however, probably in most cases would have reopened the missions after the war ended while Taylor made no attempt to re-establish abandoned stations except at Callao.

The year 1888 was especially difficult because of the serious depletion of personnel. The need for missionaries was so acute that those remaining on the field contributed out of their scant resources to pay the passage of Ira Ross to the United States to enlist recruits and to procure additional funds, but in raising money he was unsuccessful, and to complicate the situation further did not himself return.[126]

The 1888 General Conference, besides declaring that the plan of self-supporting missions inaugurated by Bishop Taylor in South America and Africa deserved "an opportunity for full development under the fostering care of the whole Church" and that the official agencies of the Church were "sufficiently broad and flexible in their scope and purpose to embrace all departments and methods of missionary work," enacted additional legislation. It directed that all property acquired under the plan should "be held by and for the Methodist Episcopal Church"; that the Board appoint a standing committee for the oversight of self-supporting missions; and that missionaries and churches organized under the plan should be "entitled to the same rights and be amenable to the *Discipline* . . . the same as missionaries and churches in other fields." This legislation precipitated the issue of the jurisdiction of the Transit and Building Fund Society over Methodist missions and missionaries.[127]

In 1889 Bishop John M. Walden visited the West Coast and made a careful study of the work. While he commended the efforts of the missionaries his opinion of the self-supporting plan was "decidedly unfavorable." Up to the time of his visit nothing had been done to connect the mission with any Annual Conference but in September, 1890, he presented the question of "attaching the work of Bishop Taylor in South America as a district" of the Cincinnati Conference. The Conference constituted a Chile District,* with six Chile missionaries as members.† James P. Gilliland was appointed Presiding Elder.[128]

In 1889 Justus H. Nelson had asked the Bishops to organize the self-supporting work in Brazil as a Presiding Elder's District under the provision of paragraph 361 of the *Discipline*. His request was granted and at the 1890 session the New England Southern Conference voted to create a Brazil District.‡ Nelson was appointed Presiding Elder.[129]

In 1890 Charles W. Drees, Superintendent of the South America Mission, accompanied by Andrew M. Milne, colporteur, made a four-month tour of the West Coast missions. He left Buenos Aires on February 20 and, after a few days in western Argentina, crossed the Andes and arrived at Valparaiso on March 3. His purpose, he stated, was:

> first, to confer with the missionaries in Chili concerning the unification of our Methodist work in South America, by carrying into effect the organization of an Annual Conference comprising Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and southern Brazil, together with Chili and the additional territory providentially opened up by this Mission; and, secondly, to respond to the earnest call of our brethren in Peru, carrying to them encouragement and help, perfecting their organization as a Methodist church, and gathering facts and data such as might stir up our Church and Missionary Society to take a direct interest in spreading the work of the Gospel over the wide territories open to us in Spanish South America, including Chili, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia.[130]

Drees found in Chile an almost unanimous desire that "their work should be brought into connection with the regular missionary operations of the Church," and also for an all-South America Conference organization. He was convinced that a comparison of methods and results of the two existing organizations, taking into account all of the factors, "would lead to conclusions overwhelmingly in favor of the practical wisdom of those of the Missionary Society." He did not feel, however, that the disparate methods were necessarily incompatible or mutually exclusive, and he thought that the Taylor missions demonstrated the desirability of large expenditure for higher education and of good church buildings along with aggressive evangelistic work. A much more glowing estimate of the value and results of the Taylor mission, made in the same year, was contained in an article by Anderson Fowler in *Gospel in All Lands.* He pronounced the mission "a marvelous success." During the preceding ten years, he said, about $120,000., gold, had been invested in building colleges, schools, and churches, and furnishing them; more than twenty missionaries had been constantly at work, all self-supporting; some stations had furnished $20,000. surplus over self-support; hundreds of persons had been converted of whom several at the time of his writing were teachers in the mission schools. Santiago College he declared to be "the finest of its kind in the world." [131]

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* The action of the Conference was: "*Resolved,* That this Conference invites our presiding Bishop to organize our Methodist Episcopal Church in Chili, South America, into a presiding elders district, and attach it to this Conference, under paragraph 361 of the Discipline."—*Minutes, Cincinnati Conference*, 1890, p. 27.

† The missionaries who became members of the Cincinnati Conference were Goodsil F. Arms, transferred from the Vermont Conference; Ira H. LaFetra, from Austin; Harry B. Compton from New England; and Rowland D. Powell, Ohio. James P. Gilliland was a Local Elder. He was recommended by the Madisonville Quarterly Conference and was received on trial. Compton was left without appointment to attend the Boston University School of Theology. James Benge, Juan Canut de Bon, and A. J. Vidaurre were given appointments as supplies.—*Ibid.*, pp. 29, 40, 45.

‡ In 1889 Justus H. Nelson was transferred from the Wisconsin Conference to the New England Southern Conference.—*Gen'l Minutes*, Spring, 1889, p. 80.

The 1888 General Conference, in addition to the legislation already noted affecting self-supporting missions, passed an enabling act which prepared the way for including the missionary work in Chile in an all-South America Annual Conference. The 1892 General Conference re-enacted the authorization. When, finally, in 1893 the South America Annual Conference was organized, the Chile District previously attached to the Cincinnati Conference and the Brazil District connected with the New England Southern Conference were included in it. Since this placed Chile and Brazil under the jurisdiction of the Missionary Society it was in conflict with the judgment, wishes, and expectations of the Transit and Building Fund Society. When Bishop Newman, who had organized the Conference, reported the action to the Board a committee was constituted to confer with the officers of the Transit Society in reference to a transfer of their work to the Missionary Society. After negotiations it became clear to these officers that two "kinds of missionary work could not be carried on successfully in the same territory under different authorites; [and that] something must be done by them." Within a short time, Anderson Fowler and Richard Grant made the following proposal to the Bishops:

> We the undersigned Committee of the Transit and Building Fund Society . . . offer to you, as representing the M. E. Church, to transfer all the Mission Work and Mission Property belonging to the above society in Chili, upon the condition that Chili be set apart exclusively for Self-Supporting Mission Work, and that the Mission Work in Chili be carried on, and conducted on the plan of Self Support as heretofore . . . .[132]

The proposition was accepted by the General Missionary Committee on November 13, 1893, and the Board on December 19 concurred.* The committee appropriated $25,000. contingent upon the receipt of contributions specifically designated for Chile.[133]

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* Numerous complications arose in the process of transfer. It was found that under Chilean law the Missionary Society, as a foreign corporation, could not hold title to the mission property for more than a few years. It was then agreed that Richard Grant and Anderson Fowler should hold the titles in trust for the Missionary Society (*Minutes, B.M.,* XV, 158 f.). Various other problems, legal and otherwise, arose on some of which the members of the Board were unable to reach agreement. In the course of years the original plan of self-support was modified by consent of all parties. Not until 1905, however, when by approval of the Chilean government La Corporation Andina Construcciones was formed to hold legally all the properties of the Chile Mission, were property matters satisfactorily settled.—G. F. Arms, *op. cit.,* pp. 213-25; *Minutes, B.M.,* XVI, 230 ff., 250 f.

When in 1893 the Taylor mission in Chile was transferred to the Missionary Society approximately 145 [*] missionaries, counting the wives and teachers, had been sent to the field. Of these forty-three were still in Chile. Ten had died. The average period of service of those who left the field was probably not more than three and a half years.[†] Some had been pledged to give at least three years of service. Some were dissatisfied because there was so little opportunity for evangelistic work. Others left because they felt that little was being accomplished. Still others could not adjust themselves to the hard conditions involved—uncomfortable living quarters and uncertain and scant financial support. Speaking frankly, Arms said there "were too many misfits." Neither Taylor nor the officers of the Transit and Building Fund Society gave as much attention as should have been given to the temperament and personality of the volunteers. Too many were hurriedly sent out who should never have been accepted as missionaries.[134]

SOUTH AMERICA CONFERENCE, 1893-95

Pursuant to the action of the 1892 General Conference[‡] Bishop John P. Newman on July 1, 1893, organized the South America Annual Conference. Thirty-eight preachers who were members of Annual Conferences in the United States were recorded as charter members.[§] This official action, Bishop Newman said, was justified by many reasons.

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[*] Of the approximately 145 Taylor missionaries sent to the West Coast some account has been given of sixty. Those not mentioned included William F. and Mrs. Albright, Adrian Allan, Mr. Baldwin, Alice Baldwin, J. M. and Mrs. Baxter, Mrs. James Benge, Mary Bray, Josephine Corbin, Mabel E. Curtis, Emily Day, Carl Ebert, George H. Farwell, Edith A. Fawcett, Fannie Freestone, Mary Fuller, Etta Goodwin, Walter Gregg, Laura J. Hanlon, Mr. and Mrs. Herman, Lizzie E. Holding, J. C. Horn, Mr. Hurlburt, Hannah S. Johnson, Mrs. Oscar von Barchwitz-Krauser, T. Wolcott LaFetra, Miss L. Leach, Mary F. Lee, Millard F. Lemon, Addie Lewis, G. W. and Mrs. Martin, Nellie Martin, Lillian Mathewson, James W. and Mrs. Nelson, Mrs. Justus H. Nelson, Mrs. George B. Nind, Eudora Pierson, Miss Potter, Mrs. Rowland D. Powell, Mrs. W. T. Robinson, F. F. and Mrs. Roose, Miss E. Rugg, J. H. Schiverly, Louise Schofield, Eva L. Schultz, Clifford S. and Mrs. Scott, Clara Sears, Samuel J. Smith, J. M. and Mrs. Vincent, Sabra Wakeman, Miss Wallace, A. S. Watson, Mrs. Sarah Webster, Charles S. and Mrs. Winans.

[†] The "Minute Book" of the Transit and Building Fund Society was lost in a fire and no record exists of the date of arrival and date of leaving Chile of many of the missionaries.

[‡] *G. C. Journal,* 1892: "The *South America Mission* may, at any time during the next four years, with the approval of the Bishop presiding, organize into an Annual Conference, to be called the South America Annual Conference."—P. 416.

[§] The thirty-eight charter members of the Conference were: Charles W. Drees, Goodsil F. Arms, William F. Albright, James P. Gilliland, Ira H. LaFetra, and Rowland D. Powell, from the Cincinnati Conference; Thomas B. Wood, Northwest Indiana Conference; John F. Thomson, Central Ohio Conference; Almon W. Greenman, North Indiana Conference; Charles W. Miller, Central Alabama Conference; Andrew M. Milne, William Tallon, John M. Spangler, Juan C. Correa, Francisco Penzotti, Joaquin Dominguez, William T. Robinson, Juan Robles, Juan Villanueva, George G. Froggatt, and Rudolph Griot, New England Conference; William P. McLaughlin, Ohio Conference; Lino Abeledo, Antonio Guelfi, and George P. Howard, New Jersey Conference; Rudolph Gerber and Robert Weihmüller, Central German Conference; Ramon Blanco, Silvio S. Espindola, and Buel O. Campbell, New Hampshire Conference; Justus H. Nelson and Frank R. Spaulding, New England Southern Conference. *Probationers of the second year:* Juan Canut de Bon, Harry B. Compton, James Benge, and Willis C. Hoover, from the Cincinnati Conference; Carlos Lazzare, from the New England Conference. *Probationer of the first year:* James A. Russell, from the Illinois Conference.

In addition Alberto J. Vidaurre was received as an effective elder on credentials from the Chile Presbyterian Church, and Martin Arnejo, Remigio Vasquez, Karl Beutelspacher, and William C. Morris were admitted on trial.—*Minutes, South America Conference,* 1893, pp. 4, 5, 7, 18.

> We should occupy the whole continent of South America, and everywhere plant therein a living, energetic, Protestant Christianity. The invitation comes from every quarter, and the voices are heard from all the provinces: 'Come over and help us.' We are bound to heed these solemn importunities. This action will unify Methodism throughout the continent; will remove a standing protest against our missionary policy; will provide for the effectual evangelization of Chile; will enable us to attend to the business of the Annual Conference with precision and regularity; will present to the Church at home a profounder claim for larger appropriations, and will secure to the Church of South America an annual episcopal visitation, which is necessary for the ordination of deacons and elders, the number of which annually increases.[135]

The newly organized Conference had six Districts—Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, Chile, and Peru—and extended into eight of the ten nations of the continent, in six of which the Methodist Church was "the only organized missionary agency for evangelistic work among the native peoples and in the national language." Nineteen members of Conference were present at the organizing session. No members were present from Chile, Peru, or Brazil. Drees was appointed Superintendent of the Conference and Presiding Elder of the Argentine District. The statistical secretary reported a total membership of 1,370 full members and 1,118 probationers; forty-eight Sunday schools with an enrollment of 3,434 pupils and 220 officers and teachers; and twenty-three church buildings. The report did not include Chile statistics.[136]

The second session of the Conference was held at Mendoza, Argentina, February 16-20, 1894. In the absence of a Bishop C. W. Drees presided. Twenty-three members of the Conference answered the roll call, of whom seven were from Chile. None was present from Peru or Brazil. Drees reported as Conference Superintendent that in most of the centers congregations were larger than ever before, conversions more numerous and more thorough, and "spiritual life deeper and more genuine." A major difficulty existed, however, in lack of Conference members for many of the charges. That year two men were transferred into the Conference: George B. Benedict from Wyoming Conference and William Groves from Wisconsin Conference.

The third Conference session was convened in Buenos Aires on March 6, 1895, Bishop James N. FitzGerald presiding, with seventeen Conference members in attendance. LaFetra and Arms were the only members present from Chile, and neither Peru nor Brazil was represented. Despite severe economic depression throughout the Conference there were evidences of increasing material support of the Church and growing realization that hope of extension of the work chiefly depended upon development of self-support in the local churches, particularly the older congregations. Five missionaries were received by transfer: Daniel McGurk from North Kansas Conference, Edward A. Wilson, Colorado, Samuel P. Craver, Iowa, J. H. Keeley, North

Dakota, and Frank D. Tubbs,* Mexico. Tubbs was appointed president of the theological seminary.[137]

ARGENTINE DISTRICT

In 1893 organized missionary work was being carried on in the national capital and in five provincial capitals of Argentina. Regular religious services were held in thirty-five cities and towns and many others were more or less regularly visited by preachers in their evangelistic work. The District staff of workers included four missionaries of the Missionary Society and their wives; two missionaries of the W.F.M.S.; eight ordained and twenty unordained preachers; twenty-five teachers; and twenty-nine other helpers. There were 886 full members of the Church; 676 probationers; 804 pupils in day schools; and 2,198 Sunday-school pupils. Property owned was valued at $200,000.

A mission was established in January, 1893, in San Luis, capital of San Luis Province, by Carlos Lastrico and in November a Society of thirty members was organized by the Presiding Elder. A group of Methodists moved in 1894 from Mendoza to Tucuman, in northern Argentina, providing a nucleus for a Society in that prosperous city.

The theological seminary was transferred in 1893 from Buenos Aires to Mercedes, a provincial town west of the city. Educational interests of the Conference were materially advanced in 1895 by Nicholas Lowe of Mercedes who deeded to the Missionary Society property to the value of $25,000. gold.[138]

URUGUAY DISTRICT

The Uruguay District, as organized at the first session of the South America Conference, comprised all of Uruguay, the province of Rio Grande do Sul, a southern frontier state of Brazil, and one charge (Concordia) in the province of Entre Rios, Argentina. The Conference area had a population of nearly two million people. The principal centers from which missionary extension was being carried on were Montevideo, Trinidad, Porto Alegre, and the cities along the Uruguay River. A. W. Greenman was appointed Presiding Elder.

In Montevideo the day schools and religious services had formerly been confined to small rooms in out-of-the-way parts of the city. These were replaced by attractive, well-furnished halls in the two most important sections of the newer part of the city. The primary schools, for years maintained jointly by the W.F.M.S. and the Missionary Society, were moved to larger quarters near the city's center and reorganized into two large schools, a girls' school under the W.F.M.S. and a boys' school under the Missionary Society.

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* In 1898, following the death of his wife, Tubbs returned to the United States and transferred to the Ohio Conference.—*Gen'l Minutes*, Spring, 1898, pp. 86 f.

The Central Circuit, the most extensive Spanish language work in the Uruguay District, continued to expand. Serious difficulties growing out of extreme poverty and failure of crops compelled the closing of the day schools at Trinidad and Durazno. Rio Grande do Sul, in southern Brazil, in soil, climate, and population was more closely related to the River Plate Republics than it was to the more northern states of Brazil. For these reasons and for convenience of administration it was attached to Uruguay. Civil war in the state made it impossible in 1894 to carry out plans that had been formulated for extension. At Salto, on the Uruguay River in the northwest angle of Uruguay, services were begun with a large attendance.[139]

In 1895 a new station was opened at Colon, Entre Rios, near a colony of foreign Protestants, with a congregation of some sixty people. A Sunday school was organized which gave promise of permanency. A chapel on the premises of a German immigrant was made freely available for use of the congregation. Substantial increase was registered at Concordia and Salto and a school was begun at Concordia. Repeated invitations for religious services had come from five or six towns in Uruguay to which response was impossible for lack of preachers. Toward the end of the year peace was proclaimed in Rio Grande do Sul which made renewed activity possible, and W. T. Robinson was appointed to Porto Alegre.[140]

PARAGUAY DISTRICT

At the first Annual Conference session* Joaquin Dominguez was appointed preacher in charge at Asuncion, the capital city of Paraguay. This appointment, Drees felt, promised to impart strength and activity to the mission. Regular English preaching services were held (1894) in addition to Spanish services. The girls' school, begun in 1887, and the boys' school established in 1892 by Antonio Bandres, were continued without interruption, giving evidence of public confidence.[141]

In 1895 Rudolph Gerber succeeded to the pastorate of the Asuncion church. Previously the congregation and schools were chiefly patronized by foreign residents—Italian, Spanish, and others—and the native population had been only slightly influenced, partly because none of the missionaries had been able to acquire the Guarani language which was used almost exclusively by the Paraguay population. In 1894 a Sunday school was opened in a small building erected in a poor district of the city, but these first efforts dismally failed. Fortunately, early in 1895 Miss Olga Lehman, a Swiss, a gifted musician and experienced teacher, offered her services to the mission. She succeeded in winning the confidence of the people of the neighborhood and within the year thirty-four pupils were enrolled in a day school, and a Sunday school was also established. This work, Drees felt, would be the beginning of "an increasing evangelical movement among the masses of the [Paraguayan] people." [142]

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* At the first Conference session Charles W. Miller, who was in the United States on furlough, was appointed Presiding Elder. He did not return, as was expected, to South America, and in 1894 was transferred to the Holston Conference.—*Minutes, South America Conference,* 1894, p. 7.

BRAZIL DISTRICT

The only organized Methodist Society in the Brazil District was at Para. In its first ten years (1883-93) 108 persons had been received on probation and fifty-one into full connection. In 1890 in the New England Southern Conference three appointments had been listed in the Brazil District. Nelson was named Presiding Elder and pastor at Para. The other two appointments, Manaos and Pernambuco, were left "to be supplied." In 1892 Para and Manaos were made a single charge with Nelson as pastor. A new appointment, Santarem, was listed. In Pernambuco Nind, who was a licensed Exhorter, held preaching services weekly in his home and conducted a Sunday school. In September, 1892, he was obliged to return to the United States because of the illness of his wife and his work was absorbed by other denominations. The work at Maranham and Bahia had been given up for lack of a missionary or lay helpers. In 1895 the Para church reported forty-four full members, twenty-six probationers, and 250 adherents; also an Epworth League and a Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Nelson published a monthly paper, *Apologisto Christias Braziliero,* which carried the Gospel message far beyond the limits of Para. For an article printed in 1893, critical of the Roman Catholic Church, the missionary was condemned to serve a sentence of four months in the common jail of Para. In May, 1893, the mission was reinforced by the arrival of Frank R. Spaulding of the Columbia River Conference.[143]

PERU DISTRICT

At the 1893 South America Conference Thomas B. Wood was reappointed Presiding Elder of the Peru District, including in addition to Peru, Bolivia on the east and south, and Ecuador on the north where it was hoped to begin work. The one fully organized church was at Callao. A congregation had been in process of building at Lima, approaching the status of a Quarterly Conference but not yet ready for complete organization. Preparations were under way at other points, looking toward the formation of a strong Circuit. Wood had ambitious hopes of other Circuits southward and northward. The Callao day schools were still small—attendance about one hundred—but Wood envisioned them as the beginning of an important school system. Since preaching was banned everything possible was done to promote the circulation of evangelical publications.[144]

Wood's 1895 report gave account of the bitter opposition encountered the previous year in Peru, including the stoning of preaching places, schools, and dwellings, and vicious attacks upon colporteurs, preachers, and teachers. Because of prevailing conditions advance in all phases of missionary work was inevitably slow. But neither the missionary authorities at the home base nor the field personnel were daunted. In January, 1894, three missionary teachers—George M. Hewey (accompanied by his wife), Miss Ethel G. Porter, and Miss Ina H. Moses—arrived from the United States. Since the 1894 appropriations were not sufficient to extend the Lima school the reinforcement was applied to expansion of the Callao schools. In November J. M. Spangler and family also came to Callao from Rosario, Argentina.[145]

CHILE DISTRICT

The personnel of the Chile District in 1893 included, in addition to the forty-three missionaries already mentioned, eighteen full-time Chilean workers and twenty-five part-time teachers. There were six Methodist Societies and three unorganized congregations. Adherents totaled nine hundred. Eight Sunday schools had a total enrollment, including officers and teachers, of 511. Six boarding schools had 180 boarders and 772 day pupils. There were also two day schools. The property owned included five school buildings, two chapels and parsonages, and a printing plant, with a total estimated value of $397,000. Four chapels, parsonages, an orphanage, and two additional school buildings, were rented. Other than periodicals tens of thousands of tracts were printed and circulated annually.[146]

Since the Chile District remained on the self-supporting plan it had special administrative problems of its own. To deal with these problems a "mission conference" * was created composed of all the missionaries—ministers and laymen and women—and all the Chilean pastors. It dealt with all the problems of finance—means of securing funds and their distribution—amount to be allocated to supplement the contributions of the people for the support of pastors, or for special evangelistic work, and the amount to be used for repairs and improvements of the schools. It also considered plans for improving the work of the churches and the schools. A session was held in Santiago in February, 1894. Because of distance, difficulties of travel, and expense no members from Chile were present at the 1893 organizational meeting of the South America Annual Conference. It was therefore necessary for a District Conference to be organized for the licensing of Local Preachers and Exhorters; for making recommendations for Conference relations and ordinations, and for other strictly ecclesiastical matters. The first District Conference was held at the same time and place as the "mission conference." When in 1895 Bishop J. N. FitzGerald visited the West Coast the Chile District

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* This body, though known locally as a "mission conference," was not a Mission Conference in the Disciplinary sense of the term. It might have been more properly called a District field conference.

Conference was convened for the second time. Its actions were later sanctioned by the Annual Conference.[147]

An Orphans' Home and Industrial School had been established in Santiago on August 1, 1891. By January 1, 1893, a debt of $4,405. had been accumulated. At the 1894 Annual Conference R. D. Powell, the superintendent, was able to report that after many vicissitudes assets were in excess of liabilities. In a new location brickmaking had been adopted as a means of self-support for the school and was amazingly successful. Some seventy-five orphan children had been brought together in a Christian home and plans were under way for an enlarged industrial program.

FORTY-EIGHT YEARS OF SOUTH AMERICA MISSIONS, 1847-95

In 1895 the South America Conference had in its six Districts forty-eight pastoral charges with 1,942 full members and 1,688 probationers. Ministerial members of the Conference numbered fifty-three of whom twenty-four were sent to South America by the Missionary Society. Of these missionaries six were pastors of English churches; five were in educational work; one was an American Bible Society colporteur; five were Presiding Elders; three were pastors of Spanish language churches; and the others had various appointments. W.F.M.S. missionaries numbered seven, all engaged in schoolwork. Other than the twenty-four Conference members sent out by the Missionary Society, there were twenty-nine pastors. Most of these were South Americans. A few were of Spanish or Swiss birth. Five were North Americans but had not been sent out by the Missionary Society. There were thirty-six Local Preachers; sixty-four Sunday schools with 4,635 pupils; twenty-four church buildings and forty-five rented halls and chapels; and nine parsonages. The Conference had one theological school; one high school; and twenty-eight other day schools with 2,017 pupils. Of these, eight schools with 971 pupils were in Argentina. Chile reported 424 pupils in day and boarding schools. The Buenos Aires girls' schools under W.F.M.S. auspices enrolled about 125 pupils; in Rosario about 200; and in Montevideo approximately 125.[149]

Why, after almost five decades of missionary effort, was not a more impressive showing possible? The reasons are obvious and can be briefly stated. South America missions did not appeal as strongly to the Church as those of other regions. The South America background was in sharp contrast to that of China, India, Japan, Korea, and Africa. The masses of the people of these nations were wholly without the light of the Gospel, living under conditions which made a powerful missionary appeal to Christian sympathy and faith. South America was different. All of the countries claimed to be Christian. Popular conceptions of Latin American Roman Catholicism were formed from such acquaintanceship as people had with the

Church in the United States. Even many church members who were well informed concerning actual conditions prevailing in South American countries were lukewarm concerning the sending of missionaries. Within the Missionary Society itself differences of opinion prevailed. As a result, South American missions lacked the powerful advocacy which characterized the missions of the Orient and of Africa.

Again, the appeal for South America was weakened by the fact that it was launched and for the first two decades was continued as a mission not to the total population but to a limited group, chiefly the numerically small number of English-speaking residents of three or four cities of the continent. Even when Goodfellow undertook to expand the scope of the mission to include the European immigrants of the interior the Missionary Society and the General Missionary Committee were not fully committed to the proposal and when a condition of financial stringency developed withdrew their assent, an action, however, which a few years later was modified and finally entirely changed. The support of South American missions was uncertain and insufficient for an aggressive evangelization program. The missionary personnel was numerically inadequate. Three Superintendents in succession—Carrow, Goodfellow, and Jackson—had ambitious ideas for development of the mission program but were unable to get either the funds or the personnel to carry out their plans. At the beginning of Wood's administration (1878), the Methodist Episcopal Church had only two North American missionaries in South America, exclusive of Chile. During his energetic superintendency, work was begun in Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul Province), Paraguay, and Bolivia, making five republics in which a start was made in missionary work. The total population was counted in millions, yet in 1887 there were but six North American Methodist missionaries on the field and the appropriation (exclusive of $10,000. for the purchase of real estate in Buenos Aires for the theological school) was only $31,000.

In China and India Christian missionaries did not hesitate to begin with those at the bottom of the social scale. In this way the Gospel demonstrated its power to lift the masses from the depths to higher levels. To the Protestant pioneers in South America the paucity of funds and of missionaries, along with the difficulties of establishing missions among a native people, made even a beginning seem impossible. The Bible Societies were committed to the policy of translating the Scriptures into Indian languages and some colporteurs were diligent in circulating translations and tracts to the Indians. At different times and places, as has been noted, the need of missions was considered. The appeal of numbers alone should have been strong. No real census of the Indian population had ever been made but by some authorities the total in the period 1845-95 was estimated to have been as large as seven to nine million. Their religious, social, and economic need was not less than that of the depressed masses of China and India but few voices were raised in their behalf and neither the Methodist Episcopal Church nor any other evangelical agency realized the urgency or the greatness of the opportunity and little was attempted.

For several reasons Taylor's West Coast schools cannot be said to have been, on the whole, largely effective as an evangelistic agency. The requirement of self-support made a substantial tuition charge necessary. This automatically excluded many of the children and youth of English wage earners' and mestizo families among whom the most promising human material was to be found. Missionary free schools would have included many of these. The tuition also entirely excluded Indian children. In consequence of the cost the pupils were drawn from middle- and upper-class families, of whom a large proportion were Roman Catholics. While many of the crude superstitions, beliefs, and practices current among them were modified by association with evangelical teachers few were converted and united with a Protestant church.

Some of those from whom Taylor solicited subscriptions for teachers' salaries had stipulated that religion must not be taught in the schools. He felt that concession must be made in the interest of maintaining his self-supporting principle, agreed to the condition, and instructed his outgoing missionaries accordingly. That the policy operated as a limitation on the Christian influence of some of the early schools cannot be doubted. However, the character, personality, and spirit of many of the missionaries whose chief aim was to acquaint their pupils with the Gospel and to lead them to a vital Christian experience was not without its effect. Although the Bible could not be brought into the schools the pupils were constantly in the presence of the living Word, exemplified in the lives of their teachers. Many men and women in their later years, former pupils in the schools, who had never openly declared themselves to be Protestant Christians revealed a genuine personal faith in Christ. Great changes also took place in the attitude of the general public toward evangelical religion, much of which could only be attributed to the schools' influence.

After some years Taylor realized that it was impossible for evangelical schools to be maintained in a Roman Catholic country by funds secured from Catholics, and turned to Protestant foreigners as a chief source of support. The restrictions on teaching the Bible were then no longer enforced. At Concepcion* and at other places the emphasis on the religious life of the pupils was pronounced, with much attention given to Bible reading, prayer, and Sunday-school attendance.

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* How greatly the situation was changed may be seen from this description: "Mrs. Arms [who for years was in charge of Concepcion College, the girls' school] was ever trying to bring to . . . [the knowledge of the pupils] the blessed truths of the gospel. . . . As they came to know the Bible and the Christian life as they saw it in their teachers many of them came to the conviction that the Protestant religion was the religion of the Bible, the true religion. In the morning all the pupils were assembled for singing, Bible reading, and prayer. In the evening the teachers and boarding pupils gathered for a service of singing and responsive Bible reading and prayer, in which all took part.—G. F. Arms, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 f.

The difficulties of missionary work among the mestizo population in all of the republics were multiplied by the high percentage of illiteracy. Accurate statistics do not exist and estimates vary widely. In Argentina, it may be roughly estimated, seventy per cent of the population was illiterate; in Uruguay, fifty-five per cent; in Chile, sixty per cent; in Paraguay and Bolivia, eighty to eighty-five per cent; and in Peru about the same. This meant, of course, that schools were necessary before the Bible could be read or Protestant preaching could be fully effective. Evangelization on a large scale required that a native ministry be raised up and for this day schools and ministerial training agencies were necessary. Schools required teachers and since the Church sent very few educational missionaries to countries other than Chile increase of schools was slow. In Argentina great change for the better took place when in 1868 Sarmiento—friend of Horace Mann, pre-eminently an educator whose obsession was the founding of schools and training teachers for them—became president. He is said to have enlisted the aid of William Goodfellow in recruiting teachers in the United States, and imported sixty-three whom he commissioned to establish and direct normal schools. During the six years of his presidency school facilities and enrollment almost doubled, reaching a total of 1,645 schools and more than 100,000 pupils. Within a few years the effect of Argentina's educational renaissance was felt in the neighboring republics of Uruguay and Chile and strong stimulus was given to the establishment of day schools by the mission and by local churches not only in Argentina but also in other countries.

Progress of the South America Mission was also seriously hampered by restrictions upon freedom of religious belief and practice. When the mission was begun Roman Catholicism was the state religion in Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Peru. Only in Uruguay of the South American states was no restriction placed upon freedom of conscience, although in Brazil * a spirit of toleration prevailed. The constitution of Chile, for example, declared the Roman Catholic religion to be "the sole and exclusive faith of the State of Chile," and that the officers of government would never permit any other "public cult or doctrine." The constitutions of other republics had similar statements, differing in phrasing but not in substance. Considering the difficulties which have been enumerated and the antagonism of priests, local government authorities, and public mobs, the growth in number and in the enrollment of the day schools, Sunday schools, and members of local churches was notable. Progress was slow, to be sure, but there was steady and dependable increase and by 1895 evidence was convincing that Methodism

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* By decree of the Brazilian provisional government on Jan. 7, 1890, all subjects were guaranteed civil and religious freedom.

had become permanently rooted in all of the republics embraced within the South America Mission.

Mexico Mission

Bishop Matthew Simpson wrote to William Butler on December 9, 1872: "You are hereby appointed as superintendent of our Mission in Mexico. As soon as may be practicable . . . you will please proceed to the city of Mexico." Dr. Butler could not leave immediately since, following his return from India, he had become secretary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, an undenominational organization which had been formed by missionary-minded men and women of various Churches. The purpose of this body as stated at its founding in 1849 was "the uniting of all Christian denominations in the work of the world's evangelization." At home the Union's principal service was among immigrants; abroad, its major emphasis was evangelism in what were then called "the Papal Lands"—Mexico, Central and South America, and parts of Europe.[150]

EVANGELICAL BEGINNINGS IN MEXICO

The first representative in Mexico of the American and Foreign Christian Union, the Rev. Henry C. Riley, became a significant figure in the small but vigorous evangelical movement that had come into open expression in the 1860's. Stirrings of this movement had begun with the secret and costly distribution of the Bible during Mexico's struggle to gain independence from Spain, which had culminated successfully in 1821. Fearless and indomitable lay evangelists and Bible Society agents—Mexicans, British, and citizens and soldiers of the U.S.A.—extended this effort in the years that followed, especially while the Mexican War of 1846-48 was being waged.

The promulgation of religious freedom in the new constitution of 1857 opened the way for new religious developments. This stimulated action on the part of a number of priests of liberal spirit who were seeking a vital expression of faith and fellowship not found in the Roman Catholic Church of their day. A distinguished group of them founded in the 1860's an independent Church called the Church of Jesus.* It was with the leaders of this Church that Henry C. Riley engaged in active and fruitful cooperation from his arrival in 1868, with Butler's support as secretary of the Christian Union. This action also increased in the Churches a sense of missionary responsibility and opportunity concerning Mexico as a mission field.[151] About this time the Christian Union began to shift its major activity to Europe. Believing that more could be achieved through denominational channels than through undenominational agencies supported by individuals, the Board asked Butler to return to its service and establish a denominational mission* in Mexico.[152] In his letter of appointment Bishop Simpson wrote:

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* In 1869 the congregations of the Church of Jesus entered into a pact of union with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. The resulting organization became the Mexican Episcopal Church. Its first Bishop was Henry C. Riley.

> You will organize as early and as fully as you can according to the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But at the same time you will cultivate the most friendly relations, and proceed in the most perfect Christian courtesy with all evangelical societies and ministers, and especially you will cooperate as far as you may with Rev. Dr. Riley in the work which he has so successfully commenced.[153]

Butler's correspondence in the period following his appointment makes clear his attitude toward the work already begun by the Christian Union and toward the Mexican people. In one letter he said:

> we are resolved to avoid all interference with the great and precious work now being accomplished in that land by the Christian Union, under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Riley. We go in as fellow-helpers, with the purpose of doing our part of the work in as unsectarian and kindly a spirit as may be possible to us, seeking to save the people without offensively obtruding upon them those foreign and denominational aspects about which they are at present so sensitive, and with an appreciation of the successful means and Christ-like spirit by which so many souls have lately been won for Christ in that land.
>
> It is a satisfaction to assure our people that in forming our plans we have had the opportunity of taking counsel with the man who, probably of all others, is best qualified, by experience and labor, to advise in this important movement. Dr. Riley providentially happened to be in New York during the meeting of our Committee. . . . Under the altered circumstances, he cheerfully acquiesced in our entering without hesitation and in strength. He generously offered to aid us there in every practicable way, feeling . . . that we would both work together in harmony to lift up poor, degraded and priest-ridden Mexico.
>
> The annual subscriptions from the members of the Methodist Church hitherto devoted chiefly to the support of Dr. Riley's work will, we trust, be continued to it by the generous donors.[154]

In the interval before Butler's departure the Missionary Society asked Bishop Gilbert Haven to visit Mexico and report on the outlook. He left in December, 1872, and arrived in the capital city by train from Veracruz within the first few days of January, 1873. His stay of three months was of great significance, and he laid well the foundations of the new mission. The U. S. minister to Mexico presented him to the President, Lerdo de Tejada, who assured him that religious liberty under law prevailed in the republic, that he welcomed the mission, and that he would protect the missionaries in the enjoyment of their civil rights. This official announcement of the changed policy of the Mexican government gave increased confidence to all of the new missions.[155]

In Mexico City, Pachuca, and Puebla Bishop Haven explored the opportunities for purchasing land and buildings suitable for mission purposes. In Puebla he found a possibility of purchasing the abandoned chapel of a former monastery. In Mexico City he learned that part of the old convent of San Francisco might be available, but he did not open negotiations with the owners to buy.[156]

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* Other denominations also entered Mexico in this period: 1871, the Society of Friends and the Northern Baptists; 1872, the Presbyterians, U.S.A., and the Congregational Church; 1873, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; 1874, the Presbyterians, U.S.; 1878, the Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church; 1880, the Southern Baptists.—G. B. Camargo and K. G. Grubb, *Religion in the Republic of Mexico,* p. 87.

On Sunday, January 26, 1873, the Bishop organized in Mexico City the first Methodist Class of the new mission. The seven members represented four nationalities: Mexican, Irish, English, and American (U.S.). Among the interested visitors present was W. H. Cooper, of Chicago, representing the group of Protestants in Mexico who were connected with the American and Foreign Christian Union. During the same week Bishop Haven engaged a hall as a chapel. It was opened February 2 with a union service conducted, on the invitation of the Bishop, by Alejo Hernandez, a Mexican preacher from the Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who had just arrived with Bishop John C. Keener, also of that Church.* The latter was also present and participated.[157]

In this hall, which was abandoned after a month because of its unfavorable location, two Mexican preachers—members of the first Methodist Class—who were to bring outstanding gifts to the young Church, began their first work in evangelism. One was Dr. Ignacio Ramirez, about sixty years of age and for many years previously a Dominican friar, who had for some time been an eloquent preacher of the Protestant faith. The other was Gabriel Ponce de Leon, an active and prosperous businessman in the city who had been moved by the reading of the Bible and by the consequent spiritual experience to leave the Roman Church and start preaching the riches of Christ.[158]

ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM BUTLER, 1873-79

William Butler completed arrangements for departure to his new post early in 1873. Accompanied by his family he arrived in Mexico City on February 23. In the following three weeks he counseled with Bishop Haven regarding the purchase of property and the development of the mission. But the Bishop had more to leave with the new Superintendent than advice; he turned over to him $5,000. received from a layman in Indiana who on hearing that the San Francisco Convent could be obtained for mission purposes had made the gift for its purchase.[159] Bishop Haven left Mexico City by coach and had a hard and tiring journey of three weeks before crossing the border into Texas. In March, a second missionary, Thomas Carter of the New York Conference, arrived on the field.

Prior to Bishop Haven's departure the little congregation had been meeting for two weeks in the Butler home while new quarters were sought. By this time it numbered more than twenty. Bishop Keener then offered the use of a chapel which he had purchased, Butler paying for some of the fixtures and furniture in lieu of rent. Here "The Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church," as it was announced, began its public worship on the last Sunday of March, 1873. About seventy Mexicans attended the morning service with Ramirez as the preacher. In the afternoon Butler conducted a service in English for twenty members of the foreign community.[160]

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* The founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, mission will be narrated in detail in Volume V.

It was urgent that the mission be settled in adequate quarters, and Butler now devoted his full energies to finding a way for purchasing the historic property which had come to Bishop Haven's notice. Variously known as the San Francisco Monastery, Convent, or Cloisters, the land and buildings in question were a section of a great monastic establishment built on the site once occupied by the palace of Montezuma and expropriated in part by the Mexican government in 1856. Its immense blocks of cloisters and cells had offered accommodations for four thousand monks. It was the first such institution on the American continent and had formed one of the most active centers for the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith among the Indians. The adjacent church was the first built in New Spain and here also was the first cemetery used by the Spanish rulers.[161] The building available for sale included only the monks' cloisters and sacristy. These had recently been occupied by a circus which failed to attract the audiences anticipated because many women of Mexico City regarded it as somewhat sacrilegious for them to enter precincts once consecrated to the uses of a monastery.

Butler had to proceed with great caution in making the first approaches for inspection of the property and negotiations for purchase. If his purpose became generally known, he might find his efforts blocked. He has told of his first visit to the building:

> . . . I waited until ten o'clock at night, then went and knocked at the great door. The sleepy janitor opened the portal a little way only, and was reluctant to admit any one at such an hour. However, a silver dollar proved quite persuasive to compensate him for his interrupted sleep . . . and by the light of his lantern he showed me the premises.
>
> To my great satisfaction I found the property just what we required, and at once made earnest efforts to secure it. But I learned that one of the parties whose signature was necessary was a fanatical old lady who would rather see the building go up in smoke than sold to Protestants. What to do I could not imagine. . . . We could only seek divine help and wait.[162]

Three weeks passed. Then one day as Butler was talking with a friend on the street his companion hailed an acquaintance passing by, introduced him, and drew him into conversation. As it proceeded India was mentioned. Butler thus reports the swift-moving transaction that followed:

> 'What,' said I, 'have you been in India?'
>
> 'Yes, I fought under Havelock, and was one of the volunteer cavalry that rode with him into Lucknow.'

> Instantly it flashed across my mind that here was help at last if I could win him.
>
> 'Well,' I replied, 'I have done my best to immortalize you and your gallant comrades.'
>
> 'What do you mean?' said he.
>
> Asking him to remain where we were for a few minutes, I hurried to the hotel and took a copy of The Land of the Veda, which I carried back and showed to him, opened at the portrait of General Havelock.
>
> He looked at it astonished, and said, 'That is indeed our illustrious commander,' and commenced at once to read the pages that refer to the bravery of the heroes, led by their devout general. I stood prayerfully and anxiously waiting. Finally, turning to me, he said, 'How much I would like to possess this book!'
>
> 'Please accept it as a gift from the author.'
>
> Thanking me with genuine heartiness, he exclaimed, 'Is there not something I could do for you to show my gratitude?'
>
> I had learned that he was an Irishman and a Catholic, but Providence led me to feel that he could and would help me, so I replied, 'You are probably the only man in this city who can do something very necessary for me.'
>
> 'What is it?'
>
> I explained the circumstances: how we were anxious to secure a suitable property for our work, but that the bigoted old lady would not be willing to sell to us, and I feared to trust any broker in the city lest they should be induced to fail us.
>
> He asked, 'Would you trust me?'
>
> I felt free to say, I would.
>
> 'Have you the money?'
>
> Yes, the money was ready in the bank.
>
> 'Well, say nothing until I come to you.'
>
> I reminded him that I was a Protestant missionary, and that he was a Catholic, but he said: 'What of that? Have five hundred dollars ready for me to-morrow.'
>
> He came the next day, took the money, paid the installment, and obtained his receipt. The property was his and all secure. As soon as the papers in the case were ready he took me to the government office and made out a deed to me as agent of the missionary society of our church, and the Circus of Chiarini was ours.[163]

Although the sale of this historic property, later known as 5 Gante Street, was closed about the first of April, 1873, it was the first of June before Butler was able to complete all the formalities necessary to taking possession. He then began the work of reconditioning the buildings for their new use, and the dedication of the church took place on Christmas Day. A full program of services was planned for that week, and invitations were sent to the president of the republic, his ministers, distinguished citizens, and the press. Announcements of the event were carried by the daily papers, some of which added notes of their own on the occasion.

El Siglo XX reported:

> 'Mr. Bwtter [sic] has been working untiringly in order to carry out his religious thinking. He even makes use of the shovel himself in order to stimulate the workers to finish the reconditioning of the building as quickly as possible.'

El Federalista commented:

> 'Those who believe in hell but do not accept a purgatory have a new place in which to pray. We offer our condolence to our neighbor [probably referring to the Roman Catholic Church] who defends the existence of both furnaces.'
>
> *El Monitor Republicano:*
>
> 'We believe that no progressive person will fail to attend the solemn dedication of this church.'[164]

Carter was assigned to Gante but within a few months illness forced him to return to New York and the little church was left without a pastor. Fortunately the Superintendent was able to procure the services of W. H. Cooper, a distinguished theologian of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who was fluent in Spanish. He had come from the United States under the auspices of the American and Foreign Christian Union to work in cooperation with the Church of Jesus. He soon found that this body was undergoing radical change with which he was in such marked disagreement that he must withdraw. He agreed to join the Methodist mission staff, and after a brief period at Orizaba was placed in charge of the Gante Street Church. This proved to be a short pastorate, for in February, 1875, Cooper's health required him to move to a lower altitude. He went down to the more congenial climate of Orizaba, where he had been stationed for a time in 1873 and had conducted the first Methodist service held in the city.[165]

Within a year after Butler's arrival word of the mission's message and service spread through the city and other parts of the republic. Urgent requests poured in from various centers for preachers to bring the Gospel and to solemnize marriages and baptisms. Detailed information was contained in Butler's first annual report:

> There are three Sunday-schools with eight officers and teachers and 47 scholars. There is one day-school with ten scholars. Two English congregations in the cities of Mexico and Pachuca with a regular attendance of 105 persons. There are seven Mexican congregations with an average attendance as follows . . . [:] San Fernando, 12; Philipe, 18; Mission House [Gante] 40 [all in Mexico City]; Pachuca, 70; Rio [Real] del Monte, 19; Orizaba, 20; Miraflores, 40. Total attendants, 219. There are two class-meetings with a regular attendance of English and Mexicans of 39. The growth of the past quarter has been about 40 per cent.[166]

Large opportunities were at hand, but it was proving exceedingly difficult to find helpers suitably prepared to undertake the pioneering work of extension now needed. Four Mexican preachers, in addition to the two previously mentioned, had been enlisted: Francisco Aguilar, Jose Maria Segovia, Dr. Marcellino Guerrero, Jose Isidore Niceto, and Felix Galvan. But additional missionaries also were required. Bishop Simpson—who had episcopal supervision of the field—visited Mexico in the early part of 1874. He and Dr. Butler turned first to Boston University School of Theology for help. For the previous year or two it had been offering a course in Spanish for students looking forward to mission service in South America and Mexico. The first two graduates with this special training were soon to be available.

Bishop Simpson sent urgent messages asking for the young men to report in Mexico City as soon as possible. The first recruit was Dr. Butler's son, John W. Butler, and the second was Charles W. Drees. They reached Veracruz on May 8, 1874, and proceeded at once to the capital where they remained for a time. Within five months Drees preached his first sermon in Spanish.[167]

Even before the arrival of Drees and John W. Butler the mission had very substantial reinforcement from the W.F.M.S. At its fourth annual meeting, May 14-19, 1873, the General Executive Committee appropriated $5,776. for work in Mexico, including funds for three Bible women, two in Mexico City and one in Puebla; a missionary and a missionary teacher in Mexico City; an orphanage in Mexico City; and various miscellaneous items. In February, 1874, two young women, Miss Mary Hastings of the New York Branch and Miss Susan M. Warner of the Cincinnati Branch, arrived. Their first responsibility was the teaching of a few boys and girls in a class that Butler had gathered in Mexico City. An orphanage was also opened in Gante directed by them.[168]

William Butler's wisdom as a missionary strategist was shown in the policy which he enunciated virtually at the beginning of the mission. He observed that the Protestant work under way in Mexico was for the most part "political and harshly controversial." Preachers were indulging in what amounted "to little more than tirades against the Romish clergy and Church."

> Such conduct and such methods of missionary work are only calculated to irritate and disgust conscientious Romanists and lead them to hate Protestantism, and even be willing to see it persecuted and driven away. I am more than ever convinced that no good can come of this policy or of the spirit from which it springs, and that to be useful to these people our Mission must avoid all this bitterness and theological pugnacity, and devote itself to preaching the Gospel in the spirit of the Gospel.

The Methodist helpers are taught, he said, "that they can preach the Gospel without abusing the Romanists, and that the best way to remove the darkness of superstition and sin is simply to introduce the light of truth and holiness . . . ."[169]

The W.F.M.S. appropriation for 1874 was increased to $9,202.

In planning the mission program Butler used the same method that he had so successfuly utilized in India, the choosing of a few strategic centers and gradually expanding missionary activity from each. By 1875 it was clear that the most promising locations were Mexico City, Pachuca, Puebla, Orizaba, and Miraflores.

For obvious reasons Mexico City—the national capital—was chosen as the permanent center of the mission. Concerning it Butler said in his second annual report:

> In that city places for preaching have been opened at *five* separate points. Our

missionaries there work unmolested under the protection of a liberal government, and amid the general prevalence of religious freedom; and during the past year the increase of the average attendance upon religious services . . . has been sixty per cent.[170]

Seven Mexican congregations were listed in 1875 in Mexico City and vicinity: Trinity (Gante), Guerrero, Santa Ines, Santa Caterina, Mixcoac, Miraflores, Tlalmanalco, with five day schools. There were six Mexican preachers and three schoolteachers.

The mission this year (1875) gained a valuable assistant quite unexpectedly, Mathias Goethe, a Lutheran minister from Sacramento, California, who had come to Mexico on a health leave. He was a man of culture and of strong evangelical spirit and was induced to join the mission. The German colony subscribed funds for his support. At times he would preach on a single day in three services using three different languages. It was a heavy loss when he died in 1876. Two priests also joined the mission in 1875, Jose Maria Gonzales, a doctor of theology, whose stay was brief, and Trinidad Rodriguez whose conversion was brought about by his comparison of what he called "the Protestant and Catholic Bibles." He became an earnest and capable preacher of the Gospel. Still another recruit, Pascual Espinosa, came to the mission from "the Church of Jesus" and remained for years in the ranks of the effective ministry.[171]

The orphanage was divided in 1875, the boys being taken to Puebla, while the girls remained in Mexico City. The next year Henrietta C. Ogden* of the Cincinnati Branch came to assist Miss Warner in the care of the forty girls in the home. In 1877 Miss Mary F. Swaney, of the Baltimore Branch, arrived and was given charge of the orphanage. A Bible woman, also employed by the W.F.M.S., was added to the little corps of women workers.[172]

Dr. Butler, convinced that Protestant literature was an indispensable aid in the work of evangelization, took it upon himself in 1875 to establish a mission press. His son, Edward C. Butler, resigned his position in New York and went to Mexico City to assist in the enterprise. As no missionary on the field had experience as a printer Edward Butler was made director of the press, with two printers and a binder, to aid. Since funds were not available in the appropriations for equipment and for cost of publication of the required literature, he went to the United States to obtain from churches and interested friends $12,000., which he estimated would be required. His success heartened the entire mission. In 1877 *El Abogado Cristiano* (a Spanish language *Christian Advocate*) was established as an enterprise of the press, with William Butler as editor. It circulated 1,752 copies of which 1,158 were paid subscriptions.

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* Henrietta C. Ogden (1857-99) was born in Springfield, Ohio, where early in her life she became an active worker in the W.F.M.S. She was associated with Miss Warner in the Mexico City orphanage and in the Pachuca school. Illness caused a break in her service but as soon as she had sufficiently recovered she returned to Mexico. In 1882 she joined the William Taylor South America West Coast Mission as a teacher in the girls' school in Concepcion, Chile. She retired in 1889.—Louise Manning Hodgkins, *The Roll Call* . . . , p. 14.

On his visit to Pachuca in 1873 Bishop Haven had found an active Methodist Class which had been formed by a group of Wesleyan mining engineers from Cornwall. The first English services of worship had been held in one of their homes twenty years previously by a visiting Wesleyan minister from England, the Rev. Henry Davis. The Mexican authorities of the time objected but they withdrew their opposition on learning that Davis was only a visitor. In the intervening years several Mexican workers in the mines had become regular attendants at the Class meeting. By 1873 there existed a little congregation under the leadership of a physician, Dr. Marcellino Guerrero,[*] using a modified form of service published by the Church of Jesus in Mexico City and calling itself the Reformed Church in Pachuca.[173]

When Butler visited the city he found several Local Preachers among the Cornish people, and a hall was hired in the public square for weekly services. A Sunday school was started, the Local Preachers took turns in conducting services, and a missionary from Mexico City visited and preached every third Sunday. Christopher Ludlow, a Cornish engineer who had come to Pachuca to install one of the largest pumping machines ever brought to Mexico, was an excellent preacher and Butler persuaded him to join the missionary force. The Superintendent's 1875 report listed Ludlow as preacher-in-charge of the Pachuca Circuit of three preaching points: Pachuca, Real del Monte—a mining town of some 5,000 inhabitants at an elevation of about 9,000 feet—and Omitlan. He was assisted by F. Aguilar and by a local schoolteacher, C. G. Paull. The English congregations of Pachuca and Real del Monte also were served by Ludlow and T. Trelour (Local Preacher), occasionally assisted by William Butler.[174] A girls' school was opened at Pachuca with Miss Warner as principal. She soon returned to Mexico City, exchanging with Miss Hastings who was made director of the school of forty Spanish-speaking pupils and thirteen English children. Miss Hastings at this time was alone but was unafraid.

> I am . . . the only American in the State as far as I know, at least the only missionary. I am living, as well as teaching my day-school and Sunday school, in a hired house over a grocery and liquor store, through which is the entrance. I was saying to a friend a day or two since, with regard to the mission, 'It seems a very small beginning, yet it is really a good thing that we are permitted to be here and to work at all.' His reply was, 'I think you have already a great hold.'[175]

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[*] Dr. Guerrero held public services regularly every Sunday morning, and in the afternoons as regularly presided over public billiard tables, the income from which he regarded as a necessary offset to losses in his medical practice caused by fanatical persecution. Dr. Butler was soon able to help him to see the inconsistency of this, and he came into the enjoyment of a more earnest religious life, gave up Sabbath desecration, and devoted more time to preaching the Gospel. In 1875 he relinquished the pastorate to one of the younger men and moved to the city of Mexico, where he continued a devoted member of the Church to the time of his death in 1888.—John Wesley Butler, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico: Personal Reminiscences, Present Conditions and Future Outlook,* pp. 64 f.

In the *Ninth Annual Report* (1877-78) the W.F.M.S. gave account of a new schoolhouse and home built by the Society in Pachuca. The school numbered sixty-four pupils of whom fifty were Mexican and fourteen English. The Society had also employed a Bible woman who made hundreds of visits to homes and distributed tracts and Bible portions.[176]

A well-located plot of ground in the center of the city was procured by Ludlow and Frank Rule, another member of the foreign settlement, and Ludlow built a small chapel and homes for both missionary societies. The chapel seated about a hundred and fifty persons and was used by both the English and Mexican congregations. It was dedicated on April 2, 1876, during the Tuxtepec Revolution. The city was attacked in the afternoon while the English service was in progress. Butler reports what happened in the chapel:

> Mr. Ludlow, who had a fervent spirit and a strong voice, was leading in prayer, when a volley of bullets began to fall around the place. When he finished the petition and opened his eyes there was just one member of the congregation left before him, a deaf old lady, and two preachers in the pulpit! He said that he had noticed footsteps, but thought it meant more worshippers coming in.

In the course of the Tuxtepec Revolution the city was bombarded twice and the mission buildings were considerably damaged; but with danger so close about them the mission family suffered no injuries.[177]

In 1876 Filipe N. Cordova assisted Ludlow with the Mexican work and T. Trelour aided him with the English services. C. G. Paull continued to direct the boys' school. Despite the revolution the mission activities experienced no serious interference.[178]

Puebla, the third center of the mission to be occupied, approximately ninety miles east of Mexico City, had in the middle seventies a population of some 70,000 people. It was known as the religious capital of the republic. Here, as in Mexico City, Bishop Haven located a highly desirable property available for purchase, and contracted for it at a price of 10,000 pesos, making a down payment of 3,000 pesos. The building was a portion of the immense headquarters of the Spanish Inquisition in Mexico—a part which included the Examining Chapel. In his *Mexico in Transition* William Butler gives a vivid description of the structure at the time of purchase:

> Around us were the evidences of the popular vengeance that had been wreaked upon the accursed building; the doors, windows, and floors had been torn up and smashed to pieces, and the plaster defaced. But all this could soon be repaired. On the upper floor to the right was a suite of rooms which would make a comfortable parsonage, and on the left the Examining Chapel could be made into the first Methodist Episcopal Church in Puebla. It was capable of holding about one hundred and fifty people. On the floor below a room as large as the chapel would give us a good school-room, and the apartments and corridors to the right would afford accommodation for the boys' orphanage and a theological

seminary. We were thus—at least for the time being—amply provided for in the work which our Church was to undertake in Puebla.[179]

Charles W. Drees was designated to open the mission in this, the second largest city in Mexico. He arrived in Puebla in January, 1875, accompanied by Christopher Ludlow, the Cornish engineer-preacher from Pachuca who was now studying Spanish so that he might extend the range of his evangelism to include the Mexican people. The first task confronting them was the repair of the premises that had been purchased. It was a gruesome undertaking for out of the cells and from beneath the floors they had to remove more than a hundred human skeletons.

By early February Drees was ready for his first effort to bring together the Mexican Protestants of the city. Through one of them whom he had employed as a colporteur he extended invitations for a meeting. Three came from outside, who with the colporteur, Ludlow, and Drees made a little company of six. They talked over the cause of God in that place, read the Scriptures, and prayed. These were men who for conscience' sake had suffered wounds, hunger, and nakedness. They reported knowing twenty or more persons of like convictions. In March meetings were held regularly every Sunday morning and afternoon and every Thursday night. Attendance was small. Drees had met many who called themselves Protestants, but were either afraid to attend or were suspicious of him.[180]

In the following month the mission decided to relocate the boys' orphanage in Puebla. Drees went to the capital and conducted the group by train to their new home—fourteen boys from four to thirteen years of age, their supervisor with wife and child, and the schoolteacher with his wife and three children. By July an organ had been given to the church, and at the first service the singing attracted a curious crowd around the building. Suddenly a big stone came crashing through a window. The consul-general of the United States was in the congregation. He handed ten dollars to the missionary with the promise to pay for all the windows that might be broken. The dedication of the chapel was set for August. The president of the republic was notified of the occasion, and he instructed the governor of the state to give the full protection of the law. About two hundred people attended and for the most part were very quiet and attentive. The majority were of the lower economic strata of the city's population. There were, however, a goodly number of the more well-to-do. The impression made upon the community encouraged the growing brotherhood of the mission.[181]

In August, 1875, Dr. Butler wrote to the Cincinnati Conference a letter of commendation of Drees, characterizing him "as one of the noblest and most devoted missionaries" that had ever been sent forth.

> He occupies today the post of honor in Mexico in his critical position in the city of Puebla; so that more depends upon his prudence, his courage, and his Christian zeal than upon any other man in this mission.[182]

One of the early converts in the Puebla school was Pedro Flores Valderrama who became an outstanding minister* in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He developed a keen interest in recording the growth of the Mexico mission, and prepared a long and scholarly manuscript which has been an important source for later historical studies. His own experience in attending his first Protestant service, in the Puebla chapel, is reported in a moving passage that expresses what many thoughtful men in Mexico felt as they experienced the vital fellowship of Protestant worship:

> I was very much impressed by the simplicity of that service, and the clearness and precision with which the Christian doctrine was expounded. When the service was ended, I could not but feel that that was the way to worship God. It satisfied the cravings of my spirit. I did not care for the ostentatious and ritualistic forms. This way of worshiping God was in harmony with my inclinations as a free man.[183]

Valderrama also tells of the opposition that arose in Jesuit circles in Puebla to the Protestant congregation. A small paper published under their auspices began to denounce all those who attended the evangelical services, and listed their names, addresses, and employment. This was manifestly intended to bring about the dismissal of Protestants from their jobs and to put pressure on them to retract. The congregation refused to be frightened. Only one person withdrew under this attack. The congregation continued to grow but Drees, who was a sensitive man despite his courage, was conscious of social ostracism.

> I continually meet persons to whom I have been introduced and who have been very friendly in private, but when they encounter me on the street, they take particular pains not to see me; not that they are opposed to our work or lack good will, but it would compromise them, socially and commercially, to be known to be friendly to the Protestant minister.[184]

Dr. Butler's annual report for 1876 listed a theological department at Puebla with eight students. Drees had taken the first steps in planning for this soon after the dedication of the chapel in August, 1875, by forming what he called a theological training class,† which enrolled three members.

One of the members of Drees' class was Herman Lüders, a young German. He was working at a sugar mill in the state of Veracruz when he first heard Drees preach. He was converted and became convinced that loyalty to the Master called for the investment of his life in Christ's cause. He had already received solid scientific training; now he enrolled in the theological class in 1876 and was appointed with Drees to the Puebla Circuit. He was also designated as assistant in the "Theological Department." In 1879 he was assigned the additional role of instructor* in the boys' orphanage. Puebla was made the head of a Circuit in 1875 by the addition of Apizaco and San Salvador. San Salvador was listed as an appointment for only one year. In 1877 Los Reyes appeared in the list of appointments.[185]

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* Pedro Flores Valderrama (1856-57?-1932) was born in Puebla. He was among the first orphans to attend the Boys' School in that city. In 1880 he entered the ministry, holding pastorates in Puebla, Pachuca, Tulancingo, Leon, Real del Monte, Tlaxcala. Tuxpan, Oaxaca, and Orizaba. He was a brilliant orator and tireless writer. He served for many years as editor of *El Abogado Cristiano,* and was principal of the Mexico Methodist Institute in Puebla (formerly the Boys' School he had attended). He has been described as a "profound preacher," and an "irresistible apologist."—Biographical File, Board of Missions Library.

† From this small nucleus developed within a few years the Theological Seminary and Preparatory School of the Mexico Methodist Institute in Puebla. Years later it became the Union Theological Seminary in Mexico City.

In April, 1876, Samuel W. Siberts and wife arrived in Puebla to join the mission, remaining until May, 1877. Ten persons were received into membership on February 4, 1877. One of the ten had been present at the first service and during the entire year had attended every service held. Also in February a day school was opened, with an average attendance of twenty pupils, and soon afterward a Temperance Society was organized, probably the first in Mexico.[186]

Orizaba, located on the border of the "tierra caliente," the hot land of the eastern coast, was a city of 40,000 people. Its warm, moist climate fostered the growth of tropical plants and trees, making it a beautiful, attractive city. As has been noted, the first Methodist Spanish language service was held by W. H. Cooper on May 17, 1873, attended by nine persons. Later in the same day an English service was held at which ten persons were present, one of whom declared that for twenty years he had not been inside a church. A search was at once made for a regular place of worship. The only location available was "a small chapel in the interior of . . . [an] old convent very dirty and uncomfortable, utterly unfit for a place of Christian worship," although it temporarily served the purpose. Within a month forty persons had been enrolled on a list of friends of the mission. Enemies also were in evidence. Cooper was pelted with stones and the door of his house smeared with filth. When he appealed to police headquarters for protection an intoxicated policeman was sent. The barroom nearest his residence was reported to be the property of the priest, who furnished free drinks to the patrolmen on the beat. After some weeks Cooper went to the Gante Street Church at Butler's behest and Orizaba was left without a missionary. When his health compelled Cooper to leave Mexico City he returned to Orizaba. There was open hostility to his return and he was hooted at and stoned in the streets, but he bore all his hardships patiently for some months. His advanced age and a complete failure in health then forced his return to the United States.

Richard Stephens, a probationer of the Baltimore Conference, arrived in Mexico in 1875 and was assigned to Orizaba. Drees accompanied him to his appointment and preached at three services on the first Sunday—two in Spanish and one in English. A request for services had come from

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* Besides being an effective preacher and teacher Lüders was a capable musician. He composed a number of hymns, some of which continued to be sung for many years. Young people, especially, admired and loved him. After many months of illness he died on Jan. 17, 1882. The Puebla Epworth League honored him by taking the name "Herman Lüders Chapter."—*Souvenir Book of the Golden Anniversary or Jubilee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico* [1873-1923], p. 29.

Cordoba, twenty miles distant, and two days later Drees and Stephens went to the town and preached on two consecutive evenings to a good-sized audience. Butler's 1875 report listed the Orizaba Circuit, with Cordoba as an outpoint with both Mexican and English services.[187]

Miraflores was thirty miles southeast of Mexico City. Here, as in Pachuca, the beginnings of Protestant influence may be traced to a Christian layman. Years before the founding of the Methodist mission an enterprising Mexican businessman of Miraflores had gone to Paterson, New Jersey, to purchase machinery for a spinning mill he planned to build in his town. In Paterson he met a young Scotsman, J. H. Robertson, of training and experience in this industry, and persuaded him to return with him on a three-year contract to build and manage the mill—the second of its kind in Mexico. Mr. Robertson remained in the country and eventually became proprietor of the mill, which he converted into a cotton goods factory. He took a real interest in his workers and helped to develop a clean, prosperous village for his people with a well-planned self-help program aided by the management. When John W. Butler and his colleagues first visited Miraflores in 1875 they were cordially welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Robertson, then advanced in years. The missionaries discovered that a small evangelical congregation was meeting in the house of a factory worker named Ildefonso Avila. A man of limited education, he was respected in the community for his good works. He had decided to leave the Roman Church after hearing a sermon by an Episcopal minister in another town and reading evangelical books and tracts given to him. He began at once to speak to his fellow workmen and to read the Bible with them. Robertson encouraged the opening of a chapel by the mission and offered the use of a large storeroom for which he supplied suitable furnishing and equipment. The first services here in February, 1875, were attended by sixty persons in the morning and 115 in the evening. Miraflores was at first made an outpost of Mexico City and both English and Mexican congregations were served by the Superintendent and John W. Butler.[188]

From Miraflores the work was extended to Amecameca, a town in the foothills of Popocatepatl, the site of a Catholic shrine which thousands of pilgrims visited every year. This was made a Station on the Miraflores Circuit of seven preaching points, including Tlalmanalco, Rosario, San Juan, Sanclalpan, and Ayapango. Samuel W. Siberts was appointed missionary-in-charge in 1877, with three Mexican assistants, Filipe N. Cordova, Elijio Lopez, and Conrado Gamboa. In 1878 a church, a missionary residence, and a parsonage were dedicated in Miraflores.* The next year the W.F.M.S. opened a school which soon enrolled twenty-seven pupils. A year earlier the

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* Mrs. Robertson had died but before her death she had asked her husband to provide a permanent place of worship. In her memory Mr. Robertson donated a large plot of ground and made a generous contribution toward the buildings. Both British and Mexican factory workmen also made contributions.—J. W. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

W.F.M.S. also established a school in Amecameca and employed a Bible woman.[189]

In 1876 a mission was established at Guanajuato, some three hundred miles northwest of the capital by the old highway, 153 miles in a straight line. This marked an outreach in a new direction since all of the earlier missions were to the east. The city was founded in 1554 and was celebrated for its many silver mines, the richest in Mexico—the Veta Madre (Mother Lode) considered to be the richest in the world. From the beginning of Methodist work in the country it was under consideration as a mission site. The turbulence and extreme fanaticism which prevailed in the city during these years led an English resident to tell Butler he could never establish Protestantism there, "It would cost you your lives." An agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society had once sold Bibles and other books there, and an American Presbyterian missionary had made a short visit, but Mr. and Mrs. Samuel P. Craver, when they arrived in February, 1876, were the first missionaries to come with the purpose of remaining. They were accompanied by Dr. Butler and were cordially received by the English residents, but all prophesied failure for the venture.

A few days later Butler called on the governor of Guanajuato state, presented him with copies of the Bible and books published by the mission, and explained that Protestants gave obedience to civil authorities, asking only such protection as Mexican law gave to persons of all religious beliefs. The governor seemed to appreciate this call, said that he was glad to welcome Protestantism to the state, and promised all the rights guaranteed by the constitution. He added that the missionaries might find the work difficult. The governor invariably kept his promise in the troubles that broke over the mission almost at once.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese lived nearby in the important ecclesiastical center of Leon. Notified by local priests of the Protestants' arrival, he hurried to Guanajuato and issued an episcopal edict which was read in all the churches of the diocese on the following Sunday. J. W. Butler tells of the first weeks in the young mission:

> Two results were noticeable after . . . circulation of this edict: one a more manifest hostility on the part of the people, and the other a greatly increased demand for our tracts. Five days after it was read in the churches an employee of the mission was attacked by a mob, but was protected by the police . . . .
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> Two Mexican preachers, Francisco Aguilar and Jesus Ramirez, came to Guanajuato in March, and public services were begun in the home of the missionaries on April 2. The morning service was attended by twelve men . . . .
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> In the evening thirty were present, including a few women. The attendance gradually increased so that by the third week the mission home was found too small to accommodate the numbers. A hall was therefore secured and the attendance mounted to one hundred and fifty. . . .
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> . . . On August 19 the first Quarterly Conference was held, at which time

> Simon Loza* was licensed as a local preacher, the first fruits of our work in Guanajuato. . . .
>
> Things moved smoothly till October 31, when blind fanatics again attacked our mission house. It was on Sunday and a market day. At a given signal about three thousand people from the market rushed to the house, pelting it with stones until not one window glass was left whole, and yelling fiendishly, 'Death to the Protestants!' They attempted to force the large door . . . . The five policemen placed by the chief of police to guard the house were stricken down, but word reached the governor and soon a force of soldiers arrived. The colonel rode into the crowd advising them that they had three minutes in which to disperse before he would open fire with a cannon he had just planted on the corner. This prompt governmental action established the fact that the Laws of Reform were not a dead letter in Guanajuato . . . .[190]

Queretaro, capital of the state of Queretaro, a city of some 30,000 people, a large proportion of whom were Indians, was 110 miles northwest of Mexico City. It was said to have "more [Catholic] churches than schoolhouses and more priests than school children." In 1876 Samuel W. Siberts was assigned to the city. In 1877, Herman Lüders was temporarily given the assignment and the next year was appointed with the title of "missionary in charge," with Lucio Vallejo as Mexican preacher. In May, 1879, according to Drees' statement, Vallejo was in charge. He was succeeded by Felipe N. Cordova, one of the outstanding preachers trained in the Puebla theological class. He was forty years of age when he united with the Methodist Church and made his decision to train for the ministry. He had been a soldier during his earlier years, fighting on the side of the Liberal party, and was a man of deep conviction and courage. He was aware that in Queretaro he would find strong opposition and violent fanaticism as he attempted to gather a Protestant congregation. He was able to rent a house from a liberal-minded man, although the owner realized that Protestants would be living in it and that it would be used for preaching services. Soon slanderous reports began to be circulated about him and there were threats of violence. Somewhat later Drees reported to the Board:

> [Cordova's] . . . house has been constantly watched by his enemies . . . . In public discourse and in the confessional, all the influence of the priests has been brought against him. . . . Our tracts have been decried as if they were firebrands of hell. On the 18th of April a mob filled the streets surrounding the house where he lived. The most desperate characters of the city were there armed with knives. . . . The presence of a small Federal force and the interposition of a Federal judge prevented what the apathy of the State authorities only served to . . . [intensify].[191]

Despite the fierce antagonism Cordova continued circulating books and tracts, preaching and using every opportunity to converse with people on the streets and in their homes. He succeeded in winning the friendship of several families and a number of young men. By early spring (1881) Drees felt that the intense opposition had sufficiently subsided for Almon W. Greenman and his wife, who had come from the North Indiana Conference as missionaries, in May, 1880, and had been temporarily stationed at Puebla, to take up their residence in the city. Shortly afterward intense antagonism again began to develop. The Bishop of Queretaro issued a pastoral letter to be read in the churches, "the language of which was artfully designed to stir up popular hatred." In the beginning of April Drees was present in Greenman's residence when an attack was made.

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* Simon Loza was born in the state of Guanajuato. His parents wanted him to be a priest and his early education was in preparation for that vocation but he chose to go into business. Aided by one of his teachers he began the publication of a children's magazine which became very popular. His conversion occurred in one of the first Protestant services held in Guanajuato.

> This morning [April 3] at eight o'clock the mob began to collect and was soon very numerous and began to throw stones. Matters kept getting worse and worse as time went on. We could see that there were two or three policemen in the square, but it was clear that they did almost nothing to restrain and nothing at all to disperse the mob. At a little after ten when the rabble was peculiarly violent and after the third rush at the house, Cordova who was standing near one of the windows, in spite of my remonstrance and efforts to detain him stepped hastily out and fired two shots into the ground hoping to intimidate the enemy. We have since learned (at least so it is said) that a boy or young man was wounded by one of the balls and that he has since died. Still a mortal half hour passed before the Jefe Politico came and brought a small squad of troops, five or six men. Still the people were suffered to go on stoning us until half past eleven when a company of mounted men came dashing into the square and cleared it.[192]

The state government had been informed in advance yet no precautions had been taken. In the afternoon a judge came and took the testimony of Cordova and Drees concerning what had happened. Cordova was at first placed under house arrest but later in the evening was taken to prison and held for three days. Drees sent an appeal to the United States legation and to the federal government at Mexico City making complaint of negligence of the state authorities and asking for more adequate protection. Meanwhile, the situation became more and more threatening. Rumors of a repetition of mob violence on the next Sunday were brought to the missionaries. The governor, a strong Roman Catholic, urged them to leave the city. The imminence of a vicious attack was so great that all preparations had to be made in haste and the missionaries left the city at night by stage. They were three days on the journey to Mexico City. Representations were made to the American minister and to the Mexican federal authorities. The latter finally notified the state government that the Laws of Reform must be respected and gave the mission full assurance of protection. The liberal press, notably *El Monitor* and *La Patria,* asserted that concerted action on the part of the Catholic clergy apparently existed to persecute Protestants throughout the country. The National Congress called upon the Minister of the Interior for a report on the Queretaro affair.

Greenman and his family and Conrado Gamboa, accompanied by Drees, returned to Queretaro the first of July, 1881, and resumed Sunday services on July 3. Cordova* was transferred to Apizaco.[193] Work was continued without difficulty but there was little immediate growth. Some who came to the city from other states joined the church. Preaching points were established and permanent congregations built up in San Juan del Rio, Celaya, and San Luis de la Paz. In 1882 a well-located site in Queretaro was procured and in 1883 a chapel was built. On September 1, 1883, the Bishop issued another pastoral letter and as a result a mob came and stoned the mission residence but troops arrived promptly and dispersed it. In 1883 women's work was begun in the city. Mary F. Swaney was transferred from Mexico City, and on February 26 she opened a girls' school which soon had enrolled twelve girls, though later only eight were in attendance. In July the Mexican pastor also opened a boys' school. Most of the schools' pupils were Indians. After some difficulty a Bible woman was employed. As a result, the Catholic Bishop opened free schools for boys and girls within a half block of the Methodist mission, the first free Catholic schools established in the city.[194]

In Celaya a riotous outbreak occurred in 1884. The resident priest indulged in inflammatory public appeals and on June 24 a mob attacked the home of O. Torres, the Mexican pastor, after Torres and Greenman had protested incessant threats and violence to the local authorities. When they took refuge in an adjoining house the mob broke down the door and one of them fired two shots into the room where they were. In immediate danger of being killed, Greenman and Torres in self-defense returned the fire, killing one and wounding two of the rioters.† At this point mounted police arrived and carried the two preachers and Mrs. Torres to the barracks for protection.[195]

The year 1876 was turbulent, the Tuxtepec Revolution affecting all phases of the nation's life. In two or three places missionary work was seriously retarded, with religious services temporarily suspended at two points. The

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* Cordova's case dragged a slow course through the lower courts, finally reaching the district court "on appeal from the jurisdiction of the lower tribunals." The district judge affirmed the sentence, which was subject to review by the Supreme Court in Mexico City. An able lawyer was procured to argue the case before the court. His argument was printed and the docket was watched in order to present it at the opportune moment. "We were suddenly informed that the documents in the case had been secretly brought from Queretaro . . . surreptitiously introduced without being registered, into the documents of the court, placed intentionally in a file of papers classified as of little or no importance and that consequently the Court had confirmed the sentence without even considering it. It was impossible without great expense to get a rehearing." Cordova was advised to leave the country, Siberts, Craver, and others strongly recommending this course. It was "not a question of amenability to law but of the course to be pursued in the face of relentless persecution which had the immense advantage of being able to shield itself under the forms of law. In view of all the circumstances I determined to send . . . [him] to New Mexico. I . . . cordially . . . [recommended him to the Superintendent] of the New Mexico Mission." (C. W. Drees to J. M. Reid, letter, Nov. 10, 1884, Official Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.) In 1896 Cordova was transferred from the New Mexico Mission Conference to the Mexico Conference and appointed to the San Augustin Circuit, Hidalgo District.—*Minutes, Mexico Conference*, 1896, pp. [19], 22.

† As in the Queretaro riot, the local, state, and federal authorities were slow to act, and later failed to punish the rioters. The municipal and police headquarters were within five minutes' walk from the place of attack but about two hours passed before any measure was taken to disperse the mob. The two houses were bombarded with stones, doors and windows broken, and long-bladed knives and firearms brandished, yet nothing was done. A detailed statement of the case was laid before the federal government and a judicial investigation was begun in Celaya but three weeks later no definite action had resulted.—C. W. Drees to J. M. Reid, letter, July 17, 1884, in Official Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.

Mexico City Circuit, however, was so extended during the year that division became necessary.

On April 23, 1878, the Board adopted a resolution directing Secretary Robert L. Dashiell "to inform the Bishop having charge of . . . [the Mexico Mission] that in the judgment of this Board . . . [Dr. Butler] should be recalled from Mexico as soon as practicable." The conditions and circumstances leading up to this action were involved but in general were similar to those which had resulted in his departure from India some twenty years before.* William Butler was a wise, devoted, and faithful Christian missionary and had rendered in Mexico, as previously in India, a great service to the cause. However, he was not primarily an administrator. He had scant respect for the rules imposed by the Board for field administration. He made use of the appropriations for the mission in accordance with what seemed to him to be the most urgent immediate needs and did not hesitate to obligate the mission, and hence the Board, in expenditures beyond what had been appropriated. The Board might have anticipated from the earlier experience just such a development as occurred.

In 1876, he had with the approval of his Bishop come to the United States at his own expense to solicit funds for a mission press, the need for which was beyond dispute. His successful campaign produced $12,000., much of which was earmarked for specific publications. This was done independently of the Board; and while he agreed to submit a detailed account of monies received he was dilatory in sending the report. While his motives were certainly worthy, his procedure was somewhat irregular. The Board felt that the funds he received should be applied against items covered by their appropriation to the mission and that the salary of the press manager should be paid from the fund. Butler maintained that to do this would not be keeping faith with the donors. There were also other financial problems. Under the strain of the Tuxtepec Revolution Butler had exceeded his 1876 appropriation in his attempt to keep the mission intact—the only Protestant Church which succeeded in doing so. Although he had been led to believe that the Board would help out with the deficiency—to meet which he had made personal loans†—the question apparently was never considered in Board meeting. In desperation to keep operating at the same level Butler used some of the press money temporarily to apply on loans, and drew on anticipated future appropriations. The Board was alarmed by his unauthorized actions and demanded a full financial account, which he submitted holding that his procedure was fully justified. At the time of Bishop Merrill's scheduled visit to the mission the Board voted to send Secretary Dashiell along to look "into all the financial affairs of the Mission." Meantime, having been reminded by Butler on September 8, 1877, that no appropriation had yet been made from the contingent fund to cover his 1876 deficiency the Board voted $1,400.—and "no further appropriation" to cover the items of deficiencies and rent.[196]

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* See pp. 470 ff.

† A sidelight on Butler's procedure appeared in a letter dated March 15, without signature, printed in the *Missionary Advocate:* "'Not knowing what may occur [in the course of the Revolution] Dr. Butler has made the best possible arrangements for all the stations in the mission. He has borrowed money to send to each station a remittance on behalf of the second quarter's claims, so as to avoid any embarrassment to the brethren and their helpers in the event of any of the stations being cut off from us for a time, or we from them.'"—*Missionary Advocate,* New Series, IV (1876), 1 (January), 71.

The Bishop and Dashiell arrived in Veracruz, accompanied by T. W. Price, a lay member of the Board, on January 10, 1878. During the six weeks spent in the country they visited all the Stations and Circuits of the mission. On their return Dashiell made a report to the Board, concluding with a detailed account* of Butler's financial transactions.[197]

Following the report Charles H. Fowler presented a statement enumerating the irregularities in Butler's administration of the mission, *viz.*, expending money in excess of the appropriation; accumulating indebtedness to an extent which endangered the credit of the Missionary Society in Mexico; making unauthorized use of titles to Missionary Society property as a basis of credit; and failing to transmit to the Board full and detailed statements of his expenditures, withholding such parts as he hoped to overtake by future appropriations. He then offered an accompanying resolution instructing the treasurer to conduct the financial business of the mission through other parties than Dr. Butler. The resolution was amended to include the provision for the Superintendent's recall, as stated above and then adopted.

Dashiell stated in his report that he did not see "how the geography of the mission . . . could be improved." He gave some account of each principal center. In any one of a hundred additional cities and towns, he was confident, a mission could be planted "with the prospect of immediate fruits." "I know," he said, "of no land where there are such possibilities." He warmly commended the work of Dr. Butler in the planting of the mission and said that this part of the work had been done most wisely.[198]

Bishop Stephen M. Merrill communicated the Board's action to Butler, who resigned as Superintendent of the mission as of September, 1878. The Bishop suggested he continue until the annual mission meeting in January, 1879, when he could leave "with the affection and esteem of all connected with the Mission, and of the Church at large." He minimized the charges which had been made, referring to them as "the flurry in the Board about the Finances." Butler agreed to remain in accordance with the Bishop's suggestion. In his annual report he stated that he was "broken in health," a statement which was in accord with Dashiell's opinion that he was unable longer to stand the arduous labor and "the wear and tear of the long journeys" which the superintendency required.[199]

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* The investigation revealed that Butler had borrowed from the Bank of London and from private parties (chiefly from Christopher Ludlow and Mrs. Wilson) an amount in excess of $7,800. which the Board was required to pay, over and above its regular appropriation.—*Minutes, B.M.*, Jan. 15, 1867-Oct. 21, 1879, pp. 576 f.

On May 14, 1878, the Board appointed John W. Butler "Fiscal Agent of the Board in Mexico."

ADMINISTRATION OF CHARLES W. DREES, 1879-86

In December, 1878, Bishop Merrill appointed Charles W. Drees Superintendent of the Mexico Mission, the appointment to take effect at the close of the annual meeting in Mexico City in January. Because of the financial stringency affecting all the work of the Board he was instructed to retain residence in Puebla in order to combine, for the time being, his pastorate and the superintendency. He reached Puebla on a Sunday morning and almost immediately left for Orizaba, beginning his round of visitation of the mission stations.[200]

The 1879 appointments listed seven charges* with 241 full members and 303 probationers. The average attendance at weekly worship services was 876. Mary F. Swaney reported forty-nine girls in the Mexico City orphanage. Difficulty had been encountered in retaining teachers and instruction of the children had suffered from lack of continuity. Many of the girls had become sincere Christians and were regular in attendance upon preaching services and Class meetings. Later in the year Clara Mulliner (New York and Western Branches) arrived to reinforce the teaching staff at the orphanage.[201]

Two appointments were added to the Mexico City charge during the year; one at Chicoloapam, a large Indian village twenty miles from the city. A chapel was built, a day school established, and regular preaching services held. The second new appointment was Tuyahualco, where fifty-eight probationers were received. In October of the same year (1878) the missionary personnel was reinforced by the arrival of J. M. Barker of the East Ohio Conference, who was appointed to Pachuca. On the Pachuca Circuit the work prospered in Pachuca, Real Del Monte, and Omitlan, and promising beginnings were made in three other places. At Guanajuato urgent invitations had continued to come from the city of Leon, the second most populous city in Mexico.

At the annual meeting a publishing committee consisting of C. W. Drees, S. W. Siberts, and J. M. Barker was placed in charge of the mission press and

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* The charges, with missionaries and Mexican assistants, were: *Mexico City and Circuit* (four congregations), J. W. Butler, J. Medina; *Puebla Circuit,* C. W. Drees, H. Lüders, F. Montero; *Pachuca Circuit,* J. M. Barker, C. Gamboa, J. M. Euroza; *Orizaba Circuit,* G. S. Umpleby (under appointment), E. Coronel, D. Mendoza; *Miraflores Circuit,* S. W. Siberts, F. N. Cordova, Elijio Lopez; *Guanajuato Circuit,* S. P. Craver, S. Loza; *Queretaro,* supplied by L. Vallejo. There were six male missionaries; six assistant missionaries; and four W.F.M.S. missionaries, four Bible women; twelve Mexican preachers; seven theological students; and seventy orphans (twenty boys, fifty girls). Churches owned by the Missionary Society numbered five, parsonages, seven; preaching halls rented, fourteen. Money contributed during the year on the field amounted to $4,253.—*Sixty-first Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1879), p. 162.

John W. Butler was named as Publishing Agent. Clara Mulliner* returned to the United States because of ill health and her place at the Mexico City orphanage was taken by Margaret Elliott from the Philadelphia Branch, W.F.M.S. In October, 1879, George S. Umpleby† of the East Ohio Conference arrived in Mexico.[202] A school was opened in Orizaba under the direction of Mrs. Umpleby in February (1883) with three pupils enrolled. By the end of the year there were seventeen. Irene Loza, a sister of Simon Loza—Mexican Local Preacher—was employed as teacher and soon demonstrated ability in both governing and teaching.

Early in February, 1880, Bishop W. L. Harris arrived in Mexico to convene the annual meeting and visit the mission. Accompanied by the Superintendent he acquainted himself with all of the principal stations, traveling in stagecoaches, on horseback, and by railroad about 1,500 miles. During the year Quarterly Conferences were organized on the Guanajuato, Orizaba, and Miraflores Circuits, with the result that all Circuits with the exception of Queretaro had regularly organized Societies. The mission press was active, publishing several important books and large editions of numerous tracts. In several places opposition was strong. At Ayapango in 1881 four parents were imprisoned for sending their children to the Methodist school and many others lost their employment.

A decreased missionary appropriation made 1881 a difficult year for the mission. All financial aid was cut off from three congregations which in 1880 had reported sixty-two probationers and an average attendance of seventy-five. Two of the congregations were taken over by another denomination, work at a third was suspended, and openings planned at other places were deferred. However, at Orizaba in 1883 a desirable location was procured in the best part of the city for a chapel and parsonage.

Simon Loza, who succeeded Umpleby, told of a magistrate who walked thirty-six miles to confer with him regarding the Gospel about which he had heard. He received the Good News with joy, returned to his home with an Exhorter's license, and established a Methodist Society.[203]

Concerning the Miraflores Circuit in 1880 S. W. Siberts reported that the most outstanding feature was the school at the head of the Circuit, with an average attendance of about 120 pupils, the majority of whom were from Roman Catholic families. Through the children many of the parents were influenced. A theological class had been organized, which this year had an attendance of seven. With Siberts shifted to Puebla in 1882 Miraflores Circuit was, in addition to the Mexico City Circuit, put under J. W. Butler's supervision with two Mexican assistants—Abundio Tovar and Corscencio Ramirez.

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* Miss Mulliner returned to Mexico City later in 1879 and continued to teach at the orphanage school until her retirement in 1884.

† George S. Umpleby remained only four years in Mexico.

Miss Swaney reported that the Mexico City orphanage and school in 1882 was in excellent condition.

> We cannot boast of a large number of orphans but as a school and home for girls . . . [it] is a success. Our girls are growing responsible, trustworthy, womanly . . . . Health, peace and prosperity have come to us. Our work moves on steadily—no break, no disturbance occurring. . . . I cannot now count over . . . conversions nor any one marvelous sign of God's presence with us, but when we see the change in the spirit of our girls, the order, the improvement—physical, mental, and moral—the discipline, we say humbly and gratefully, What hath God wrought?[204]

A beautiful little church was completed in Ayapango in 1882, opening a new era for Methodist work in that community. Out of their dire poverty many of the poorest people contributed liberally. The school in 1883 had increased to thirty girls and one of the pupils—an Indian girl—was in charge of the primary department. Three miles beyond Ayapango a congregation of some sixty Christians was found in 1883 at Loyatcingo, which was entirely without the services of a minister. Different members of the group were accustomed to read and explain the Scriptures in their meetings. Some years before they had been persuaded that all American missionaries were political agents and not true ministers of the Gospel. They became convinced that this was a false report and began attending the Ayapango services.[205]

On the Mexico City Circuit in 1883 the administrator of a large estate at Arroyo Seco, some distance from the city, asked Butler to provide evangelical preaching services for the employees. From the beginning more than seventy attended, and within a few months more than a hundred. The administrator fitted up a suitable place of worship with seats, an organ, and pulpit desk, at a cost to himself of about $300.

A boys' day school, a need for which had been felt for years, was opened in Mexico City in 1884 and was an immediate success, with as many as eighty-three boys enrolled. In March, 1884, Miss Eleanor LeHuray arrived in Mexico City under the auspices of the New York Branch to take charge of the girls' orphanage, beginning a long and eminently fruitful missionary career. In September she was joined by Mary De F. Loyd of the Philadelphia Branch, an experienced teacher who was appointed superintendent of the orphanage school.[206]

At Pachuca in 1880 J.M. Barker was assisted at the English church by four Local Preachers, and on the Mexican Circuit by Doroteo Mendoza, a Local Preacher, and two helpers, Conrado Gamboa and Justo M. Euroza. In addition, at El Chico services were begun by a layman—Dr. William B. Rule—without compensation. The next year Mendoza was appointed elsewhere and his place was taken by Pedro F. Valderrama. Preaching services in Spanish were held at six different towns and cities on the Pachuca Circuit. Day schools were attended by about a hundred and fifty children. By 1882 the Pachuca girls' school numbered ninety day pupils, "twenty English and seventy Mexican." Miss Elliott was transferred from Mexico City to Pachuca to assist Miss Hastings. The school reported in 1885 that forty-five boys had been admitted to the primary department.

In July, 1882, a mission was formally inaugurated in Tulancingo, the second city in importance in the state, where a beginning had been made the preceding year against the strong opposition of Catholic priests and others. At Real del Monte a church was dedicated on November 2. Preaching services in both Spanish and English were regularly held.

On February 25, 1884, Lucius C. Smith, who had left Chile because of his desire to devote his entire life to Spanish language missionary work, arrived as missionary-in-charge of the Pachuca Circuit in succession to J. M. Barker. As his assistants in the Spanish work five Mexican helpers were appointed. William B. Rule was engaged for the separately organized English work. In all, thirty-eight persons were received into full membership during the year. Early in the year Laura Mills Latimer,* under the auspices of the New England Branch, came to the assistance of Miss Hastings in the work of the Pachuca girls' school.[207]

At the 1880 annual meeting, no American missionary being available, Herman Lüders was appointed to Puebla where he remained until his death in 1882. The Circuit personnel also included a Local Preacher, an Exhorter, and an instructor for the boys' school and orphanage. The Apizaco congregation was encouraged by the completion of a substantial chapel, costing approximately $1,600., with rooms at the rear for a Mexican preacher and his family. Concerning the church at this time the Superintendent wrote:

> The membership is composed of poor people who live in the midst of constant and unrelenting persecution. The influence of the Gospel is seen in many who were formerly idle, inebriate, and clothed in rags and filth, who now attend our services with punctuality, clothed neatly, and in their right mind.[208]

A school for girls had been opened in Puebla in 1879 in a rented house with three little girls, and by the end of the year had grown to an attendance of twenty-two. In 1881 Susan M. Warner was transferred from Pachuca to take charge of the school.

This year Epigmenio Monroy, a Local Preacher who had been converted in one of the first meetings held in Pachuca, was assigned to Apizaco. He held regular weekly services and also opened a day school which soon enrolled some thirty children. In addition he arranged to begin services in Santa Anita, five miles distant. In April, five days before the date announced for the first service, when he and two associates were returning home from the village, they were assaulted by fourteen men armed with knives and clubs and almost hacked to death. His two companions were injured, one of them severely. After some time they were found and Monroy was taken to his home where after twenty-eight hours of intense suffering he died with a prayer on his lips for his assailants. The record reads like the Book of Acts: "Monroy died in a state of great peace and with a spirit like Stephen's, of forgiveness for his murderers." His severely wounded associates, after lingering for weeks, died in the Tlaxcala hospital. Drees wrote, "It seems an hour of Satan's triumph; but in the name of the Lord of Hosts will we lift up our banners." Monroy, a faithful minister, is still held in remembrance as the first martyr of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico.[209]

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* Laura Mills Latimer, after several years' teaching in the United States, went to Mexico under the auspices of the Woman's Board of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. After two years she transferred to the Methodist Episcopal Church mission, under sponsorship of the New England Branch. In 1885 she founded the Guanajuato school but was compelled by ill health to retire from the mission in 1886.

After Lüders' death early in 1882 S. W. Siberts was given charge of the Puebla Circuit. Accompanied by his assistant J. M. Euroza he made an exploratory trip into the mountainous area of Tetala, a district inhabited by pure-blooded Indians. Hundreds of Testaments and tracts were distributed and preaching services held in the schoolhouse and homes in San Martin Texmelucan. In Xochiapulco, the principal town of the region, a congregation of more than three hundred gathered for a preaching service. The town had a Catholic church but had been without a priest for eleven years. The next year brought disturbing trials. At Puebla Siberts was left without a Mexican preacher; his teacher at the boys' school left him; the teacher at Apizaco resigned and he had to close the school; and, worst of all, three preachers at Apizaco proved to be unfaithful. "We can never hope to do permanent work," he concluded, "by picking up adventurers and unreliable persons for our preachers and school teachers."[210]

In 1884 an arrangement was made whereby Greenman was given full charge of the Puebla Circuit and Siberts left free to devote his entire time to the theological seminary. He had brought his theological class with him from Miraflores in 1882 and the two groups were then united.[211]

S. P. Craver was reappointed to Guanajuato in 1880. The outstanding event of the year was the purchase by the Missionary Society, under the supervision of Bishop Harris, of a very desirable property in the center of the city. Adaptations and repairs made of it an attractive chapel which was dedicated on October 24 in the presence of a large congregation. The former chapel was retained and services were held in both, as also in the nearby towns of Marfil, La Luz, and Silao. In 1881 serious hindrances to the work in Marfil and La Luz developed and the religious services were temporarily suspended. The next year a congregation which varied from twenty-five to fifty persons were assembled at Salamanca, about forty-five miles southeast of Guanajuato. Conrado Gamboa was transferred from Queretaro to shepherd the new flock.

In 1883 Simon Loza, who for six years had been the Mexican pastor at Guanajuato, was moved and Gamboa was appointed to take his place along with F. N. Cordova and Ignacio Gaytan. Craver, because of poor health and desire for a more central location on the Circuit, removed to Silao. Decreasing production from the mines caused many members of the Guanajuato congregation to leave the city.

In 1884 Gamboa started out on horseback one morning for Cueramaro, an outstation, accompanied by the chapel keeper, for a preaching service. A short distance out of town they were set upon by three armed men, also on horseback. The men fired, killing the chapel keeper and seriously wounding Gamboa. He was shot through the right lung and lay for two hours on the road suffering intensely before he was found. The surgeons said he could not live but he recovered and for eight years continued his labors in the ministry.[212] Fanatical persecution failed to daunt either the men or the women missionaries. Early in 1885 Laura M. Latimer opened a second school in Guanajuato with twenty-eight girls enrolled. Unfortunately when Miss Latimer found it necessary to leave Mexico the school was closed.

A cherished plan for a number of years had been to establish a central mission in the city of Leon which had been repeatedly listed in connection with Guanajuato. Occasional visits had been made but no regular services attempted. The arrival of Duston and Margaret Kemble of the North Ohio Conference in May, 1881, seemed a promise that the plan might at last be realized. After a reconnaissance visit to the city by Drees and Kemble, during which a number of persons were interviewed, a decision was reached that it would be wise for the Kembles to remain for a while in Guanajuato studying the language and acquainting themselves with prevailing religious conditions. On February 7, 1882, they went to Leon.[213] Not until July 2, however, was it possible to open a small chapel for private religious services. Twelve persons were present at the first service and with a part of these a Methodist Society was organized. On September 20 public services were begun in a different location where the congregation soon increased. At the close of the year Kemble reported opposition organized but not violent. He made many acquaintances and distributed large quantities of tracts and Testaments. In 1883 persecution became more serious. A colporteur was set upon and seriously wounded, and members were turned out of their houses, deprived of employment, and their lives threatened. Nevertheless, a few joined the church and a small day school was begun. Outlying villages were visited and at Cueramaro, forty-five miles south of Leon, fifty-six people—young and old—asked for a preacher. Severo Lopez was appointed this year as Kemble's Mexican assistant.

In January, 1884, Leon was attached to the Guanajuato Circuit with Kemble in charge. Lopez was appointed elsewhere and no one was found to take his place. The congregation at Leon was depleted by the removal of the most stable members to other places. As a result, most of the fruit of the preceding two years was dissipated. At Silao also most of the members moved to other places. Times were hard and many of the poorer people shifted "from place to place in sheer desperation seeking for bread." Kemble could report, however, that very few relapsed into their former sinful habits. After five years Kemble returned to the United States.[214]

Mexico Conference

In accordance with the action of the 1884 General Conference[*] Bishop W. L. Harris convened the Mexico Conference in its first session in Trinity Church, Gante 5, on January 15, 1885. He announced the transfers of fourteen ministers[†] as members. Of these, six were missionaries. The W.F.M.S. missionaries were recognized[‡] and seven preachers were admitted on trial.[§] Jacinto Hernandez and Joaquin V. Hernandez were received on credentials from the Protestant Episcopal Church, and Jose P. Nevares of the Presbyterian Church was received as a Local Elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Felipe N. Cordova was transferred to the New Mexico Spanish Mission. C. W. Drees was appointed Presiding Elder of the Mexico District, which embraced the entire Conference.

Growth during the twelve years of the mission, so far as it could be indicated statistically, was as follows: members in full connection, 728; probationers, 633; average attendance on Sunday worship, 1,431; adherents, 3,873; theological students, 16; day schools, 20; pupils, 968; churches and chapels, 14; halls and other places of worship, 22; parsonages, 14. The financial report for 1884 was encouraging.[#] The W.F.M.S. had seven day schools—Puebla, Pachuca, Miraflores, Queretaro, Leon, Real del Monte, and El Chico—with a total enrollment of 290 pupils. There were seventy children in the Mexico City orphanage and also forty women under instruction. A girls' school was opened this year in Guanajuato. A new girls' school building also was completed at Miraflores.[215]

The Conference appointed a committee to confer with representatives of other missions concerning arrangements for a general assembly of the evangelical Churches in Mexico. In September, 1885, Levi B. Salmans* of the New England Southern Conference, who became Mexico's first Methodist medical missionary, and Mrs. Salmans arrived.

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[*] The 1884 General Conference adopted the recommendation of its Committee on Missions "that the Mission in Mexico be organized as an Annual Conference, the boundaries of which shall be those of the Republic of Mexico."—*G. C. Journal,* 1884, pp. 232, 345.

[†] The fourteen charter members were: Charles W. Drees, Felipe N. Cordova, Samuel P. Craver, Samuel W. Siberts, John W. Butler, Augustin Palacios, Almon W. Greenman, Duston Kemble, Simon Loza, Justo M. Euroza, Conrado Gamboa, E. Fuentes y Betancourt, Abundio Tovar, and Pedro F. Valderrama.

[‡] The W.F.M.S. missionaries and their appointments were: Mary De F. Loyd and Eleanora Le Huray, Mexico City Girls' School and Orphanage; Mary Hastings, Pachuca Girls' School; Susan F. Warner and Mary F. Swaney, Puebla Girls' School; Laura M. Latimer, Guanajuato Girls' School.—*Minutes, Mexico Conference* (1885), p. 17.

[§] The seven preachers admitted on trial were: Lucius C. Smith, Severo Lopez, Benjamin F. Velasco, Jacinto Hernandez, Joaquin V. Hernandez, Sixto Bernal, Roman Medina.

[#] Offerings in 1884 were: for the Missionary Society, $471.; for benevolences, $492.; for self-support, $2,736.; for church building and repairs, $301.; for other purposes, $1,226.; total, $5,226.

At the second session, January 14-18, 1886, Bishop R. S. Foster divided the Conference into three Districts: Central District, including Mexico City, Miraflores, and Pachuca, C. W. Drees, Presiding Elder; Northern District, made up of Guanajuato, Leon, and Queretaro, S. P. Craver, Presiding Elder; and Eastern District, composed of Puebla and Orizaba, A. W. Greenman, Presiding Elder. The creation of Districts involved further subdivision into charges, appointments being made to eighteen Stations and Circuits. This reorganization gave a larger degree of responsibility to the Mexican preachers. Twelve of the eighteen charges were placed directly under Mexican leadership. One preacher, Fedencio Anguiana, was admitted on trial. Jacinto Hernandez was discontinued at his own request.

The amount contributed this year for self-support amounted to $5,227. The Conference emphasized its importance "for the organic life of the nascent Evangelical Church in this Republic since this has direct relation to the independence and autonomy of the Church itself." [216]

The year 1886 was noteworthy for advance in the schoolwork of the W.F.M.S. In Mexico City a large, pretentious, and well-located stone building, comparatively new, was purchased for the orphanage home and school.† A beautiful new building was completed for the Puebla Girls' School which this year enrolled eighty-two pupils. Two were Indian girls who had walked fifty miles for the privilege of attending a Protestant school. At Apizaco a mixed school had been begun which had grown too large for the pastor to care for. This year the girls were placed in a separate school with forty-five pupils on the first day. The next year eighty girls were enrolled. Twelve pupils of the Orizaba school were received into the church as probationers in 1886. The standard of teachers and the influence exerted by the W.F.M.S. schools was such that in 1889 a state government department of education asked that the women in charge take over responsibility for a public school. One town offered the building and furniture of the girls' public school. These developments were the cause of no little concern to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The Bishop of Puebla forbade Catholics "under pain of excommunication, to send their children to Protestant schools, or to be employed by that sect in the capacity of servants, mechanics, teachers, etc., or to sell them the necessary materials for the consummation of their enterprises . . . ." [217]

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* Levi B. Salmans (1855-1938), born in Hocking County, Ohio, was educated at De Pauw University (A.B., 1880; A.M., 1883) and Drew Theological Seminary (B.D., 1883). On his arrival in Mexico he was appointed to Pachuca as an evangelistic missionary (September, 1883—June, 1886). His next appointment was Puebla where he taught in the theological seminary and served as president of the Boys' School (July, 1887—August, 1889). Convinced of the great need for medical evangelism he returned to the United States and in 1891 received the M.D. degree from the Kentucky School of Medicine (Louisville). He was appointed in July, 1891, to Guanajuato and in January, 1892, also to the presiding eldership of the Northern District. On his arrival in Guanajuato in 1891 he opened a hospital with eleven beds, the *Casa de Salud, El Bueno Samaritano* (Good Samaritan Hospital and Dispensary). The institution was gradually enlarged—first to sixteen rooms with thirty beds, and later to still larger capacity. He also founded the first modern training school for nurses. Until his retirement in 1927 the hospital was his major interest. On his several furloughs he pursued graduate study in Chicago, Cincinnati, and in Germany. For six years (1895-1901) he published the *American Medical Missionary,* and he was also the author of many pamphlets and books.—Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

† Since the W.F.M.S. was unable to meet the demand for cash payment the Missionary Society purchased the building in trust for the W.F.M.S., the women's Society making a first installment payment of $10,000.—*Seventeenth Ann. Rep., W.F.M.S.* (1886), p. 57.

On November 9, 1886, Drees received a cablegram from Bishop Warren requesting him to accept the superintendency of the South America Mission. The request, which came by unanimous action of all the Bishops, was wholly unexpected and without explanation of why the transfer was proposed. The decision was not an easy one for him and Mrs. Drees to make, as they had become deeply attached to Mexico, but they felt that they were not at liberty to decline. On December 2, 1886, they set out on their long journey, much to the regret of the Mexico Conference and with the expression of high appreciation of their service from all of the members.

Drees was able to give a good account of his stewardship as Conference Superintendent. Most of the property enterprises of the Conference had been successfully completed. All financial matters were in excellent condition. The Conference was fully organized and a single administrative head was no longer required.[218]

Bishop J. F. Hurst left Mexico after presiding over the third session of the Conference in January, 1887, with the conviction that "the bolts are all broken and the doors are wide open for Protestant work among all the . . . races of the Mexican Indians." President Diaz informed him that if missionaries were threatened and word was telegraphed to him troops would be sent immediately.[219]

The Bishop was overly optimistic. At intervals trouble spots continued to appear here and there. At Panotla, in the state of Tlaxcala, where a congregation had been assembled in February, 1886, a mob some months later compelled the preachers to take refuge in a private house in which a room had been loaned for a chapel. After an hour troops arrived from Tlaxcala and dispersed the rioters. Some of the ringleaders were arrested and fined. A few days later six or seven of the church attendants were jailed because they had refused to pay a fine of $25. each, imposed on the charge that they had originated the disturbance by attending a Protestant religious service. While there were fightings without there were also troubles within. Craver, Presiding Elder of the Northern District, reported that at Salamanca discord, quarrels, and backbiting had "almost destroyed the congregation." Some had returned to the Catholic Church. Others had fallen out with the pastor and his wife and left the congregation and among those who remained less than entire harmony prevailed. There was difficulty in holding some of the pastors in the work. Teaching was more remunerative and some left on that account.

Others were unfitted for the difficult work of the pastorate and quit because of failing in it. In 1888 Craver reported three charges on the Northern District without pastors.[220]

Substantial reinforcement came to the Conference during 1886-87. In 1886 Miss Lizzie Hewett* was sent by the Northwestern Branch to the Puebla Girls' School; and Miss Harriet L. Ayers from the Cincinnati Branch to assist Miss Loyd at the girls' orphanage school in Mexico City. In 1887 Nella H. Field from the New England Branch came to Pachuca and the next year established a girls' school in Tezontepec. In 1887 G. B. Hyde† was received by transfer from the Vermont Conference; William Green from the New York Conference, and W. P. F. Ferguson‡ from the Troy Conference. The Puebla Girls' School became a boarding school in 1888 with sixteen boarding pupils enrolled in the first six months, making a total enrollment of 129. In 1889 a second building was added.

In 1887 the first effective attempt was made to begin missionary work in the state of Oaxaca in response to an appeal which had come from several congregations which were struggling to maintain religious services without the aid of a pastor. This was another example—of which missionary history contains many—of the vitality and depth of devotion so often generated simply by the introduction of the Bible to a people, accompanied by clear, patient instruction in its reading and use.

About 1870 an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society had made his way into the mountains of this state and had begun teaching individuals who were willing to receive his teaching. He was a Quaker and, strangely enough, bore the name of John William Butler. A little group was gradually brought together until by July, 1871, they met in a member's home and organized the "Evangelical Society of our Lord Jesus Christ." Its object was "to implore the grace of God that in us he may fulfill his promises: . . . 'All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer believing, ye shall receive.'" The interest spread to other places outside the city of Oaxaca. Some seventeen years later it was the surviving members of the society, in these struggling congregations, who appealed to the Methodist Episcopal Church for help. The congregations at Oaxaca, Etla, Zaachila, Cuilapa, and Cuicatlan had been served for a time by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, mission, but since it had been no longer able to provide for them they turned to the sister mission for assistance. In August, 1888, Valderrama was sent to meet with the groups and report on conditions. His report was favorable, the

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* After one year at Puebla Miss Hewett was transferred to the mountain village of Tetela (1887-91). In 1893, after a year's furlough she was assigned to the Montevideo (Uruguay) Girls' School. —L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

† G. B. Hyde, after two years in Mexico, decided to study medicine and was away from the mission for six years. Returning in 1895 as a physician he remained until 1906 when his wife's health made it necessary for them to leave Mexico.

‡ W. P. F. Ferguson was appointed to the English language church in Mexico City and reappointed at the 1889 Conference. He remained less than two years. The *Minutes* for 1890 recorded his transfer to the New York Conference.

Finance Committee approved acceptance of the Circuit, and Valderrama was asked to serve temporarily as pastor.

At the January, 1889, Conference Jose Chavez was appointed pastor of a Circuit which embraced the entire state of Oaxaca and portions of Chiapas and Veracruz. Leaving Puebla it took him and his family eight days by railway, stage, horseback, and litter to reach his Circuit. The missionaries going into this area visited many towns and found friends sympathetic to an evangelical Christian ministry. Large congregations assembled for preaching. Tribes were found of whom little had been known. A gross form of idolatry prevailed and there was a "rumor of human sacrifice." More than twenty different languages were found to be in use.[221]

A general assembly of Protestant missionaries—an event which John W. Butler characterized as the most remarkable in the history of evangelical missions up to 1888—convened in Mexico City on January 31, 1888, and continued in session for four days. Reports revealed that eleven denominations were represented by organized missions in the nation. Of chapels and churches sixteen had been built without aid from their parent boards and nineteen had received partial assistance. Fifty-nine missionaries and Mexican pastors had been killed by mobs or assassins.[222]

At the 1889 Conference Harry G. Limric and Frank D. Tubbs, probationers, who had arrived in the preceding year, were received on trial from the Montana Conference. The three Districts were increased to four by dividing the Eastern District into the Puebla and the Coast Districts.

The year 1889 was one of the most fruitful that the Mexico Mission had known. Twenty-eight new congregations were added and the net increase of full members and probationers was 394. Six new day schools were organized and the total number of all pupils enrolled was 526. Three Sunday schools and 274 pupils were added. Three new churches were built.[223]

The most spectacular developments were in the Oaxaca region. At the 1889 Conference the bounds of the District were enlarged to include the "Sierras de Puebla," with three large Circuits among the Aztec population. The District as increased was as large as all of New England and the state of New York. There were for the most part no railroads and only the most primitive roadways. Some journeys required from ten to twenty days on horseback. On the Oaxaca Circuit in 1890, Pedro Lopez traveled over nearly the entire length and breadth of the state, visiting the people, distributing tracts, and preaching the Gospel. He visited some thirty of the largest towns and established a school and regular preaching in the region of Juquila in view of the Pacific Ocean a few miles north of the spot where Balboa in 1513 laid claim to it in the name of the King of Spain. The established points on the Circuit were Oaxaca, Cuicatlan, Jacatlan, Cuilapa, Zaachila, Etla, Santiago El Mayor, and Tlacolula.[224]

In each of the Districts except Puebla new Circuits and additional preaching points were established. Almost invariably the opening of new work was followed by persecution, in some instances severe and bloody. At San Felipe Teotlalzingo, where preaching was begun in the preceding year, the congregation was assaulted early in April, "led by the local authority," with "shooting and firing of houses." Several were wounded and property was damaged. Later the teacher of the day school was shot in the leg. In both cases though the criminals were identified they were not prosecuted. At San Cristobal the services were interrupted on two occasions by shots fired through the door during worship services. At Queretaro the persecution of earlier years was renewed to such an extent that it was feared for a time that the property would be destroyed and the congregation scattered. An appeal to President Diaz brought relief.[225]

Several important changes in Conference personnel occurred in 1889-90. A. W. Greenman, after almost ten years in Mexico, returned to the Northwest Indiana Conference. William E. McLennan* of the same Conference arrived in November, 1889, to become pastor of the English congregation in the capital. Theda A. Parker of the New York Branch was added to the staff of the Puebla Girls' School, and Anna M. Rodgers from the Philadelphia Branch, appointed to Guanajuato in 1889, was present at the Conference for the first time. Victoriano D. Baez, who was to have a long and distinguished career in the Conference, was admitted on trial.[226] Amelia Van Dorsten, of the Northwestern Branch, arrived and was assigned to the Tetela school.

The 1891 Conference met in Pachuca. Districts were increased to five by adding the Hidalgo District. The Central District was renamed Mexico. The appointments strongly emphasized the failure of the denomination to supply the missionaries and to raise up the native preachers required to meet the demands of a growing Church. Despite the rapidly increasing number of congregations the Conference lacked by fifteen a sufficient number of members to man its thirty-seven Stations and Circuits. On the Puebla District six of the seven appointments were left to be supplied by Local Preachers and other recruits who lacked the educational and other qualifications required for entrance to Conference membership. One missionary was received by transfer, I. Chester Cartwright from the Rock River Conference, who was appointed to the English language work in the state of Hidalgo. Mrs. Cartwright was a doctor of medicine.[227] Anna R. Limberger came from the Philadelphia Branch and was assigned to the Puebla Girls' School for the kindergarten and elementary department work.

Reports of pastors at the January, 1892, Conference indicated continued expansion. Benjamin F. Velasco, pastor of Tezontepec, Mexico District, reported that when he was first appointed to the charge in 1890 there were four small congregations. This year there were fifteen, with about eight hundred adherents. The pastor had only one assistant and both taught day schools on five days of the week. To provide a reasonable number of preaching services and anything like adequate pastoral care division into three Circuits was called for but preachers were not available. Ever since his first year (1889) as Presiding Elder of the Coast District William Green had been emphasizing the necessity for appointment of an experienced missionary to the Oaxaca Circuit. To make this possible Bishop C. H. Fowler, who presided at the 1892 Annual Conference, reduced the number of Districts from five to four, and appointed Lucius C. Smith to Oaxaca. During the remaining years of his life he gave himself with indefatigable energy to his challenging task. "Our field," he wrote, "contains about fifteen hundred appointments." He conversed with numerous tribesmen and with painstaking care wrote out alphabets for twenty different languages which he had identified. Continually he beseeched the Conference and the Missionary Society to take advantage of the many favorable opportunities he found. He suffered a long and painful illness, the result of being hit on the head by a stone thrown at him while preaching. At his death in 1896 he was buried in the municipal cemetery of Oaxaca, the first Methodist missionary to die in Mexico.[228] The missionary personnel was increased in 1892 by three new arrivals. Francis S. Borton came from the United States and was received on trial in the Mexico Conference. Effie Dunmore of the Philadelphia Branch arrived and was assigned to the Tetela Girls' School. Lillian Neiger (Northwestern Branch), who was conversant with the Spanish language, also arrived and was appointed to Guanajuato. The Society reported this year a total of forty-two Mexican workers, of whom thirty-seven had been trained in Methodist girls' schools.

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* W. E. McLennan remained in Mexico only two years. At the January, 1892, Conference he was transferred to the Northwest Indiana Conference.

At the January, 1893, Conference two preachers were received on trial and none by transfer. One was discontinued, one was located at his own request, and one, Conrado Gamboa, had died—a net loss of one for the year. Yet the number of congregations continued to increase, six having been added during 1892. As a result, the dearth of pastors was again accentuated. Nevertheless, the number of conversions increased by 118 over 1892. Five new day schools were established, enrolling 481 additional children. There was also a marked increase in enrollment in some of the schools. The two Guanajuato schools almost doubled their enrollment. Dr. Salmans testified to their religious value. Most of the probationers received into the Guanajuato church in 1892, he said, came from among the older pupils of the schools. Girls' schools under W.F.M.S. auspices were in operation in twelve centers: Pachuca, Mexico City, Puebla, Chicoloapam, Ayapango, Tezontepec, Apizaco, Orizaba, Tetela, La Canada, Guanajuato, and Miraflores. The highest enrollment in any Protestant girls' school in Mexico was in the Pachuca Girls' School, 355.[229]

For lack of sufficient missionary appropriation the day schools in the chief towns in two of the principal Circuits of Guanajuato District, which were not largely attended, were abandoned. Persecution at Cueramoro had the effect of increasing the growth of the church.

At Cordoba, in the Coast District, a yellow fever epidemic raged for two years (1892-93) causing more than a thousand deaths. Many members of the church were among the victims. Assemblage of the people in all houses of worship, Catholic and Protestant, was forbidden by the authorities.[230]

In 1893 new congregations continued to be established. On the Mexico District a beginning was made at Cereza, between Pachuca and El Chico, and fourteen persons were received on probation. On the Puebla District a new congregation with a day and night school was organized at La Colonia, a short distance from Puebla. Credit for this interesting work was given to students of the Puebla Theological School. Two new congregations were also established on the Tlaxcala Circuit. Finally, on the Coast District two additional congregations were formed on the Tuxpan Circuit and two more on the Teziutlan Circuit.

By an outlay of some $15,000. new property was procured in Pachuca as a headquarters building which provided facilities for the boys' school and ample living quarters for the teacher and for the missionary family and the Mexican pastor. The former headquarters building was transferred to the W.F.M.S. for the girls' school.[231]

Two churches were dedicated in the Mexico District in 1894, a new stone church in San Augustin of which only a fraction of the cost was contributed by the Missionary Society, and a chapel in Poxtla, near the base of Popocatepetl. At least three new congregations were established on the Tezontepec Circuit as a direct result of the work of Jose Gutierrez, a poor farmer, in distributing tracts in the state of Hidalgo. On the Puebla District Craver received in 1894 a petition sent by some forty persons of San Miguel Zacaola asking for preaching services in their town. It was not possible for several months to send a preacher but in December Miguel Garcia, a theological student, agreed to go. More than eighty persons came together for the first service. In June in response to urgent requests, services were begun in Jicarrero, a village about 120 miles from Mexico City in the state of Morelos. Before the end of the year some forty people were in the congregation. A long-cherished hope was realized in the establishment this year of the Queretaro Methodist Institute, with primary and secondary departments. A large enrollment was not expected but Dr. Salmans was able to report at the close of the first year an enrollment of twenty boys and men, some of whom came from long distances.[232]

The eleventh session of the Conference met in Trinity Church, Mexico City, on January 17, 1895, with twenty-two members in attendance, eight more than were present as charter members at the first session ten years before. Of the twenty-two, eight were missionaries. Three missionaries had been transferred out of the Conference during the year.[*] Eduardo Carrero was received on credentials from the Southern Presbyterian Church, and two preachers were received on trial. Six W.F.M.S. missionaries were present at the Conference session; one was on leave of absence for rest in the United States. This year, for the first time in the eleven years of the Conference's life, a Mexican was appointed Presiding Elder. J. M. Euroza was put on the Hidalgo District. William Green who had served for six years as Presiding Elder of the Coast District was transferred to the New York Conference. William C. Evans, who had been received by transfer from the East Ohio Conference, gave vigorous leadership to the Mexico City English church. Previously only one worship service had been held on Sunday. He instituted an evening service and infused new life into the midweek prayer meeting and the Sunday school. He secured funds by personal solicitation for fitting up an attractive free reading room which was kept open every evening until ten o'clock. Many young men from the United States, England, and Germany took advantage of the opportunity of reading newspapers and other periodicals and books from their own countries.[233]

A church was dedicated in 1894 at Atzacan, some seven miles from Orizaba. In 1892 Bishop Fowler and Charles Parkhurst, the editor of *Zion's Herald,* had visited the place and met an Indian, a leader of the village, who had been saved from alcoholism by the Gospel and had become a zealous Christian. He pleaded with the visitors for help to build a church. He would donate all the land needed and promised to contribute of his means and labor, along with other members of the little congregation, if only some assistance from outside might be given. Parkhurst printed an appeal in his journal and subscribers quickly responded with $527. This gift, with local contributions, materials, and labor made it possible to build an attractive church.

The day schools of the reorganized Central District enrolled in 1895 more than a thousand pupils; those of the Hidalgo District, 1,320 pupils. Five capable young women graduated from the complete normal course of the Mexico City school, each of whom accepted positions in the mission work.

In Pachuca, as an improvement to the property transferred to the W.F.M.S. by the Missionary Society, a new, beautiful and commodious girls' school building was erected. At Guanajuato the girls' school this year reached an enrollment of 113, and the boys' school an enrollment of ninety-seven.[234]

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[*] S. P. Craver after nineteen years in Mexico was transferred to the Iowa Conference; Harry G. Limric, after six years of service, to the East Ohio Conference; and Frank D. Tubbs, after six years, to the South America Conference.

Twenty-Two Years of the Mexico Mission

At the close of 1895 the Mexico Conference had forty-one charges with 2,060 full members and 2,325 probationers. There were twenty-nine Local Preachers. Churches numbered thirty; parsonages, nineteen. Congregations were far in excess of churches, many meeting in hired halls and in residences. Adherents also far exceeded the number of church members—by some estimated to be three to one—but in neither case were estimates given in the Conference statistics. There were three high schools with 120 pupils and fifty-three other day schools with an enrollment of 3,795 pupils. The W.F.M.S. girls' schools numbered twelve, with 1,416 pupils. In addition to missionaries forty-four Mexican teachers were employed, of whom forty were mission school graduates and members of the Methodist Church. Sixty-two organized Sunday schools listed 1,927 pupils and 127 officers and teachers.[235]

In considering the result of a quarter century of missionary effort it should be remembered that the Methodist mission was established only twenty-five years after the military invasion of 1846-48 and the forced ceding to the United States of the area now comprising California, Nevada, Utah, most of Arizona and New Mexico and parts of Wyoming and Colorado. The memory of this was still fresh and painful in the minds of Mexicans. In that atmosphere the coming of strangers from beyond the Rio Grande, no matter what their declared purpose, aroused suspicion in the minds of many, if not open antagonism.

A very different set of attitudes toward Protestant religious influences coming from the North had been nurtured by the attempt of European monarchists, Pope Pius IX, and powerful members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, to destroy republicanism in Mexico and the United States by establishing Maximilian of Austria as Emperor of Mexico. The fantastic and tragic struggle was undertaken while the United States was engaged in civil conflict with the hope that the Monroe Doctrine which had held European aggression in check since the eighteen twenties could not be implemented and that the weakened condition of the country might make possible territorial expansion. The undertaking had ended six years prior to William Butler's arrival in 1873. In the struggle the armies of President Juarez had been bled white by the enormous slaughter they had undergone. A few months before Abraham Lincoln's tragic death he had written Juarez, still in exile, "Be of good cheer my friend. Mexico will rise again." The puppet Maximilian —whose instincts and purposes on more than one occasion had shown him to be more humane and liberal than his manipulators—finally fell before a firing squad at Queretaro in 1867.

The net effect of these conflicting events—United States intervention and defense in common against the European conspiracy—was to make many Mexicans more open to the Gospel message than the people of Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia, where the Roman Catholic Church wielded undisputed power. Men prominent in the life of the republic—judges, mayors, and some governors, as also Juarez and Diaz—befriended missionaries and pastors and thereby made it easier for people to stand stedfast in the face of Roman Catholic persecution. Juarez expressed what many liberal minds were thinking, "Upon the development of Protestantism depends the future happiness and prosperity of my nation." [236]

The antagonism of the Roman Church to Protestantism and to Protestants was deeply rooted, determined, and vicious. The country, the clerical party contended, should close its doors to Protestants. This represented the attitude of bishops and priests throughout the period of which we write. With fanatical bigotry archbishops, bishops, and local priests again and again incited their people to a frenzy which led them to wreck chapels, attack congregations, and even to murder missionaries and native pastors. Unthinking and brutal fanaticism was ready to rise in riotous mobs at any hour at a priest's bidding. In various cities and rural communities no Protestant dared to consider his property or person immune from Catholic vengeance. One never knew when the lightning would strike next. Because of the conflict between Church and State the protection of government assured by the Reform Laws of 1857 did not guarantee security. It was in this chaotic situation that the mission had to begin and carry on its work.

The agents and colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society did much toward laying a foundation for the work of the missionaries. The indefatigable pioneer James Thomson of the former Society made two extensive visits to Mexico well in advance of the arrival of any evangelical missionaries. The first was as early as 1827 when he arrived in Mexico City with an imposing caravan of twenty-four mules. From the capital as a center he made two long trips into different parts of the country on which he sold 4,235 copies of the Bible. In 1830 it seemed necessary for him to withdraw but in 1842 he returned for a brief period. The Society resumed operations in 1863 by opening a Bible depository in Mexico City but it was not until the end of foreign rule that extensive distribution was possible. In the years 1863-78, 158,000 Bibles were circulated. During this same period, beginning in 1826, the American Bible Society was also active at intervals. One notable action was the sending of W. H. Norris, the South America missionary, to Veracruz in 1847 with a supply of Bibles to accompany the American troops on their military exploits. He distributed thousands of Bibles and Testaments in Spanish, French, German, and English. During the army occupation he placed the Bible in the homes of thousands of families in Veracruz, Jalapa, Puebla, and Mexico City. In 1867-70 an agent of the Society put in circulation some eight thousand copies of the Scriptures, in the northern states of the country. The reading of the Bible did much to stimulate a spirit of religious inquiry among the people and to create a desire to hear the message of the Gospel.[237]

In Mexico as in other fields the success of the mission depended upon raising up a native ministry by recruiting and training young men of spiritual gifts, sterling Christian character, courage and perseverance. There were very few government elementary schools. The process of preparation had to begin at the elementary level. Yet no provision was made in the early years by the Missionary Society for even one qualified man to give his whole time to an institution for the training of young men for the ministry. A "theological class" of two, three, or five students was a poor substitute for such a school. For lack of it the mission was for years retarded in its development. Of thirty-four men whose names appear as assistants or pastors during the years 1873-78 only six continued in the work and appeared in the 1879 record as receiving appointments. About one half of the recruits of early years were listed only once or twice in the yearly appointments and then disappeared. Later, after the Puebla Theological School was well organized and one of the missionaries was appointed to give full time to it the situation improved.

During the early years of the mission several men who had trained for the priesthood left the Roman Catholic Church to become Methodist ministers. Augustin Palacios studied law in Saint Gregorio College in Mexico City but turned aside in 1847 and entered the Mexican army to resist the American intervention. At the war's close he took up the study of Catholic theology and in 1851 was ordained. He became ecclesiastical judge in the cathedral and later assistant chaplain to Maximilian. Becoming disillusioned concerning the Roman Catholic Church he established an independent congregation, taking the Bible as his sole guide. He surreptitiously attended Methodist services and becoming persuaded his suspicions that the missionaries were political agents had no basis united with the Church and entered its ministry. For ten years he was a faithful and successful preacher in Mexico City, Puebla, and Orizaba where he died on January 5, 1889. Jose Maria Gonzales was a philosopher and an able writer but was carried away by vagaries that seriously impaired his usefulness as a minister. He did not stay long with the Methodists. Trinidad Rodriguez was ordained in the Roman Catholic Church at twenty-five years of age. He had served several parishes when one day he encountered a colporteur and bought from him a Bible, *Pilgrim's Progress,* and several other Protestant books. Instead of condemning them outright, as most priests did, he studied them at length and under their influence was converted and became a devout Methodist.

Emilio Fuentes y Betancourt came to the Mexico Mission with the recommendations of the Missionary Secretaries. He was hailed as an important accession to the working forces, Drees saying that his "thorough culture, and his ability as preacher and educator, promise [that he will be] . . . very useful in different departments of work of this mission." He was an ordained priest of the Roman Catholic Church, educated in leading universities of Cuba and Spain, who after long inner conflict had renounced Catholic dogmas and practices and had consecrated himself to preaching the Gospel among Spanish-speaking people.*

The mission lacked the continuity of leadership required to develop a consistent policy and program for the field as a whole. Of the nineteen missionaries sent to Mexico between 1873 and 1890 only seven spent more than ten years on the field. Three were in Mexico for two years or less; three from three to five years; and six from six to ten years.

Christian missions failed to enlist outstanding liberal national leaders as members of the Protestant Churches. To this general statement the Methodist mission was no exception. Many of them were friendly and some, including Juarez and Diaz, were outspoken in paying tribute to Protestant religious and social principles but very few went so far as to embrace membership. Nor were many converts made from the ranks of liberal, socially minded professional men and women—lawyers, doctors, journalists, teachers, and businessmen—of whom there were many. Certain concepts of the social and political revolution were also basic in Protestantism but the Mexican liberals did not recognize them as basically Christian. As a consequence, while many of these were friendly to missionaries they stood aloof from the humble folk who had no prestige to lose by being branded as Protestants.

The reason for the situation is not far to seek. The Roman Catholic Church vied with the government in its appeal for the allegiance of the entire populace. Although dis-established it still had political power and social standing. The Protestant Churches disavowed all political connections, had no wealth, and no social prestige. Despite the fierce, determined conflict between the State and the Church, the leaders of government could not ignore it or entirely sever their connection with it. This was true also of leaders in local community life. Many of both groups never attended mass or other religious services except on state occasions but they were within the Church's pale and when they died were given a ceremonial funeral and burial by the Church.

The membership of the Methodist Church in Mexico was predominately mestizo. There were some people of foreign birth but the rank and file of the members were of mixed Indian and Spanish lineage, of whom the larger proportion were men. Almost without exception they were poor—most of them very poor and living under primitive conditions. They were chiefly manual laborers, tradesmen, industrial clerical workers, and primary school teachers. The rural members were principally small farmers and peasants.[238]

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* Fuentes had a checkered career in the itinerancy. For a time after his arrival in Mexico he was assigned to special work in Mexico City. At the first session of the Annual Conference he was located at his own request. In 1887 he was readmitted to Conference membership and appointed to Leon. At the 1888 Conference he announced that he had been appointed professor in the Veracruz State Normal School and withdrew from membership in the Conference. At the same time he expressed his "profound gratitude for all the consideration and the deference" which the Church had shown him.—*Minutes, Mexico Conference,* 1889, p. 8.

There were a few churches in Indian villages and in all rural churches there were usually some members of pure Indian descent. As in South America so also in Mexico the large Indian population offered a challenging missionary opportunity but little was done to meet it. No missionaries were given special training to establish missions to any of the numerous Indian tribes, nor was literature produced in more than a very few of the many Indian languages.

Doubtless the natural course was for missions to be first established in the larger centers of population but it is to be questioned whether this policy should have been so exclusively followed. Since the other denominations followed the same course an undue concentration of Protestant missions in the towns and particularly the large centers resulted.* Schools as well as churches were located in the larger centers.

This fact was in itself a cause of confusion to the Mexican people who could not differentiate between the several Churches presented to them as Protestant. It also resulted in a very large number of small towns and rural communities being left without any evangelical religious services, in many of which equal or larger opportunity for fruitful Christian work existed. The influence of the Protestant emphasis on the establishment of schools reached far beyond the boundaries of the missions' constituencies. All over Mexico the founding of a Protestant school in a locality was certain to be promptly followed by the opening of a Catholic school. With its greater command of financial resources it could readily extend the number of its schools and make substantial contribution to the literacy of the population.

Within its first quarter century the numerical strength of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico was greater than in South America after more than twice the time. Yet growth had been slow—much less rapid than that of some missions in the Orient. Such progress as it had made was achieved in the face of the incessant opposition—often violent persecution—of a strongly entrenched Roman Catholicism and the fanaticism of superstitious and deluded masses. While it gained the favor of liberal government officials its gradual progress was due to its own inner vitality and not to official influence.

The movement developed along the same lines as Methodist missions in other lands, the conversion of adults by means of evangelistic effort and the instruction and training of children in its schools. The mission was an extension of the Church in the United States. The local Methodist Societies were an exact reproduction of the churches across the border. In other words it was an exotic growth. An alternative would have been to acquaint people with the Gospel of Christ—which Spanish Roman Catholicism had never done—and encourage converts to develop Societies according to a pattern determined by the peoples' environment and needs. This was not done by Protestant missionaries in any other land and there was no reason to expect that the Mexican movement would set the precedent.

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* This tendency persisted during the later years and was still evident as late as 1935. Camargo and Grubb cite as an example the state of Tamaulipas in which in that year there were twenty-two organized Protestant churches of which three were in the capital, ten in the chief port city and adjacent urban communities, and five in towns on the United States border. Of the four remaining two were in small towns, and only two of the entire number in rural neighborhoods.—*Op. cit.*, p. 95.

William Butler's reports for the years of his administration were invariably general in character, with very few specific details, and estimated the movement above its actual achievements. This tendency was also evident in some of the annual reports of other missionaries in later years. The internal difficulties against which the local Societies had to contend strengthened the moral fiber of native workers with the consequence that many of them were stalwart Christians determined, against all opposition, to hold fast to the good confession which they had made. However, the rank and file of the church members—and even many of the local leaders—showed little initiative in personal evangelistic effort, a tendency doubtless accentuated by their Roman Catholic background where all religious activities were exercised by the priest. The missionaries were slow in transferring primary responsibility to Mexican preachers. A few young leaders were being trained in the theological school at the close of the period of which account has been given, but at that time only one of the four Presiding Elders was Mexican.

IX

Expanding Foreign Missions—Africa

"For the Liberia Mission* . . . my anxiety will continue to be intense." With these words John Seys concluded in April, 1845, his second period of superintendency of the small, uncertain mission on the west coast of Africa. His affection for the people almost matched that of Melville Cox, but necessity and family responsibilities had called him home. Thus the Board found itself once again in difficulty concerning its oldest foreign enterprise. While Seys' last report was on the whole optimistic, with bright prospects seen for the future, nonetheless the mission was limited in scope and without great resources. There were only three training schools, other than small day schools, and one of these was closed temporarily on account of the death of the principal and the lack of a replacement. A serious shortage of workers existed.

The Liberian colony in 1845 occupied only a thirty-six-mile strip of coastland. Colonists were few in number, about six thousand, which represented the sum total of the civilized population in Liberia. Of the tribespeople who were under the jurisdiction of the government and in contact with it, there were about 150,000, the Deys, Vais, Golas, Bassas, Pessahs, and others. The mission extended from Robertsport (Cape Mount), the northwestern boundary, to Harper (Cape Palmas), approximately three hundred miles. In the coastal towns, and short distances up the chief waterways, a line of appointments had been established—about eighteen regular stations and a few others—where thatch schoolhouses had been constructed.

The oldest and chief centers of work were along the seacoast. The Society in Monrovia, the capital, on Cape Mesurado, was the most thriving. From Robertsport, the most westerly point, the stations were located on the coast at almost equal intervals to the east. There were Robertsport on Cape Mount, Caldwell and New Georgia near the mouth of the St. Paul River, Marshall on the Borlor River, Buchanan (Grand Bassa) on the St. John River, Greenville and Sino on opposite sides of the Sino River; and at the other extremity, Harper and Tubman Town. Within the Bush new schools had been projected at Norakka, Sardakka, Gillibo, and Barrakka. The "oldest native stations," Robertsville and Heddington among the Queah, were near the St. Paul River. Millsburg, the site of Ann Wilkins' school for girls, and White Plains, where the Manual Labor School was housed, faced each other across the St. Paul River. Edina, Bassa Cove, and Bexley, all rather small settlements, hugged the St. John River banks.

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* For an account of the founding of the Liberia Mission, see Vol. I, 325-44.

Not only was the mission without a Superintendent but, with the increase in stations (Garrettson, Mount Andrew, and Morrisburg) as a result of Seys' last interior trip, in need of more workers than ever. For almost a year the stations remained without any oversight, and the chief school, Monrovia Seminary—the training center for future workers—closed.

The Liberia Mission Reinforced

Not until late 1845 did the Missionary Society find men to fill the major posts. As soon as commissioned, John B. Benham of the Oneida Conference and William B. Williams of the New York Conference sailed, arriving in December of that year, the former to become Superintendent, the latter school principal. A third man, William B. Hoyt, of the New York Conference, accompanied them.[1]

When the January, 1846, Annual Conference met Benham had barely been able to unpack his bags. Although the three missionaries had been added to the membership the acute shortage of workers continued. Benham's first report, submitted a year later, was marked by discouragement. The problems of breaking the hard African soil had depleted his energy. He had toured as far into the interior as Heddington, stopping at all the appointments along the route, including the two schools. At Robertsville and Heddington he discovered how uncertain was work built upon the friendship of chiefs. Should their displeasure be aroused, their esteem lessened, the mission would be disrupted. On the other hand, they had to be appealed to in terms of the gifts of civilization and education for their people, and very materially in the form of money "dashes" for the privilege of coming among them and for "protection." Corruption led to more corruption. Benham was faced with the complaints of King Tom of Heddington who felt that he was not receiving enough monetary respect. Pitiably the Superintendent concluded that "perhaps, something, as a kind of tribute, will be necessary." Zoda Quee, at Robertsville, intimated he needed more reward for the influence and safety he afforded. And these men, Benham learned, were regarded as the mainstays of these missions. At Morrisburg the king refused to keep the preacher assigned because he did not offer board and schooling for the boys. At some of the centers he found the buildings in such condition that he had to give immediate orders for essential repairs to save them. At others, he learned that frequent illness had prevented the preachers in charge from carrying on their work regularly and that, of course, meant that some day schools had been discontinued. At the Harper settlement he was told of difficulties between teachers and natives which had led to the barricading of one mission house and the demolition of another.[2]

A noteworthy event of the year was the capture by the Africa Squadron of a slave ship from Philadelphia, which brought about the rescue of some 750 youths between ten and twenty years of age, of whom about fifty were girls. Tragically, numbers of these Congos, horribly crowded and without accommodations aboard ship, were in a dying condition.* The United States Agent for Recaptured Africans was charged with responsibility for their welfare, and settled upon the plan of distributing the survivors among Church missions. Acting promptly, the Methodist missionaries in council resolved to receive one hundred, nineteen of whom would be girls. Then an appeal for funds was issued, which received a generous response from America.† In later years, these rescued young people swelled the membership of the churches being, under the circumstances, more receptive than other natives to Christian teaching.[3]

Within four weeks of his arrival in Liberia Williams was dead, and again the seminary was without proper direction. John B. Gripon‡ filled in temporarily. Later J. W. Roberts, the preacher in charge of Millsburg and White Plains, served for a time as principal. Hoyt was then made seminary overseer but by April, 1847, he was again in New York because of the "utter prostration of his wife" and his own declining health. In June, 1847, Gripon again took charge as principal but within six months he died.[4]

In 1846 Superintendent Benham was cheered by the developments of the work. The Missionary Society's *Annual Report* reflected this optimism. A new native station—Jamaica—among the Vais and Golas had been opened on the coast twenty-five miles northwest of Monrovia on the site of a sacred town which had been destroyed. It seemed providential, for the natives were offering the land with the requirement that "some civilized man should reside there." Also, a school had been established among the Kru people living in Blue Barre on the Sino River opposite the American settlement. New churches had been erected at Edina and Bassa Cove, and that whole area was considered a promising field.[5]

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* By the time the captured ship reached port at Monrovia only 756 of the original 900 slaves were alive. Benham, following his visit to the ship, reported: "The stench of the vessel was such, that we remained but a few moments on board . . . ! It was supposed that a thermometer would range at one hundred to one hundred twenty, in the hold. Though I did not go down, I saw that, with few exceptions, they were in a state of entire *nudity*. Several were in a dying condition, and many others were so emaciated that their skin literally cleaved to their bones. Others, again, had worn their skin through, producing putrid ulcers, which fed swarms of flies."—In *Twenty-seventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1845-46), p. 19.

† A special appeal was sent to the Board for about $2,000. for their annual support, practically all of which was secured in two special meetings in New York. Later, about $4,000. was procured in special gifts, very welcome for the care of 183 children.—*Ibid.*, pp. 21 f.; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XXII (1847), 18 (May), 71.

‡ John B. Gripon (?-1847) was intimately associated with the Liberia Mission from the time of Melville Cox's last illness in 1833 until his death. He was "not only an efficient school teacher but a superior mechanic."—*Twenty-sixth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1844-45); p. 21; *ibid., 29th* (1847-48), p. 18. (1847-48), p. 18.

Hardly had Benham become acquainted with the work and gauged its needs when his health was so undermined that he felt he could not continue. Since his arrival the Board had sent out only three missionaries—Lavinia Johnson, Laura Bush, and John L. Morris.[*] Miss Johnson and Morris were Negroes. On January 7, 1848, he sailed for home, explaining so brief a tenure by "feebleness of body and inability to work in the Africa climate."[6]

The only white missionaries now remaining were Ann Wilkins and her assistant, Laura Brush. Candor obliged Benham to confess in his final report that Garrettson, the once hopeful station in the interior among the Queah, had little more than a nominal existence; that wars and rumors of wars threatened to break up the Mount Andrew Gola mission; that the people of Mount Hall, a fairly new center, objected to being put on a Circuit and would not cooperate; and that in certain areas Mohammedanism was a strong competitor with Christianity and "more formidable than heathenism itself." Apart from these hard facts, he could also report the opening of new centers: Lanesborough on the Mecklin River (a branch of the St. John) among the Bassas; Jamaica, or Little Cape Mount,[†] on the Loffa River; and Mesurado (St. Paul) River Circuit, in the Vai and Dey territory extending about twenty miles along the river from its mouth.

Benham left behind him twenty appointments[‡] counting the schools; an increased number in Society, almost one thousand, and seventeen Local Preachers. Almost $250. had been raised for the support of missions. In line with the wishes of the Missionary Society several day schools among the colonists had been discontinued in an effort to concentrate on native work. The cry was for more men, six as a minimum merely to cover the present endeavors, and a dozen if the calls from the interior were to be answered.[7]

Liberia itself was developing as a nation. A constitution on the United States pattern was approved on July 26, 1847, a government organized, and the former governor of the colony, Joseph J. Roberts, elected president. By coincidence, the return home of Benham and the failure of the Missionary Society to find a successor for him placed the Liberian Church in the same position of autonomy as the nation. Necessity dictated the decision of Bishop Beverly Waugh, who was in charge of foreign missions, to divide the mission into three Presiding Elders' Districts, and thus distribute the responsibility for operation. The Society stated that "if our coloured brethren shall show themselves competent to the task of managing, successfully, the spiritual and financial interests of these missions, to the satisfaction of the Board and the authorities of the Church, it will be a matter of rejoicing to all. It will, indeed, be a gratifying consummation of hopes long entertained, and devoutly cherished." [8]

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[*] Lavinia Johnson probably arrived about the same time as Benham. She went to the U.S. for several months' recuperation in 1846 and returned to Liberia with Laura Brush in 1847. John L. Morris was sent in 1846. His case was exceptional. He was a slave whose freedom was purchased, on approval of the Board, for $700.—the money raised by "voluntary subscription."—*Minutes, B.M.*, IV, 487; *Twenty-eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1846-47), pp. 16, 21.

[†] This center was so successful that when Bargay, the king, learned that the preacher was to be sent elsewhere, he sent this message by a missionary: "Tell your father I am hungry for a missionary."—*Twenty-ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1847), p. 21.

[‡] Monrovia and Krutown Chapel, St. Paul River Circuit, Millsburg and White Plains, Robertsville, Heddington, Mount Andrew, Mesurado Circuit, Marshall, Mount Hall, Grand Bassa Circuit, Lanesborough, Greenville, Blue Barre, Harper, Barrakka, Gillibo, Edina, Cape Mount.—*Ibid.*, pp. 27 f.

The Districts formed—Monrovia, with seven stations, Bassa, with two, and Cape Palmas, with five—became a permanent feature. Two men, who later were to become Bishops, were named Presiding Elders, Francis Burns for Cape Palmas, John W. Roberts for Monrovia. James S. Payne, later president of the republic for two terms, headed the third District. However, the Board became doubtful about placing responsibility wholly in the hands of Liberians, and shortly began another search for a Superintendent. N. S. Bastion, of the Illinois Conference, was secured for the position and arrived at Monrovia on September 19, 1849, fifty days after sailing from Baltimore.

Bastion was a man of courage and vision. His reactions were optimistic. He wrote of the work around Monrovia as being "in a state of great prosperity," enjoying "a very extraordinary outpouring of the Spirit of God." [9] The stations "up the river" reported "unusual times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord," with one exception where the attitude of hostile tribes had made continuance impossible. He laid before the Board what he visualized as the crying need:

> It appears plain to my mind, that nothing can now retard the progress of our missions in this land, unless it be the want of a good high school, in which to rear up an abundant supply of *well qualified* teachers to supply, as they shall rapidy increase in number, all our schools.[10]

Fired by this idea, he proceeded on his own to make plans for the resuscitation of Monrovia Seminary, then lying in ruins. Since the death of Williams, and the brief terms of his successors, the seminary had been closed. The buildings were poor; furthermore, they hardly allowed for growth and expansion. A new small, inexpensive building might be put up, he explained, but in Liberia's moist climate deterioration would soon make costly repairs necessary. He estimated the price of a building worthy of the project, and sought out ways to finance it. Once calculated, he gave orders for the purchase of an adjoining piece of property, planned a new building which was to be "probably the most capacious and substantial edifice in the republic," let the contract at $7,500. (later raised to $10,000.) and built "a brick academy building . . . at Millsburg, for females, at a cost of $4,000." As he later wrote to the Board, in a closely reckoned statement, the expense could be covered by the trimming of the appropriations for the next two years, the abandonment of the Gola mission which he felt was wasteful expenditure, and the suspension of *Africa's Luminary* which had very few subscribers. He had looked to the members of the Conference and to the Monrovia Society for aid, and they had paid in nearly $1,000. The receipt of his letter in New York caused consternation among the authorities. The Africa Committee recommended immediate action to "stay proceedings in the Seminary enterprise," ordered him to "waive his contemplated journey to England in its behalf," and to "report . . . the grounds & reasons of this extraordinary movement." This was on January 16, 1850, and on the next day the Board expressed its judgment to the Bishop in charge of foreign missions "that Brother Bastion should be recalled." By July he was back in the States, alone —for he had left his wife and child buried in Africa.[11] His report to the Board, considering the circumstances, was surprisingly well received, all his bills were ordered paid, and due recognition was given to his "conviction of the extreme necessities of the case," though doubts were shown that these necessities required such haste "as to warrant the prosecution of the enterprise in an informal and unauthorized way." He was fully acquitted of "intentional wrong in the case." [12]

This distressing episode brought to an end the system of white superintendency in Liberia. Much can be said for Bastion. He seems to have stiffened procedures in respect to the keeping of accurate and up-to-date records and in addition to such administration to have given thought to basic problems growing out of the social institutions of the Africans which stood in the way of the Gospel. Not until the advent of William Taylor in Africa was there again a discernible plan developed for proceeding toward definite ends.

While Bastion's approach to Liberia's need had been found unacceptable, the Board could not deny that it was burdened with the practical failure of the work. At the time of his appointment, what almost amounted to despondency was felt at headquarters. To the Church at large it had announced

> that the frequent and unavoidable changes in the superintendency of this mission, have seriously militated against its prosperity. Not more than one, of all those who have occupied this post, has been able to live, and remain long enough in the country to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the actual state of all the mission stations, or to devise and execute the most efficient plans for the prosecution of our missionary work in this interesting field. . . .
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> . . . But it is a question demanding the most rigid examination, whether our efforts have not been too generally confined to the colonists, to the neglect of the *native tribes* among and around them? It is also a subject worthy of the most careful inquiry, whether sufficient attention has been paid to the interests of education in that country? . . .
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> . . . Quite a number of our most hopeful converts have been enticed away from our *native stations*, and have gone back to the *bush*, where they have soon relapsed into their superstitious customs and heathen practices. It makes the heart sick to reflect upon the number of cases of this kind. . . .
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> . . . Whatever may have been the cause, our missionaries in Africa have not, except in a few instances, extended their labours far beyond the limits of civilization. We are strongly inclined to think this policy has been a mistaken one; and it is by no means improbable, that some change in the mode of our operations may be deemed advisable.[13]

Besides, the General Conference in 1848 had felt need to admonish the Liberia Mission for its slow development, and suggested a rather rugged procedure to cure its laggardliness. It recommended that the Board of Managers

> take such steps, by diminishing appropriations or otherwise, as . . . to induce our members there to do what they can for the support of our missionaries, and to fully establish our itinerant system of preaching, that the blessing of the gospel may be more speedily extended to the natives.[14]

As viewed by the Church at long distance these criticisms seemed reasonable. Nonetheless, there were factors on the field which did offer some explanation for the slight progress, and could only be appreciated by those who experienced them. A major problem completely beyond control was dealing with the restless, nomadic habits of the Africans. "Fear of the Congos," the unpredictable moves of a king, the necessity of moving on when trade slackened, sporadic revivals of the slave trade, primitive warfare for the sake of captives were all contributing to the breaking up of mission centers. Ill health was itself accountable for much undoing of work.[15] Even the successful stabilizing of his health did not insure that a missionary could keep from becoming irritable and nervous. Ann Wilkins, hardy soul that she was, wrote:

> Perhaps you think sickness is a great trial; but, ah! it is one of the mildest of my trials here. There are those in my every-day duties which require the patience of Job, the meekness of Moses, and the wisdom of Daniel or Solomon. Besides these, is the horrid alarm of war, that sometimes comes suddenly, when we have been dwelling in peace and quietness for some months, and shakes my whole nervous system with an awful terror . . . .[16]

Apparently, complaints reached the New York office as to the temperamental behavior of the Liberia missionaries. The Board of Managers believed them to have some truth, and, when ready to commission Bastion, Bishop Morris had written as instructions:

> The brethren at Liberia as we are told, think that our white superintend's [sic] have not allways [sic] been sufficiently cautious and forbearing in their manner of intercourse among them. It may be that the brethren there having become as free and independent as we are here claim more respect than the Superintendents thought them entitled to, and it is also possible that the Diseases of that climate may so affect the white mans Constitution as to produce peevishness of which he is not fully conscious in his debilitated state. However these things may be in reality our brethern [sic] complain as we learn that some if not all of our white American Superintendents have been crabbed among them.[17]

The Missionary Society had some justification in singling out the failure of the schools. Education as a prime means of evangelism was at a low ebb in Liberia. Except for the efforts made to operate an academy of high level for girls, a practical school in manual techniques for boys, and another academic school for missionary potential, there was no systematic plan for either religious or secular instruction. However, there were many hindrances. One was lack of teachers. As for schools for "native" children, they came and went, both the schools and children. Even if retained through a given course pupils reverted to their former way of life. There was not enough incentive to study from either the child's or the parents' viewpoint. And school routine once interrupted by illness of an instructor or the need to halt for more pressing matters of missionary work meant the scattering of the group for good. As for practical training for either boys or girls, apart from recommending in 1846 that religious teaching be connected "as far as practicable with agriculture and the arts," neither encouragement nor command seems to have been given. In 1849 the Board, however, suggested a scheme to enlist promising native youths and prepare them in America for future service to their home church. An appropriation of $1,500. was made for that purpose in 1851. For several years it was put in practice, with some success, though it could only be a drop in the bucket toward meeting needs. Sunday schools were attempted. By 1848 there were five in Harper; at the two other largest towns two or three, and one each in most of the other appointments, with a membership of from fourteen to 156.[18]

A LEADERLESS MISSION

After Bastion's departure, general supervision fell once again upon the Presiding Elders. For awhile, the issue was left unresolved. Pros and cons of appointing another white Superintendent were debated in the Church journals.* G. F. Cox, a brother of Melville B. Cox, wrote a persuasive letter calling attention to existing leadership under such men as Roberts, A. D. Williams, and Burns, and asserted that all they needed was "authority, occasional counsel, . . . pecuniary aid, which must be called for for *fifty* years to come . . . and a warm and generous heart preserved to them in America." W. H. Payne, brother of James S. Payne, saw inherent ability in African youth, and a desire on the part of the older generation to give their children the best available education, but declared that the mission was making bricks without straw, lacking books and apparatus of the most elementary kind.

The 1852 General Conference decided that the problem of future administration must be grappled with. In the Liberia Conference of that year, as well as in the General Conference, various proposals were examined: episcopal powers for the Church in Liberia, a separate organization of that Church, annual visitations by American Bishops, a Missionary Bishop for Africa. These, after much discussion back and forth, were cut down to the designation of Bishop Scott to visit and report on the situation.

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* The question of white people in Liberia was one of the burning issues until Taylor's time. Benham's last comment had been that while whites might manage to live in Africa "they cannot be depended upon for much labor." (*Twenty-ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* [1847-48], p. 26.) In 1852 Dr. Bond spoke very strongly against sending any more white missionaries to the field, considering it "extremely hazardous." Bishop Willis J. King, looking back on this opinion, comments that the attitude "practically sounded the death knell of Methodist interest in Liberia for nearly a half century." In reflecting on the long tenure of Ann Wilkins, he was led to remark that it was the male missionaries who "were realistic and returned to the safety of the homeland; the female missionaries, in each instance" who "decided to remain at their posts . . . . One cannot blame the realists, but one must recognize the faith and courage of the idealists."—"History of the Methodist Church Mission in Liberia," mimeographed ms., in Board of Missions Library, pp. 25, 26.

The Bishop left Baltimore in November, 1852. He spent two months in Liberia, studying the mission work and preaching, and making broad observations and recommendations. His report was full and detailed and indicated a sympathetic and understanding attitude toward the many problems faced. The linguistic problem alone he thought formidable, not to mention the reduction into writing of the innumerable dialects. It was difficult enough even to persuade the people to listen to preaching in their own tongue. Under the vicious system of "dashes" in order merely to gain a hearing, and for acceptance and to continue work, a permanent conversion could never be counted on. There was also the "hydra-headed monster" of polygamy, with each man having as many wives as he could afford to buy, these constituting his wealth. When it was suggested that he should give up all but one, the reply was, "Me send woman away?—where she go to?—what she do?" to which an answer was by no means easy. Bishop Scott declared that the whole social organization of the native people would have to be "upturned from the very foundation." *

The Bishop dealt at some length on two problems acute in Liberia at that time, the evils of missionary trading and of holding civil office. He also made a study of the claim that missionary salaries were too high, and came to the conclusion that they were not, that it cost more to live in Monrovia than in any large American city, and instead of missionaries receiving subsidiary aid from their people they often had to render it. Moreover, it was not possible to confine themselves to the products of the country.[19]

Bishop Scott made a number of administrative arrangements of a more or less routine nature, but in his plan for the education of Negro children he broke new ground. Finding that schools established in or near towns had "proved an almost total failure," partly because parents did not allow children to remain long enough even to learn to read, and partly because nearness to parents, friends, and old associations tended to counteract the influence of teachers, he suggested an appropriation to each Presiding Elder's District sufficient to pay the board of not more than five children in the home of each married preacher. The preacher was to have the entire control and management of these children for not less than four years, to see that they were

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* Scott wrote that the people "go almost stark naked, and they love to go so—and are not abashed in the presence of people better dressed; they eat with their hands, and dip, and pull, and tear, with as little ceremony and as little decency as monkeys, and they love to eat so; they sleep on the bare ground, or on mats spread on the ground, and they love to sleep so; the men hunt or fish, or lounge about their huts, and smoke their pipes, and chat, and sleep, while their wives, *alias* their slaves, tend and cut and house their rice—cut and carry home their wood—make their fires, fetch their water, get out their rice, and prepare their 'chop,'—and all, even the women, love to have it so." As they say, " 'this be countryman's fash.' They seem incapable of conceiving that your fash is better than theirs, or that theirs is at all defective."—In *Thirty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1853), p. 108.

educated in his home if no suitable school was within reach, and to be responsible to the Presiding Elder, who had to report to the Conference, for their proper care. The plan also provided that "as large a proportion of girls as practicable, not exceeding half the number," should be thus cared for. The Conference agreed to initiate his proposed scheme for in-residence education. For years following, this system was known as the "Scott schools."[20]

The Bishop also filled the important function of ordination during his visit, for the first time in Liberia's history raising to the regular ministry a number of Africa's sons on their own soil. This was the first time that any Protestant ordination had taken place in that country. Eleven men were ordained as deacons, and eight as elders. He reorganized the work into four Districts—the newest one, Sino—having a total of sixteen appointments.*

While not all of Liberia's problems were dealt with, to be sure, the visit of Bishop Scott served in large part to revitalize the work and hearten the workers. The Board next year (1854) gave further encouragement by making an appropriation of $32,957., which represented more than forty per cent of the total foreign missionary appropriation for that year. For five years (1853-57) the Liberia Conference was allowed self-administration, though ostensibly for four years under the supervision of Bishop Scott and for the fifth year of Bishops Scott and Janes. Each year Francis Burns received instructions to sit with the Conference as president *pro tem.* Inasmuch as he submitted detailed, orderly, and well-written annual reports to the Board and kept up a regular correspondence, he was in actuality exercising the role of Superintendent without the title and power. Judging by his reports of mission centers and of the program, Liberia moved along at least as well as it had under its earlier white Superintendents. Proportionately, the number of new places entered and the number going into decline remained about the same and for the same reasons. He kept awake to possibilities for extension of the work, although he knew that the shortage of workers would prevent an effective manning of any new station. A few new mission stations, nevertheless, were established during these years.† When the area around Cape Mount—to the northwest of Monrovia—came into the possession of Liberia, Burns himself made a trip to survey the land and interview the chiefs. Years before an attempt had been made unsuccessfully to establish a mission in this locale, but the situation was now altered, especially since the slave-trading of the area had been crushed and tribes of the backlands, Deys and Vais, felt free to settle on the coastline. As an outcome of the visit, Daniel Ware of the Conference volunteered to go to the Vais, and soon thereafter took his wife and family into the midst of the tribe to make their home.

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* The appointments in 1853 were: *Mesurado District:* (1) Monrovia; (2) Lower Caldwell and New Georgia Circuit; (3) Upper Caldwell, Clay Ashland, and Louisiana Circuit; (4) Millsburg and White Plains, embracing Robertsville, Heddington, and Jallah Fays; (5) Marshall Circuit; (6) Robertsport. *Grand Bassa District:* (1) Edina and Lanesborough Circuit; (2) Buchanan, embracing Fishtown and Peter Harris's; (3) Lower and Upper Bexley; (4) New Cess. *Sino District:* (1) Greenville, embracing Blue Barre and Fishtown; (2) Louisiana, Lower and Upper Reedsville, and King George's; (3) Lexington and Farmersville, embracing Soldier's, King's, and Governor Pine's. *Cape Palmas District:* (1) Mount Emory Circuit; Gillibo and Sardakka; (2) Barrakka and Quidekah. —*Gen'l Minutes,* 1853, p. 313.

† The native missions in existence at the time were among the Pessahs along the St. Paul River; the Bassas on the Borlor River; the Krus, in the Sino River area; and the Grebos where schools had earlier been established, near Harper. The Grebos were receiving instruction from one of their own converts, a released slave captive, John C. Lowrie. The new stations were: Louisiana, Lexington, and Farmersville in the Sino District (1853); Bluntsville, Sino District (1855); and Careysburg, Monrovia District (1858).

By and large, education probably got its greatest stimulus during these years, in good part owing to the inducements of the Missionary Society. Apart from the "Scott schools," the Board paid the salaries of teachers of the day schools, which in 1857 numbered over twenty. A number of boarding students at these schools were also supported at the Society's expense. In 1853 there were five boys and four girls at Monrovia Seminary preparing in accordance with the plan agreed upon, for education in America. At the same time the Board paid for the preparation in the United States of Miss L. E. Hazard as a teacher for the Girls' Academy at Millsburg. Two young men were also being given college educations. In order to increase the number of girls and guarantee their freedom as adults the Board decided to provide parents with indentures equal to dowries, to be registered in Liberian courts.[21]

As for institutions, the Board cooperated with the Conference in meeting the cost of construction of new buildings—having recovered from the shock of Bastion's bold program. In 1850 it advanced funds for a new structure at White Plains, and in 1854 supplied pre-cut materials for a new seminary at Harper.

By Bishop Scott's advice White Plains Manual Labor School was reorganized and separated from the pastoral charge. A lay person, A. B. Hooper, experienced in such lines of work, was given oversight. As a farmer, he soon had a good agricultural department established and a farm growing rice, cassava, and vegetables.

In 1852 James W. Horne was obtained by the Society as principal of Monrovia Academy, "probably the finest in the republic." The school had both regular and college departments. He filled the position with distinction but health finally forced him to withdraw in 1857. The school then fell temporarily into the hands of Daniel Ware of the Conference, who merely conducted classes.

The Cape Palmas (Harper) Seminary was under construction in 1854 and in the same year three young women, Maria E. B. Staunton, Margaret Kilpatrick, and Caroline M. Brown were sent out as instructors. While waiting for completion of the building the teachers assisted at Millsburg.

To the Millsburg school the Board also sent other assistants, Negro women. Ill health continued to defeat the purposes and hard efforts of recruitment for the school. Miss Sarah M. Reynolds, "educated in a pious family in Western New York, in view of service in Africa," arrived in 1853, and died after two years' service. Miss Staunton, her colaborer, died in 1856.

Ann Wilkins was forced to withdraw in 1856 after giving twenty years to her school, but her decision was delayed too long. In November of the following year, in America, she departed this life. Under the changed circumstances, Miss Kilpatrick remained in charge at Millsburg.[22]

From time to time the Board also recruited American Negro preachers and others to serve as Local Preachers and assistants.* Some recruits were also enlisted within Liberia. In the Conference, however, there was no drive, no zest for the task, and little vision. Bishop Scott at the time of his visit had felt called upon to admonish the members on their wish for a discontinuance of the itinerancy in favor of settled work. Despite the Bishop's justification of the slowness of the work, already mentioned, the Board sensed, doubtless rightly, that the fire of inspiration was lacking and while ordinary good work was being done much more might be done, especially in self-support.

THE LIBERIAN EPISCOPACY (1858-76)

General Conference in 1856, as we have seen,† settled upon the election of a Missionary Bishop for Liberia, the necessary Disciplinary change being subject to the approval of the Annual Conferences. In anticipation of their approval, it further decided to permit the Liberia Conference to elect its own Bishop instead of following the usual procedure. There was but one natural choice that Liberia could make—Francis Burns.‡ Besides having served as president of the Conference annually and as liaison between the Conference and the Missionary Society, he had gained experience as sometime principal of Monrovia Seminary, editor of *Africa's Luminary,* and also of the Conference journal. Everything having proceeded as hoped for in the Annual Conferences, Burns was duly consecrated Bishop at the hands of Bishops Janes and Baker on October 14, 1858, at the Genesee Conference.[23]

Bishop Burns immediately returned to Liberia. His new responsibilities did not materially differ from those he had been carrying as Presiding Elder since 1849, but he was no longer under District limitations. As always, the two main considerations he faced were the raising up of more preachers and assistants, which had to be accomplished through a more effectual education system, and the extension of the Conference work beyond the Americo-Liberians to the masses of Africans themselves. It goes without saying that the small budget for Liberia did not make possible extensive changes. Increased self-support alone could free funds. Burns recognized the nature of his problems, and felt the frustration of a man of vision fighting against almost impossible odds. To the Board he continually wrote, presenting his ideas, begging for assistance. He was a strong believer in education and requested an appropriation for a Conference library. Almost as soon as he undertook his new responsibilities (1859) he published a newspaper, the *Liberia Christian Advocate*. In 1861 he called for funds for all phases of the work.* At the same time he recognized that the capacity for leadership of missionary personnel was of greater importance. Writing to the Society that year, he said:

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* While the records are far from dependable or complete, lists of names did appear annually and we base our statement on them, risking some duplication since initials often vary. Those admitted into full Conference membership from 1844 through 1855: N. S. Bastion, James Byrd; 1853, John Thompson, W. J. Tyler, Charles A. Pitman; 1854, W. P. Kennedy, Sr., Othello Richards, H. H. Whitfield; 1855, Philip Coker, Philip Gross, W. B. Montgomery. Those admitted on trial, 1844-55: 1851, Plato Hutt; 1852, E. D. Taylor; 1854, Edmund W. Diggs. The list of laymen received during the period is uncertain. The following names appear in the records: James Brown, J. H. Burns, John A. Clarke, C. Douglass, N. W. Finley, H. R. Gibson, R. Gross, C. Harris, S. D. Herring, W. W. Johnson, G. Loyd, D. C. McFarland, W. Russel, C. H. B. Scotland, G. L. Seymour, A. H. Strauss, F. J. Thompson, W. H. Urbeck, S. B. Webster.

† See p. 176.

‡ For biography of Francis Burns see p. 176*n.* During the years of his indenture he was permitted to attend school during the winter season. When called to preach his education was insufficient, and there appeared to be no field in which he might labor. When the way opened, however, he felt unwilling to enter it; but possessing an unquenchable thirst for knowledge, he employed all his efforts to obtain an education. He was advised by David Terry to take a special course of study in preparation for missionary service in Liberia. In 1834 it was arranged that he should accompany John Seys to Liberia as a missionary teacher. He served efficiently as a teacher in Monrovia Seminary. An acquaintance said that he had earned the affection and respect of all who came to know him, and especially of those privileged to an intimate association with him; that his manner was exceedingly pleasant, and his spirit as kind, sweet, and good as ever beamed from human heart or disposition. He was married to Miss Louisa E. Hazard, who had been educated in the United States by the Board as a teacher for the Girls' Academy at Millsburg. In accordance with his expressed wish his body was returned from Baltimore to Liberia for burial.—Matthew Simpson, Ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism,* pp. 147 f.; *Missionary Advocate,* XXIII (1868), 1 (Jan. 21), 76.

> You send money freely enough but . . . men and women of the right stamp are in higher demand with us than money. . . . One man with the right ring in him will sustain and carry forward successfully a heavier work than half a dozen sleepy, worn-out timid fellows, and with much less expense. To employ the latter, if the former can be had at any price, is working in the face of economy and progress too.[24]

There is no doubt that the small number of Conference members—only eighteen—could hardly be spared from their tasks of maintaining the established work. They had to be inspired to do this and undertake more as well. Under his urgings, during his first year, the Bishop saw actual beginnings made at two or three locations. He told his fellow preachers that such undertakings were "a condition of both our spiritual life and growing usefulness. If we stay here we die." [25]

A mission for the Golas, among whom unsuccessful efforts had been made previously at Morrisburg and Mount Andrew, was projected in 1860, fifty miles beyond Careysburg, which was located fifty miles inland. Tragically, such interior work was held up "for want of funds," as also the "Threo and Little Bassa Missions" that same year.

Two new missions among natives were authorized by the following Conference, one among the Queah, and the second in the Kru country. The Queah mission became possible through the admission on trial of a member of the tribe, Charles A. Pitman. But at the end of 1864 the Board still indicated its regret that Liberian ministers were "better prepared and more successful as pastors of established Churches in settled communities than as pioneers carrying the Gospel into the dark and dreary regions adjacent to them, and in which heathenism, in its worst forms and fruits, reigns and revels."[26]

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* In 1861 Burns urged Secretary Reid to help secure an endowed chair in theology at the government's Liberia College in order to continue ministerial training.—Francis Burns to J. M. Reid, May 6, 1861.

As for the educational problem the blight had not been removed. In 1861 the Missionary Society published the report that all three high schools were closed "for want of proper teachers" with the result that "our most promising youth have gone into schools belonging to other Churches." Monrovia was reopened the next year with the trial experiment of a native principal, W. F. Burns, a young man who had been educated in America at the Board's expense, but he remained for only a short time. Following the departure of Ann Wilkins, the girls' school had been transferred across the river to White Plains. However, during the furlough of Miss Kilpatrick in 1860 in America the school lost ground under Nathan E. Dixon, her assistant, and its boarding department was discontinued. The White Plains Manual Labor School having waited in vain for a principal had been closed in 1860. Cape Palmas Seminary had been kept open under J. S. Payne and his wife until 1857, and then by H. R. Gibson, who had assisted Horne, and Sarah Simpson, another Negro, a Board missionary. Mrs. Simpson took the responsibility for the primary department. Some training was continued in the Scott schools—some thirty-two in number—but on account of the initial over-enthusiasm for the scheme some disappointment was registered. During this period the Board continued its financial aid in the form of subsidizing education, and by paying the board of outstanding students to be trained as teachers and preachers.[27] Burns realized how difficult it was for the Board to find heads for the seminaries and knew that eventually such leadership must be supplied by the Liberians themselves. By means of reducing his meager budget, he proposed to the Society in New York that $2,000. be deducted annually for the express purpose of educating a half dozen Liberians of promise in United States colleges—an extension of the earlier plan.[28]

There was little in the bleak picture of these years to give encouragement. The appointments actually diminished in number, several stations having failed for one reason or another, with few new places added. Death continued to remove the older and more valuable, experienced workers,* and as yet few recruits were coming from the schools or the mission itself. What discouragement must have been felt when the number of Conference members never seemed to increase! At the 1861 session, for instance, five were received, but "the same number [were] placed on the superannuated list."[29]

The greatest blow to Conference morale came with Burns' failure of health in 1862. A quick trip to the United States in the spring of the following year did not restore his strength, and in April he expired in Baltimore. "Thus ended the career of the man," writes Bishop Willis J. King, "who was probably the greatest leader yet produced by the Methodist Church in Liberia."[30] In a resolution passed by the Board on June 17 it was stated: "Seldom has the Board been favored with more lucid, comprehensive and business like documents from any Superintendent of any of the Missions under our care."[31]

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* Among the more important members who had died were Elijah Johnson (1849), James R. Moore and William H. Payne (1852), Daniel Ware, Sr. (1856), John L. Morris (1858), A. D. Williams (1860), and Samuel F. Williams (1861).

The field was again without episcopal leadership. When General Conference assembled in 1864 it was faced anew with the administration of Liberia. Although the initial edge of enthusiasm for a native Bishop had been dulled, the Church's governing body provided for the election of another Missionary Bishop for Liberia. In January, 1866, the Conference chose its one remaining outstanding leader, J. W. Roberts, who had been unofficially in charge since Burns' death. On June 20, 1866, in St. Paul's Church in New York City, this brother of the first president of the Liberia Republic was consecrated to the episcopacy. "With commendable zeal Bishop Roberts [then] hastened back to his mission, and entered on his work."[32]

While "progress" in the work as most other foreign missions could report it could not be claimed for Liberia, yet withal the state of the Church was considered good, and Roberts clearly indicated satisfaction with it. He reported an increase in 1866 to 249 native members, and 209 native probationers. The total membership, including probationers, was 1,809. An increase in the depth and tone of piety among both preachers and people was evident. "At almost every point within the bounds of the Conference the Lord has been gracious in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, in quickening the Societies, and in the conversion of souls," he wrote in 1869.[33] Although there were two viewpoints on what it meant to extend the work to the natives of the interior—for the Board all Africa lay open to evangelism, and to the Liberian colonists only fifty-mile marches beyond the border of civilization—the limited realists on the field felt that they were doing their best. "When it is understood," wrote Roberts to headquarters in 1866, "that Mount Holly [Mt. Olive], Durbinville, Sinou Mission, Queah Mission, Ammons[ville] Station, Vey and Golah Missions, are directly among the natives, separate and distinct from the civilized settlements, and that members of the Conference are laboring at nearly every one of these points, the impression which seemingly has obtained, that our native brethren are neglected by us, will be removed."[34] All told, several tribes were actually being approached, if only on a small scale, which was a new development.* Besides the tribes he referred to, the Grebos and the Krus were being reached at two or three different places. In the light of what such missions demanded—an ability to communicate in another language, willingness to cope with and not become discouraged by the vagaries of a primitive people; isolation from one's family and no support to speak of—Liberia was probably doing the best of which she was capable. There was always the shortage of men, and death more than once claimed the volunteer[*] who projected a trek into the interior. There was, however, a decrease in Conference membership. Those available had to spread their ministry further than ever. Words of complaint grated harshly on these men's ears. Roberts, piqued by murmurings, had commented in his official report for 1864:

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* A new center of about sixty people had been opened circa 1863 at Mount Olive. It was on the Marshall Circuit, some twelve miles inland beyond that town. The same year Durbin Station was opened on the Mecklin River as part of the Edina Circuit, to be developed ino a native center, but the preacher died shortly afterward.—*Forty-seventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1865), pp. 88, 90 f., 91.

> If some of us were followed by night and by day to various points of our work, under the blighting rays of a tropical sun, and heavy dews and rain, I am sanguine some who now question would exercise sympathy instead of censure.[35]

In 1870 Bishop Roberts made a tour of the Bassa District, accompanied by J. H. Deputie, whom he considered one of his best men. Something of the pioneer American Methodist experience was reflected in his account:

> To sit in a 'dug-out,' (canoe,) twenty inches wide, four or five days successively, propelled by hand-paddles at the rate of three or four miles an hour, then change to walking over prairie lands and the heavy sands of a sea-beach, unfavorably compares with the ease and comfort of steamboat and railway locomotion.

The trip was worth the discomfort, for it reassured him concerning the general state of the work at the points he visited—Buchanan (Grand Bassa), Ammonsville Station on the St. Paul River, Marshall, Mount Olive, Durbinville, Edina, and Bexley.[36]

The continuing failure to establish a school system which would produce future workers constituted one of the chief drawbacks to the mission's growth. The record of day schools in continuous operation during Bishop Roberts' administration was indeed poor, and the other institutions were not prospering either.[†]

Since the schools were producing almost no recruits, few men were received into Conference from the field. Roberts' son joined the ranks and doubtless a few others raised in Christian homes, and a few who had been selected and supported by the General Missionary Committee in New York for this specific purpose, but the United States had to continue to be the mainstay for missionary personnel.[‡]

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[*] For example, Beverly R. Wilson who served as an adviser (1864); a "Brother Wilkinson" (1864); and J. D. Holly (1866).

[†] From 1866 to 1877 the total number of schools never rose beyond fifteen from the initial figure of ten. At different times a school would be reported as suspended. At its peak number there were, all told, only about 450 students (1872 statistics). The seminary at Monrovia had declined in influence by 1865. The White Plains Girls' Seminary was still open in 1865 under Nathan E. Dixon but described as not up to old standards. The Cape Palmas Seminary alone was "in good condition," in the hands of J. A. Tuning from the Monrovia Seminary. But in 1876 it was referred to as a "seminary day school" and had only sixty students.

[‡] The annual report for Liberia, 1864, states: "Our chief supply of men for the work in Liberia has come from America." (*Forty-sixth Ann. Rep. M.S.* [1864], p. 84.) The *Minutes* are not available for every year of the period, and in many cases are incomplete. Twenty-six men received into Conference membership during 1856-75 were: 1856, Samuel F. Williams; 1859, Thomas Fuller, Nasey D. Russ; 1860, Daniel Ware, Jr.; 1861, Charles A. Pitman, Thomas E. Dillon, John C. Lowrie, James Thompson; 1864, J. D. Holly, Jefferson Campbell, Henry E. Fuller; 1865, J. H. Deputie; 1867, James R. Moore; 1868, J. M. Montgomery; 1869, W. P. Kennedy, Jr., Lewis R. Roberts; 1870, Hardy Ryan; 1871, Horatio B. Capehart; 1872, Charles H. Harmon, George J.

With illness and death ever taking their toll, it is understandable that the Conference membership stood at only twenty in 1877, only three more than a decade earlier. Church membership did increase, though at a snail's pace, until it passed the two thousand mark in 1875, with thirty-three churches open for services.

The Liberia Conference in 1875 was scheduled to meet at Greenville on January 28. Roberts came to Monrovia early in the month and hired a boat to take members down the coast to the appointed town. The vessel, however, was stranded, and the session was transferred to Monrovia.

> The bishop had been for months in failing health, and by the time conference convened he was unable to meet with them, and two days afterward . . . he departed in holy peace, with the entire conference at his bedside.[37]

By and large, Roberts did well. More than once, a feeling of hope and trust in him could be read in the *Annual Reports.* During his administration, Liberia had been granted, along with other Mission Conferences in 1868, full status as an Annual Conference.

At the beginning of 1876 the Conference had five Districts, with a total of twenty-one appointments.*

BISHOP HAVEN'S VISIT AND CONFERENCE MATURITY

The question of choosing a successor for Bishop Roberts came before the 1876 General Conference. The Bishops, in their address, as earlier noted,† held an adverse opinion of Liberia's development under a continued missionary episcopacy. It appeared to them "that the Church ought to do either more or less for that field" and advised that one of their number make a tour of inspection. Nor were the General Missionary Committee and Board pleased with the condition of the mission. Over the past few years the committee had been decreasing the appropriation. In 1873 the Board had stated:

> The policy of the Society for many years past has been one of retrenchment in appropriating for Liberia. After large expenditures, long continued, the return seemed to be discouragingly small. With a whole continent of heathenism behind the Church in Liberia, there seemed to be far too little of missionary enterprise in its members, and but slow approaches were being made toward becoming self-sustaining. Year by year, under these and other dampening influences, the appropriations . . . [had] been reduced, until from some $35,000 they had fallen to $8,500 in currency.[38]

Hargraves; 1874, J. P. Artis, W. T. Hagan, Joseph Harris, Peter Wright; 1875, Henry W. Lucas, Charles Cummings.

* *Monrovia District:* (1) Monrovia; (2) Robertsport (Vai); (3) New Georgia and Penqua; (4) Ammonsville (Marbar); (5) Vai Mission. Two of the oldest appointments, Heddington and Robertsville (Queah) had been discontinued as a result of a too rigid itinerant system. *St. Paul River District:* (1) St. Paul River Circuit; (2) Millsburg and White Plains (reduced to Circuit status); (3) Bensonville and Queah Mission; (4) Arthington. *Bassa District:* (1) Buchanan; (2) Bexley and Edina Circuit; (3) Mount Olive (Bassa); (4) Marshall; (5) New Hope (Beah); (6) New Cess. *Sino District* (where the natives were mostly Krus): (1) Greenville; (2) Louisiana and Sino Mission; (3) Lexington; (4) Butaw. *Cape Palmas District* (work among Grebo natives): (1) Mount Scott and Tubman Town; (2) Grebo Mission.—*Fifty-eighth Ann. Rep. M.S.* (1876), p. 35.

† See pp. 171-72 for discussion of this decision.

As a result of this general state of mind, no new Bishop was elected. Instead, Bishop Gilbert Haven was commissioned to survey the field and convene the Conference. On December 16, 1876, he arrived in Monrovia for a forty-six-day visit of the country. The Bishop, though a warm friend of the Negro, could be objective and his judgment was critical:

> These brethren having enjoyed for twenty years the blessing of a diocesan episcopacy . . . have had one luxury which attends that blessing—plenty of time for every subject to be more than fully considered. . . . Our brethren here have been lapped in foreign benevolence so completely that they are almost like swathed limbs, powerless for use. American prejudice, called conscience, has lavished its abundance upon them. They have never been required to walk alone. The very stationery to supply the secretary has been charged to the Missionary Board. It was so charged this year, as well as the canoe sent out to summon the members to Conference.[39]

He also found that the cost of traveling from place to place, and the small scale of the work at some points, led the Presiding Elders to settle down as stationed preachers, and the stationed preachers as settled pastors. These faults he condoned somewhat, by adding that the same pampering[*] given Liberians by the Methodists was also extended by other denominations.

It was time for reform. Under his prodding, the Conference rose to take their responsibilities more seriously.

> They responded heartily to the new order, appointed committees on Freedmen's Aid and Church Extension, and other causes that have risen and flourished since they became an episcopal district, set off practically from the rest of the Church. . . . While thus cognizant of the new order of things in the Church in America, they were not negligent of the order demanded for the Church in Liberia. Committees on education, on divorce, on the extension of the work, on temperance, and other such themes . . . created the most enthusiasm and the warmest discussion.[40]

Acting on one of Haven's recommendations the parent Society next year reduced Liberia's appropriation to $5,000. so that the churches at Monrovia, Sino, Bassa, and Harper would be thrown on self-support.

Also as a result of Bishop Haven's visit a plan was again projected to resuscitate Monrovia Seminary, which had been closed since about 1866 for lack of a suitable leader. Royal Jasper Kellogg of the Wyoming Conference was sent out by the Board as principal, as was also "a colored man of classical attainments" to assist him. Further, the Board agreed to furnish the school with books and other equipment. These appointees sailed in April, 1878.

Finally, Haven considered the possibility of beginning a new interior mission around Boporo on a large scale, and sent Charles A. Pitman, one of the more adventurous men, to prospect.

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[*] Toward the end of Roberts' oversight, one senses in his reports a self-satisfaction with the conduct of the Liberia Conference. It certainly had established a routine existence for itself and less urgency was felt for growth and extension. As a Conference it had settled down and accepted its limitations, depending on funds with which it was supplied. When criticism came from overseas, the sharp reply was: "untie our hands" with money, and then we shall go forth.—*Fifty-sixth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1874), p. 46.

The 1877 Annual Conference reported a membership of 2,488 members, the largest ever, and this despite the fact that immigration from America—which brought in Methodists—had almost entirely ceased.

For the next several years the Conference assembled without a Bishop, each time choosing one among their number to preside according to the *Discipline*. The Districts remained about the same as in the past, as did the appointments, with a few old centers dropped and a large number of new outstations and Circuit points substituted.* The Sino and Bassa Districts alternated in existence, being sometimes combined with other Districts. C. A. Pitman was annually named Presiding Elder of the Monrovia District, Daniel Ware of the St. Paul River District, and C. H. Harmon of the Cape Palmas District.

Through regulation of funds in New York by the General Missionary Committee, as noted, the larger Societies were put on their own resources. The procedure of the committee was unusual and did not leave the churches entirely happy. To a degree petulance played a part, since a feeling of being stepchildren began to grow: no episcopal visit, no Bishop of their own; everywhere increased interest in Africa, but for Liberia constantly reduced appropriations. Meeting in January, 1880, the Conference took "incipient measures toward an independent organization." [41] The step, however, had to be approved by the Church membership, and the Board at home learning of the situation used the time required for polling to explain its policy and allay ruffled feelings. To the relief of both the Board and the Conference the matter was settled by the time of the next session, and the Conference with a little embarrassment tried to dissociate itself from the movement.

Under Kellogg's direction Monrovia Seminary had again become the hope of the Conference. He saw that the building was put in good repair and that the school offered high-level training. Other high schools and those giving practical instruction had long since been discontinued. By 1880, though, Kellogg was back in the United States, and a successor, R. P. Hollett, on his way to replace him.

The 1881 session had a modicum of new life. The Conference itself adopted a plan of assessing the stations in order to sustain the work established. Besides, new native work was recommended—a permanent station in the Vai country on a manual-labor system, new work among the Pessahs and Golas in the Queah region of St. Paul River District, and the reopening of Durbinville in the Bassa District. The interest in native work was doubtless related to the political situation in Liberia at the time. A series of bad wars with independent tribes had led the government to try a policy of conciliation in order eventually to incorporate them within the nation.

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* Among the new places were Settra Kru under the native Kru, Charles Cummings; Garraway, Bendu, Hartford, Fortsville, Farmasetta, Bullemtown, and King Joseph's Town.

The previous year the Board had authorized Hollett to close Monrovia Seminary at his discretion and pioneer either the country beyond Liberia, or the Niger and Schadda, or even both regions, as a prospect for "a new Africa mission." He came to the Conference with an account of his explorations and the report he had made on a visit to New York upon their completion. He had chosen the Niger River. From his experience he advised a *"system of missions,"* that is, a chain connecting civilization with the deep hinterland lest the missionary be cut off. He saw serious deterrents to a single mission:

> A stranger, attempting to reach the interior, would be subject to repeated detentions by the intermediate tribes, though probably a missionary regularly journeying back and forth would soon be able to avoid them. The repeated subdivision of the tribes makes tribal wars frequent, in which the paths are cut off, and the absence of regularly-executed laws would expose his property to the cupidity of the natives.
>
> The ill-concealed hostility of the Liberian Government, the vicinity of a nominally Christian people of immoral practices, the constant exaction of oppressive "dashes," the unfortunate custom of some of the early missionaries of hiring the natives to attend church and school, the difficulties of transportation, and the unreliability of the promises of native kings, would all increase the barriers in the way of establishing a mission in this part of Africa.[42]

Nothing further was done. Hollett had intended making a trip into the Mandingo country, also, but the rainy season and bad health, not to mention native wars in progress, made him cancel his plans. He returned home instead, not resuming the seminary principalship.

The death of J. S. Payne occurred during the 1882 session. For two terms he had been president of the republic; for forty years he had served the mission. In 1880 he had been delegate to the General Conference, and he had presided over the last Annual Conference. Others of the early force, the strong, devoted, and capable men, were dropping by the wayside. Charles Cummings and James R. Moore had both died during the year.[43] Too few were replacing them—only nineteen ordained men were present in 1882.

St. Paul River District under Daniel Ware surged ahead in an extraordinary fashion in 1883. An out-and-out evangelistic program was conceived at Careysburg and Bensonville.

> They . . . banded themselves together as a visiting missionary corps of some twenty-five or thirty, and, as an army terrible with banners, . . . [went] through a scope of country ten or more miles in circuit, visiting towns and villages of Golahs and Pessahs, striking them with terror and awe.

The *greegrees* and fetish men and women who crowded the services were so moved they laid down their charms and turned to the Gospel.[44]

Such small triumphs cheered the march of the Liberian Church. Giving increased, occasionally by leaps and bounds, as in 1884, when $5,477. (over a previous $399.) was collected for building and improving churches and parsonages; and $1,800. (over an earlier $215.) for clearing old debts.[45]

The Liberia Conference in its own way was now functioning satisfactorily. It was conducting its annual session in a well-regulated fashion, and it was reaching natives, freed captives, and immigrants who settled within the bounds of the republic. Some faithful workers had been raised up. Membership increased. Self-support had been initiated. Temperance was introduced, and greatly advanced through the labors of the well-known Negro evangelist Amanda Smith who began a visit in 1883. While not an inspired work Methodism was at least rooted. Perhaps no future could be expected on a greater scale, but there was no reason to expect retreat either.

A NEW FORCE ENTERS

Bishop Haven's visit to Liberia bore still other fruit besides a revitalization of the Church. Up to this time, the W.F.M.S. had taken no concrete action in extending its ministry to women of the dark continent. The Board had, of course, as has been noted, sent out a number of women from the opening of the mission to 1857, when the sending of white missionaries ceased.*

The W.F.M.S. first considered Africa when an application from the field for "female workers" was received in 1872. Its Committee on New Work favored action "in view of the prospect of interesting and affiliating the African Church in this country." This is significant inasmuch as the recommendation came from Baltimore where relations between Negro and white churches were always under discussion, and where the Negro church was strong.[46] By 1874 the Society felt the time had come to act, though on a small scale—the support of a native teacher in the Bassa District. The Baltimore Branch undertook this project, appropriating that year $200. for a school in "Bixby" (Bexley).[47]

Correspondence on further needs was begun, also, with the secretary of the Liberia Conference. Nothing more was entered upon until 1877, up to the time Bishop Haven, accompanied by Secretary J. T. Gracey, made his tour. Stirred by a sense of duty, one of the W.F.M.S. members went to consult the returned visitors on what more should be undertaken. A letter, besides, from James H. Deputie of the Conference helped point to the needs. He wrote:

> The parent Missionary Society made a failure, in the early days of missions, by not getting girls and training them, in a country like this, where polygamy is practiced to such a fearful extent. The boys we raise will go to their people and to their kin to take their wives . . . . To secure a piece of land and establish a

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* They were Sophronia Farrington, Ann Wilkins, Laura Brush, Maria E. B. Staunton, Caroline Brown, and Margaret Kilpatrick. Miss Staunton's career was brief. Miss Brown married James S. Payne, outstanding member of Conference, and died a few years later, and Miss Kilpatrick after continual attacks of fever died in New York in 1865.—Frank Mason North, "The Missionary-Minded Women of Methodism," ms., in Board of Missions Library, p. 36.

> Home for the education of females, is the thing we greatly need. Let them be placed under the care of a good governess with assistants; let the teachers take the entire control of the children and place them under strict discipline, and the future will tell wonders on the redemption of Africa. To build a house and send out teachers will cost your Society a considerable sum of money, . . . yet I am convinced this is the most efficient plan that can be adopted to bring out beneficial results. Your school at Bexley is doing a good work as far as it goes, and so with all others established on a similar basis; but the great demand just now is training institutions to qualify teachers for the native work.[48]

Whether for financial or other reasons, Deputie's suggestion was not acted upon. What the Society did do was to contemplate the sending of a missionary of its own. At the executive meeting in Minneapolis in 1877, $500. was appropriated for the establishment of work. The next year $1,500. was appropriated provisionally, but still a way did not open. While the women were thus hesitating, the Missionary Society itself settled upon a woman candidate to teach at Monrovia Seminary and arranged for her transportation early in 1879. This was Mary A. Sharpe.* Spurred by this action, the W.F.M.S. concluded that this was more rightly their province and arranged to take the financial responsibility for her support.[49]

Mary Sharpe was a woman of courage and indomitable will, and challenging work was her meat and drink. Not being needed immediately at the seminary she sought out the Krus † in their settlements near Monrovia, and soon had under construction a bamboo church, which was also to serve as a schoolroom. She wrote that although to most people it seemed impossible that the Krus would let their girls come to school they came and continued to come.

Before long, she was on a trip up the Niger to investigate the possibilities of interior work. After going some distance inland, she chose a future site. Writing of the habits of the natives there, she reported: "Polygamy is common; human sacrifices are offered, especially on the death of a leading man; in every town the slaves outnumber the free people, and cannibalism is practiced." Despite their primitive state, she found them friendly, interested in improvement, and desirous of teachers and preachers. She then returned to her station near Monrovia to continue work among the Krus, while hoping for a replacement to free her.[50]

A second W.F.M.S. missionary was sent out in March, 1880. This was

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* Mary A. Sharpe (1837-1914) was born in Elmira, N. Y. She was for many years engaged in missionary work among the freedmen. Bishop Gilbert Haven influenced her to go to Liberia. She was sent there by the Board in 1879 and transferred to the Philadelphia Branch of the W.F.M.S. shortly afterward. She worked with the Krus near Monrovia, 1879-83, and built a school and chapel for them. In 1887 she was authorized to build a school on the seminary grounds in Monrovia. For many years she maintained a more or less nominal relationship to organized Methodism in Liberia, but finally withdrew as "she chafed under institutional restraint of any kind." "Although Miss Sharpe was fiercely independent, and for most of her life, unorthodox in her methods of work, she symbolized, in a large way, the type of missionary heroism inspired by Bishop Taylor." She died in Liberia and was buried in Monrovia cemetery, not in the section reserved for missionaries but in a humbler part among her dearly beloved Africans.—W. J. King, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 f.

† For further information on this tribe see pp. 896 f.

Emma Michener,* who was probably as mild in temperament as Mary Sharpe was bold. But her dedication could not have been less, nor her courage. At first, she taught in Monrovia Seminary, but soon transferred to Bassa, eighty miles south along the coast. Two attacks of African fever so debilitated her that for months she was at death's door. She, too, made a trek into the interior, alone, except for her bearers, to seek a site for a mission,

> swung in a hammock, carried by nude savages through dense forests and thick jungles, or supported on their heads as they wade[d] waist-deep across large rivers; twelve miles from even a civilized Negro, and fifty miles from the only two other white persons in Monrovia, right out among the natives . . . .[51]

She began a school at Bassa, quickly assembling forty-two children including six boarders. The natives were so pleased to have her with them that they agreed to put up a building without cost to the Society. It was to be ready for use in January of 1882, but on December 11, 1881, she lay dying aboard a steamer bound for Monrovia. Another attack of fever had suddenly seized her. As a means of recovery a sea voyage was undertaken but the trip was useless. So was given another life to Africa's redemption.† Her devoted people wrote twice to the W.F.M.S. begging for another laborer among them, offering the same generous terms of free mission property and building. Unfortunately, the opening was never filled.

In the meanwhile, Mary Sharpe's decided opinions and independent methods were becoming a source of dissatisfaction. Some felt that her endeavors among the Krus would lead to naught because of their unsettled state and wandering proclivities. The Missionary Society did not favor her retention on the field and so the W.F.M.S., after consulting with the Bishops and missionary authorities, decided to recall her at the end of 1883. The Society, however, failed to reckon with Mary Sharpe's independent spirit. The official records concerning her stop with the letter of recall in 1883, but Mary Sharpe went on. Having started work, more or less on her own, she continued it for years. Bishop Haven considered her to be "second to none in ability to organize and carry on mission work successfully." Bishop Taylor organized a church of over twenty Kru men in 1887 who spoke of her as "their heroine missionary." [52]

The death of Emma Michener ended for the time being the participation of the W.F.M.S. in Africa missions. Perhaps the fact that Bishop Taylor reached the Africa scene about this time and was highly successful in recruiting women may have entered into the decision.

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* Emma Michener (?-1881) was sent to Liberia by the Philadelphia Branch at her own request, after an attempt had been made to persuade her to choose a less rigorous field. She had been a successful teacher at a school for Negro children in Philadelphia, and had also given valuable assistance to the home missionary employed in her city. "Uncomplaining and persevering, systematic and enthusiastic, with great faith and courage, and a strong will, Miss Michener seemed peculiarly qualified by character and discipline for successful work in this difficult field [Liberia]."—Mrs. S. L. Keen, "In Memoriam—Miss Emma Michener," *Heathen Woman's Friend,* XIII (1882), 9 (March), 200-203.

† Hers was an exceptional kind of faith, a complete surrender of self to what she believed to be the will of God. She had utmost trust in God's design for her life. When shipwrecked on her way to Africa, she faced death without a qualm, telling herself: "I thought God had called me to go to Africa; but if He wants me to go up from a watery bed tonight, all is well."—Frances J. Baker, *The Story of The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society . . . ,* p. 396.

Boporo Mission

The thought of Africa's spiritual darkness plagued the Missionary Society. Despite the Board's constant goading of the Conference and its defensive replies, the facts remained unaltered. Since the 1840's Livingstone had been penetrating the deepest mysteries of the continent. He began what was his final expedition in 1866. Five years later Stanley set out on his famous search for him. The world outside was alive with interest and speculation. Other expeditions were being organized, especially by Germans. The last indication the Board had had of Liberia's intention to break through the bounds of civilization had been heard in 1869, and it was only a paper plan. Bishop Roberts wrote at that date:

> We have on the ground a young man of respectable literary advantages, a probationer of one year's standing in our Annual Conference, who expresses much anxiety to go out into the interior and labor among the natives. I have determined to send him, believing such a move will meet your approval, to Bofrova [Boporo], the capital of the Condo Country, over one hundred miles distant, to select a mission station, and he will in all probability leave some time in December. He will return and report prospects before a final determination, although I have not the least doubt of his success.[53]

That the trip was made we have found no record. In any event no action was taken. This would have had little significance if the time had not been otherwise ripe for a great advance.

From Liberia itself came a call to action in 1872, but not from the Conference:

> Some most eminent Liberian statesmen and Christians addressed the Board on the subject of missions into the interior, and the General Missionary Committee appropriated $10,000 to begin such a work, but required the money to be administered from . . . [the U.S.], and the work . . . placed under the supervision of Bishop Janes.[54]

The Board replied to Liberia's call that it would do all in its power to open the mission at the earliest day, but at the meeting of the General Missionary Committee the next year Bishop Janes announced he had not found a suitable man for Superintendent and therefore the appropriation was not renewed. There the matter stood until 1876, the Conference in the meantime passing resolutions on the necessity of undertaking such a mission, the desirability of the Board financing a "Missionary Training Institute for Interior Work," and the like, but taking no initiative on their own.

Bishop Haven's visit in 1876-77 became the occasion for making a decisive move. On Haven's motion C. A. Pitman,* the native boy who had made good, was sent into the Boporo country to explore it again, "with a view to reentering it." † Dr. E. W. Blyden of the Presbyterian Mission, who had made one exploratory trip into the hinterland in 1872, Pitman, and a company of others began the trek. Pitman fulfilled his assignment, making preparation for the establishment of a mission at Boporo itself, a village of fifteen hundred permanently settled inhabitants. "We found the King and people very well disposed toward our mission," Pitman wrote in his diary, "they seemed anxious to have Christian schools in their country." The King of Boatswain, son of the earlier king who had been so cooperative in the mission's early days, and his people had "no sympathies with Mohammedanism, but rather regard[ed] themselves as committed to Christianity by their ancestors, who bound them in their last wills and instructions not to receive Mohammedanism, but to receive, embrace, and foster Christianity." [55]

Men had been found at last, by means of a public notice, to undertake the "Intro-African Mission." Even at the time of reporting C. A. Pitman was serving as Superintendent *pro tem.* As though providentially, Joel Osgood of the Ohio Conference for years had wanted to go to Africa, at his own expense if need be. He still wanted to go and was still available. The Board obtained passage for him on the Liberia for January 2, 1878. Shortly afterwards, it selected Melville Young Bovard of the South-East Indiana Conference as Superintendent. At its meeting later in the year, the General Missionary Committee appropriated $2,500.

From the start, the mission seemed ill-fated. Old King Jimmy went back on his word and the promised grant of mission premises did not materialize. An open hand for "dashes" nonetheless was only too visible. A contest between integrity and corruption ensued, which ended in an economic boycott of the missionaries. A scourge of smallpox finally drove the two men out of Boporo. After having retreated town by town, Osgood and Bovard paused at Muhlenburg for rest and consideration of the situation. Kellogg also was at Muhlenburg for physical recuperation and joined the men in consultation. It was decided that Bovard go to New York and make a personal report.[56] Osgood stayed on awaiting final action. For the time being Boporo was abandoned and he used his time to scout for a more receptive town. Numerous requests for schools were presented and numbers of children promised. Fearing bankruptcy, he did not dare to begin even one school before the more urgent demands of establishing a mission center had been met. Eventually he settled upon a site some seventy-five miles from the Liberian border and there engaged in evangelistic work and teaching. In reporting in 1880, Osgood had only the handicaps to relate: minor attacks of illness, and interruptions caused by a raging war. Meanwhile the Board, having heard Bovard's report, decided not to send him back.

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* John Seys, while on a trip to Heddington in 1838 to make a pastoral visit, lost his way and was brought to safety by a little boy of the Aneah tribe. With the consent of the parents, Seys brought the youngster into the mission family at Monrovia, named him Charles A. Pitman, and saw that he received a thorough education. When Seys left the country Pitman came under the guidance of B. R. Wilson and was taught by Ann Wilkins. He was converted as a child and received his first license to preach in 1856. In 1862 he was received as a member of the Conference and served as Presiding Elder for twenty-four years. Over the years he served as minister, educator, captain of the first Liberian volunteer company which he himself organized, member of the national legislature, and judge. He was "one of the greatest orators of [the] Methodist Episcopal pulpit." He died in 1892.—*Minutes, Liberia Conference,* 1893, pp. 49 ff.

† The Church had tried to found a mission there thirty-nine years earlier. See Vol. I, 337, 339.

Before the conclusion of two more years, Osgood, having been almost fatally stricken with disease, was on his way home. The Society again was faced with defeat. "Experience has forced upon our Society," wrote the Secretaries, "the conclusion that no attempt at interior work is likely to be successful without the employment of larger force in the way of missionary colonization, perhaps by a gradual system of approach." Doubtless influenced by Osgood's account, they concluded that "the unreliability of the different tribal chiefs . . . where no dominant power exists, and the impossibility of protecting . . . a single missionary family or a small missionary property from their rapacity" was too much to overcome. The mission was not resumed. Another large investment had been made for naught.[57]

New Era for Liberia

When the 1880 General Conference assembled, the exploration and entry of Africa was a live topic. To the Church, Liberia—faltering and without a Bishop—was very much a problem. Despite the fact that a petition was brought to the Conference from the Liberians asking for another Bishop, no action was taken. How much William Taylor, missionary to India and the South America West Coast, who was present as a lay delegate from South India, had to do with this verdict is not clear, but the fact remains that he was consulted, and gave an opinion which was to have a far-reaching effect. "It is no use to elect a bishop for Liberia," he said,

> Liberia is a very unfortunate approach to Africa, being hedged in by hostile and warlike nations, and cannot be made an acceptable gateway to the continent. If you could find some man like Livingstone, who would open up Africa, it would be wise to elect such a man, but otherwise it is useless to send a man to live there in episcopal service.[58]

Four years later, by a strange chain of events—which some considered providential—Taylor was himself chosen by General Conference to be the Methodist Livingstone.* Within twenty-four hours he was consecrated as

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* On May 12 the Bishops in answer to a request submitted their opinion in a formal statement that "it would not be wise . . . to fix Episcopal residences in India, Europe, and Africa." On May 15 the Liberia delegate, Daniel Ware, arrived at Conference, seemingly too late to represent the cause of missionary episcopacy. He was urged, nonetheless, to speak on the subject, and seek a way to reopen the question. The way came, apparently, for on May 17 the Committee on Episcopacy presented a report which recommended by a "unanimous" vote the "election of a Missionary Bishop for Africa" (p. 312). Other interests were at work, however. Daniel Curry, chairman of the committee, was concerned to see a southern Negro elected to the episcopacy. Along with other nominations Stephen Olin proposed Taylor. A storm of enthusiasm followed. Though efforts were made to postpone the vote beyond the next day, they were overruled, and Taylor was elected by a wide margin.—*G. C. Journal*, 1884, pp. 179, 248, 312. See also M. S. Collins' account of the events as quoted in William Taylor, *Story of My Life . . .* , pp. 692-93, 695.

Bishop of Africa, with two assignments—the oversight of Liberia and the penetration of the continent.

Without delay Taylor began preparations for his new task. First, he felt that he had to have a corps of missionaries who would commit themselves wholeheartedly to his self-supporting system and go where they were led. Before the end of the year he had assembled some thirty men and women volunteers, with about a dozen children. Next, to help finance the undertaking, he turned to the Transit and Building Fund Committee, which had been active for some time in supporting his South America West Coast work. Then he determined his plan of action. Taking with him some members of the group he would go first to Liberia to convene the Conference and visit a few of the chief centers. Some of the party would later join him at Cape Palmas, and still others would go to the point he designated for his entry into the interior, the city of Luanda (St. Paulo de Loanda), Angola.[59]

On January 29, 1885, the Liberia Conference once again met under its own Bishop. Taylor found a membership of thirty preachers and fifty Local Preachers. There were twenty-eight churches and twenty-nine Sunday schools. A little under $1,800. was being given annually to support pastors and Presiding Elders. The Missionary Society was continuing an annual appropriation of $2,500. The status of the work had not changed: it was now considered the "old" work—"dead" work by some—but the very presence of Taylor, and the fact that he was to be permanently at hand as Missionary Bishop, inspired new hope and confidence.

Ten new men were received into membership. Of these, six * were intended for the work which Taylor proposed to inaugurate shortly in Angola among the "raw heathen." Four others were admitted on trial. Eleven were elected and ordained deacons; and seven members and two Local Preachers were ordained as elders. Two were located. During the year Joseph Harris, long-time worker, had died.

Interest in education was revived. Surveying their two remaining seminaries, the Liberians were ashamed to admit that the Cape Palmas building stood "as a mere wreck," and the Monrovia building in need of major repairs. A petition was sent to the Board for financial aid for carpentry work, and also for the sending of another principal to Monrovia Seminary. A special Committee on Education was set up to inaugurate a system of management, which indicated their readiness to take responsibility.

Under his double commission Taylor had no intention of being a full-time resident in Liberia; rather, he chose to give his supervision by holding the Annual Conferences, at which time he dealt with the needs in a businesslike

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* Dr. W. R. Summers, Levin Johnson, Ross Taylor, the Bishop's son, and Clarence L. Davenport were transferred from their home Conferences; Amos E. Withey was admitted on trial, and Joseph Wilkes was readmitted.

fashion. As might be expected, however, the challenge of initiating new work consumed a good part of his time and energy on his yearly visits.[60]

At the February, 1886, Conference Taylor discussed with Josiah S. Pratt, an inland trader who belonged to the Church, the possibilities of starting industrial missions at his trading posts on the Cavally River, some eighteen miles southeast of Harper. Pratt took up the matter with the chiefs at Tataka and Grebo and received an enthusiastic response. Next year when Taylor returned, ready to make the trip, he found the countryside in a state of excitement bordering on panic because the Half Cavally tribe, who alone had never made peace in the vicinity, were threatening war. A mere threat could not deter the Bishop. Without further ado, he lined up his party and crew, Pratt, Amanda Smith, the evangelist, and her companion, and two Monrovians for interpreters. After a terrifying eight-hour ordeal on March 15 in a surfboat trying to break through the treacherous waters to the river's even flow, they were on their way to the Bush country. This vicinity had been pioneered many years earlier when Seys established the inland station among the Grebos. At each stopping-off point they received a friendly reception and—as is customary in tribal settlements—had to answer the chief's questions of "who they were," "where they were going," and "what for." Upon learning, the tribes in each instance asked for a mission:

> the kings and chiefs insisted on our having a mission palaver. They were entirely unwilling to let us pass them otherwise. So we had an assembly of the kings, chiefs, and people, and the whole plan of an industrial school for 'book and plenty of hard work and God palaver.'
>
> I drew up articles of agreement, binding them to give us all the land we may need for school farms, to help to clear the ground and plant, to carry all the heavy logs for pillars to elevate the mission house six feet above ground, and to carry all the timber for frame, and the plank, shingles, etc., and binding us to send the missionaries, and to do all our part of the agreement.[61]

In order to reach his two destinations he had to arrange, all told, for five other missions among the Bush people.* Though close together, each represented a different tribe, some of which were hostile to others. Inland about twelve miles from the river banks the king of the Grebo tribe had his headquarters. Receiving word of Taylor's near presence, he requested a visit. When the party was about a quarter of a mile from Grebo the big signal drum announced the portentous occasion. Arrangements were made to open missionary work.

Upon returning to Cape Palmas, Taylor planned as his next trip a survey of the Kru coast. The Kru tribes especially interested him, and furthermore appeals had come from them. They were of superior stock, strong, intelligent, and independent. They had never bowed to slavery or dealt in the nefarious trade. Though belonging to many powerful tribes of the interior, a feeling of enterprise had brought large numbers of them to the coast to engage in shipping, hauling, and navigating. A small group had settled near Monrovia, and these were being ministered to by Mary Sharpe, as already noted, and another large body dwelt along the shoreline between the Sino River and Harper. Work had been going on at Settra Kru, the Gilbert Haven Station, earlier. In 1886 one of Taylor's men, Benjamin J. Turner, was placed in charge.

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* Besides Tataka and Grebo, the stations were: Eublica, Yorkey, Beaboo, Bararobo, and Wissika. Five were on the west side of the river and two on the east. On Nov. 6, 1887, Taylor's first white missionaries arrived. After a short stay at Harper, they left for their appointments: Eublica, Ashley and wife; Yorkey, Andrew Ortlip; Bararobo, Hillman and Johnson; Wissika, Horace Garwood; Tataka, the Rev. Dr. Harnet and wife. Mrs. Ashley died within a few months.—Nathan Barnes, "Liberia and the Church, Questions and Answers," typed ms., p. 90, in Board of Missions Library.

Once again Taylor set out in a surfboat. Garraway was the first town reached. This, too, had once been listed as a hoped for outpoint on a Circuit. After a free discussion among the natives, the palaver decided in favor of a mission* and offered him the best location in town.[62]

Among other points† where Taylor called was Sass Town, of which he gives an account in *The Flaming Torch in Darkest Africa.* His plan was acceptable and the groundwork was laid then and there. In order to gain interest through participation, he drew up an agreement that the tribe should supply the land, clear the brush, cut timber for building, and otherwise labor gratuitously. While waiting for an iron house to be delivered from England, he with others pitched in to build an adobe chapel, making the bricks on the spot. In the meantime, he relates,

> we had commenced religious services . . . , preaching a plain Gospel 'short-cut' into the way of salvation. Marvelous results attended these meetings, which developed some striking illustrations of the aptitude of the heathen mind to receive divine truth on the foundation of faith in God implanted in every human breast.
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> * * * *
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> Beginning with the foundation already laid in their hearts by the Holy Spirit, I made a close application of the moral law and emphasized their personal responsibility to God. Had I struck at their tribal customs and immediately denounced polygamy and witchcraft, it would have awakened controversy that would have resulted in an uproar, and possibly our expulsion from their country. Instead of attacking specific sins I have always sounded the savage heart with the plummet of God's truth, and allowed them to make their own application.[63]

A number were converted at Sass Town, and upon departing Taylor assigned K. V. Eckman to take charge. During the two years of his stay—up to his death on October 4, 1890—Eckman not only accomplished a creditable work at Sass Town and was dearly loved, but also opened several substations in the interior which he placed under converted natives. At the time of his death there were almost two hundred members at this station. Mr. and Mrs. John G. Tate continued the work.

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* "Brother Gartner" and "Sister Meeker" were the first appointees. They both died early in 1888. The Misses Agnes McAllister and Clara Binkley, who arrived in Liberia in January, 1889, were then stationed there. Miss McAllister remained for nineteen years. She translated a number of hymns into the Kru language and wrote a book, *The Lone Woman in Africa.*—N. Barnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 f.

† The sources are none too clear as to the date of the founding of the Kru Coast missions and Taylor's statements are ambiguous. He says: "We opened next [following the Cavally stations] a chain of stations on the Kroo coast, Pluky [opposite Harper], Garraway, Grand Sess, Piquinin Sess, Sass Town, Niffoo, Nana Kroo, and Settra Kroo . . . ."—*Story of My Life . . .* , p. 721.

One other station in the Cape Palmas region was resumed in 1888, Barrakka, where work had originally been begun in 1844. In 1890 the Cape Palmas District appeared in the *Minutes* with all the new openings along the Cavally River and the seacoast, a total of fifteen.

Within the Conference bounds still other self-supporting missions were inaugurated. Niffu and Jacktown which had originally been listed in the appointments years earlier were added along the Sino River, and under Taylor's influence others were revived. Ebenezer was an interesting example. It was begun by Zachariah B. Roberts, who for fifteen years had been a Sunday-school superintendent at Greenville. One day in December, 1888, he felt moved to spread the Gospel personally and thereupon set up a small preaching center on the Sino River, building a mission house and chapel. Within a short time he had a school in operation, and an orchard of some six hundred coffee trees. Another interesting sidelight on how missions were begun was the case of the Wah (or War) country appointments among the Bushmen begun in 1890. Thousands of these people had left their homes in the interior and approached the borders of civilization, locating about thirty-five miles from Greenville. They sent word for missionaries and when on a trip J. W. Draper came to them for some weeks in 1889 they begged him to remain, promising both house and chapel.* He was not free to do so, but at the next Conference he asked to be permitted to undertake the mission and was sent.[64]

All the stations opened along the Cavally River in 1887 were still being manned and reporting some success in 1892 when the Cavally Rebellion burst upon the countryside. In addition there were a few other stations of more recent date in the same area: Plebo, 1888; Ideorobo, 1890; Bonika, 1890. At war's outbreak, it was obvious that the missionaries could accomplish nothing among unsympathetic people, and since many Liberian missionaries were recalled by the government to safer areas, this meant the abandonment of Bonika, Bararabo, Grebo, Plebo, and Ideorobo. Some were never reopened.

Though the Presiding Elders' annual reports during the remaining years of this period were cheerful enough, they indicated no unusual development. In a number of places the mission buildings were deteriorating and new roofs were almost constantly in demand, also wood planking for floors to replace bamboo. Finances in the churches were still at the straining point so that if the pastor was to be supported there was no extra money for repairs.

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* Blue Barre, among the Krus, was a similar case. They also appealed to Draper: "come and teach our children; we be old now; we no fita learn book, but we can learn God palava, and our children can learn book." Years before this town, too, had been among the Liberian appointments but had been dropped. In 1890, Kennedy, Presiding Elder of Sino District, reported, "I have visited this place often, and tried hard to get a house erected. Notwithstanding the many faithful promises made by the king, governors, and leading men, I have not as yet succeeded. We must not expect the natives to build houses for us without some remuneration; and they will not work without pay, though they are glad to have us among them."—*Minutes, Africa Conference,* 1891, p. 21.

In the light of the renewed hopes, the educational picture seemed more dismal than ever. Before Taylor arrived, all the day schools but one—a small primary school at Mount Olive—had been given up. Although the Missionary Society met its obligations toward the restoration of Monrovia Seminary, as arranged in 1885, from year to year the building remained unfinished. Despite its condition Bishop Taylor requested in 1887 that Daniel Ware begin classes immediately. Ware, serving as principal, did open a school of sorts, upon which no comment was made. In 1891 word was received by the Board from S. P. Stillman and C. E. Smirl, teachers at Monrovia, "asking that means be furnished for their support, and that the school be made really a Mission school for the education of natives of African tribes." The Board, apparently tired of the whole enterprise, replied that they had transferred the school "into connection with the Self-Supporting work of Bishop Taylor." [65]

In January, 1892, Ware died. Appointed to succeed him was a woman, one of Taylor's people, M. M. Dingman, who took on the job feeling that there was nothing to lose since everyone was already convinced that self-support could not work. She felt encouraged since applications from paying students were coming in but the next year she left and Anna E. Whitfield temporarily filled in. In 1895 A. D. Williams, in whom the Board had no confidence, though Taylor felt otherwise, was in charge. The building still needed repairing.[66]

Cape Palmas Seminary, too, had been closed earlier on account of its dilapidated state. Talk of repairs went on from year to year. Finally, in 1891, William D. Nichols of the Oregon Conference arrived to take charge. By the end of March he had the building in good enough condition to use:

> This is a boarding and day school, the design of the boarding department being especially for the bringing up and the training of young men and women for mission work.
>
> We have arranged to take as Mission resident students fifteen boys, and the same number of girls. The girls, in addition to their usual studies, are taught to cut and fit garments, sewing, many kinds of fancy work, and housekeeping. They are divided into sets, each set being required, under a competent matron, to do one kind of work for one month. . . . The resident boys and young men are required to work two and one-half hours A.M., and one and one-half P.M. . . . None are excluded on account of their poverty or inability to pay tuition in labor or otherwise.[67]

The cost of restoration and equipment amounted approximately to $3,000. Some of this came from voluntary gifts to Taylor's Africa Fund. In an attempt to make the school self-supporting, Nichols was willing to work without salary. Three acres of garden and ten of farm land were in cultivation. He felt that the cost of operation thereby could be kept down to $500. per year. But as in so many other instances, death, no respecter of persons, took away this effective worker. Following his decease early in 1894 the seminary was assigned to Alma Lawson, who soon afterward became Mrs. A. Osborne.[68]

White Plains, former site of Christian training for so many years, was selected once again as a school center in 1894. In the intervening years a farm of two hundred acres had been developed on the property, on self-help lines. E. H. Greeley and his wife were sent out this year by the Missionary Society, on request, to organize a new school among "pure native elements." [69]

Amanda Smith, who had come to Liberia in 1883, made a great impression in the Cape Palmas District, to which she gave most of her time during her eight years' stay. Taylor also found her helpful on his excursion up the Cavally River. Mary A. Sharpe continued to labor with the Krus. At the 1886 Conference she was commended "as a true missionary, a lover of our people," doing "a great and noble work among this tribe of heathen at her own charges." The succeeding Conference voted to "visit her work more than they have done in the past, and assist her more in the . . . [proclamation] of those Gospel truths committed to their trust." [70] From 1890 on her work was included in the appointments.

The proximity of a number of self-support missions to the supported work of the Conference more than once brought about misunderstandings and suspicion. For this reason, Taylor decided in 1892 to offer a number of his centers in the Liberia Conference area to the Missionary Society. The first seven were accordingly transferred in 1893, and the following year he relinquished his remaining work within the bounds of the Conference, while agreeing to continue personal supervision.*

In 1894 there were eight truly native missions in the old Conference area, including Jacktown, at which a large coffee orchard had been planted. The others were: Blue Barre, with a good farm; Wah Country, with a farm; Ebenezer, with a farm; Fortsville, with two hundred acres for future disposal; Pessah, also given over to coffee-growing; Gola, a Circuit of seven small towns; and Vai Mission, near Cape Mount, with twenty acres of coffee trees under cultivation.

The "West Coast" work, that is, the industrial missions of the Cape Palmas District, separately supervised by Presiding Elder John G. Tate, that year included Wissika, with farm and coffee orchard; Eublica, with the same industries; Beaboo, likewise equipped; Barrakka, among the Grebo, also with a farm and plantation; Brooks Station (Pluky), with a nursery mission in the village and a church in Bigtown; Garraway and Sass Town, both with substations; Piquinin Cess; Grand Cess; and Niffu. On each of these stations there was a coffee orchard approaching the age of profitable bearing; and self-support was already established in part from other sources.[71]

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* He offered the Board twenty-six stations, and seven were accepted: Powellville, Monrovia District; Ebenezer, Jacktown, Blue Barre, Wah Country, in Sino District; Fortsville, New Cess, in Bassa District. All hoped to reach entire self-support in three to six years. (*Seventy-fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* [1892], p. 26; *ibid., 75th* [1893], pp. 22 f.) The next year he tendered Wissika, Eublica, Beaboo, Barrakka, Brooks Station (Pluky), Garraway, Piquinin Cess, Grand Cess, Sass Town, and Niffu.—*Ibid., 76th* (1894), pp. 37 f.

THE DISTRICTS IN 1895

Monrovia District, of which T. A. Sims was Presiding Elder, had long contained at Monrovia the most flourishing and prosperous Society in the Conference. Robertsport and Vai Mission had been ravaged by recent wars. At Paynesville a new chapel had been built. Powellville, which had been turned over to the Board in 1893, had an orchard of over five thousand coffee trees and was near self-support. Marshall, New Georgia, and Johnsonville, old appointments, were barely holding their own.

The St. Paul River District,* under W. T. Hagan as Presiding Elder, had nine charges. On the Upper and Lower Caldwell Circuit there were several accessions to membership during the year, including a young Mohammedan woman. The Circuit had two Sunday schools. The Pessah mission farm of more than two hundred acres had a coffee orchard of some five thousand trees which gave promise of assuring full self-support within a few years.

James H. Deputie was Presiding Elder of the Bassa District,† which included twelve charges, a number of them new. The most outstanding of the old stations was Mount Olive which had a good church building, the "Simpson Memorial." At Bexley and Hartford a revival had broken out but as was frequently the case it did not result in any increase in membership. The New Cess mission, opened nearly fifty years earlier, recently had been in the charge of a Local Preacher who built a chapel and several dwellings and cleared enough of the two-hundred-acre farm for a coffee orchard of more than five thousand trees. Mrs. Lucy Sharp, a widow, conducted a large day school of native children. Following the death of the pastor Taylor appointed Mrs. Sharp to the charge.

The Sino District,‡ with James W. Cooper as Presiding Elder, had seven appointments. Of these only three were early mission centers, and the condition of these was not highly encouraging. The other four—former Taylor farms—were barely existing with very limited funds, each with a one-man staff, but an air of hope seemed, nonetheless, to pervade them. Three of the seven reported day schools in operation.

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* *St. Paul River District,* 1895: (1) Virginia and Brewerville Circuit; (2) Upper and Lower Caldwell Circuit; (3) Clay Ashland and Sass Town Circuit; (4) Millsburg, White Plains, and Arthington Circuit; (5) Robertsville; (6) Bensonville and Crozierville; (7) Pessah Mission; (8) Gola Mission; (9) Careysburg and New Land.

† *Bassa District:* (1) Fortsville Mission; (2) Fortsville Station; (3) Hartford Station; (4) Bexley Circuit; (5) Gibboom Station; (6) New Cess Mission; (7) Lower Buchanan Circuit; (8) Paynesbury and Carterstown; (9) Upper Buchanan Circuit; (10) Edina Circuit; (11) Farmington Circuit; (12) Mount Olive Mission.

‡ *Sino District:* (1) Ebenezer Mission; (2) Jacktown Mission; (3) Blue Barre Mission; (4) Wah Country Mission; (5) Louisiana Circuit; (6) Lexington Station; (7) Bluntsville Station.

The Cape Palmas and Cavally River District* listed ten stations. The former Cape Palmas District which years earlier had declined to but one charge, Harper, had become possibly the most flourishing District in the Conference when the "West Coast Missions" in the Kru country, and the Cavally River stations were attached to it. Taylor's mission at Barrakka, in the charge of a woman, Grace White,† was making history. Three substations, manned by natives, were being opened. A new mission house costing $1,000. was going up. A mission farm growing fruits and vegetables and four thousand coffee trees offered sustenance and support. And best of all, spiritually it was an exemplar. One of its Local Preachers by humility and prayer, and with a great fund of courage, had personally brought to an end a war of a hundred years' standing. Some of the Cavally River missions had not held up, but of the eight originally begun, Wissika, forty miles inland; Eublica, at which a nursery school was being maintained by a lone woman whose missionary husband had died; and Beaboo—also under a woman in like circumstances—still remained. The Brooks mission station at Pluky, under Elizabeth McNeal, had acquired a good residence and an iron chapel.

The Conference had at the close of 1894 a membership of forty men, twenty-five of whom were engaged in the old work of the Conference. Fifty-three Local Preachers were also listed. Besides, Taylor claimed that there was "a continually increasing number of native evangelists." The membership, as reported, was 3,364, including 251 probationers. Sunday-school children numbered 2,779. Compared with 1884, growth was evident but not extraordinary, with an increase of over a thousand members, eighty probationers, and six hundred Sunday-school pupils.

In the Kru country, five of Taylor's centers were in existence in 1895. These were Garraway, "manned" by two women, and having two substations under native people; Grand Cess, owning an iron church; Piquinin Cess, under a young Kru and his wife; Sass Town, with three substations forty miles inland; and Niffu, also cared for by a converted Kru. Among the notable accomplishments was the settlement through Christian agency of a fifty-year-long war between Sass Town and Piquinin Cess.[72]

Up to 1895 Taylor had sent to Liberia over fifty missionaries, a large proportion of whom were women.* The Board had sent out during the same years for District work and the schools nineteen men.† This was an increase over the earlier period but as fatalities continued there ever remained a shortage of workers.

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* *Cape Palmas and Cavally River District:* (1) Barrakka Mission; (2) Wissika Mission; (3) Eublica Mission; (4) Beaboo Mission; (5) Brooks Station (Pluky); (6) Garraway Mission; (7) Grand Cess Mission; (8) Piquinin Cess Mission; (9) Sass Town Mission; (10) Niffu Mission.

† Grace White was much opposed by the natives when she began her work among them. She won their trust and affection completely. When she died the kings and headsmen of the surrounding country begged the privilege of carrying her body to the funeral services. The people among whom she worked petitioned that her body be buried near the station and not be taken to the coast or America, saying: " 'Miss White always told us the truth, and she must be buried in our midst, and we want the missionaries to stay and labor among us.' "—W. Taylor, *The Flaming Torch . . .* , pp. 558 f.

WILLIAM TAYLOR IN LIBERIA

While in a sense Taylor did for Liberia what earlier Superintendents, Bishops, and the Conference itself were not able to accomplish (that is, extend the mission to African tribes both within and beyond the nation's domain) he did not substantially improve upon the over-all condition of the already established work. The initial impulse to action he brought to the Conference gradually declined and most of the new undertakings came to naught.

Taken as a whole, his scattered self-supporting missions did not operate on a large scale. Most were manned by one or two persons who tried, giving themselves unstintingly, to manage the hard labor of building, farming, teaching, and preaching. Practically all the centers attempted coffee-growing, and a number had small produce farms as well, specializing in rice, potatoes, sugar cane, and cassava. Some had permanent housing of substantial materials, but a large portion had merely temporary native structures which deteriorated within a few years.‡ At most places day schools and Sunday schools were held, and when at all practicable boarding students were accommodated or else children were adopted by the missionary. At Pluky, for instance, Elizabeth McNeal took a dozen children into her home for teaching and training. In several cases, the work was only temporary in duration, subject to interruption on account of local wars, shortage of funds, or ill health of the person in charge. Conversions did not come about easily. Old habits were ingrained. At Niffu the missionary reported: "They are willing to give up their *greegrees* but they hold tenaciously to their wives." The winning of a king who would lead his people to Christianity was indeed rare, but not impossible. The instance of King Charles Hodge of Bigtown, outside of Cape Palmas, was a noteworthy example.[*]

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* Taylor's missionaries in Liberia, other than single women, were: Mr. and Mrs. B. J. Turner, Z. B. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Ortlip, Horace Garwood, "Revs. Hillman and Johnson," "Rev. and Mrs. Harnet," "Rev. and Mrs. Ashley," "Bro. Gartner," Henry Wright, John R. Ellery, B. F. Kephart, William M. Yancey and Mrs. Assenath Yancey, William A. and Mrs. Warner, Charles Owens, Ernest O. Harris and Mrs. Harris, William Schneidmiller, Clarence Gunnison, Victor Hugo, James B. Robertson, William Hanse, K. V. Eckman, R. C. Griffith, Dan Williams, Hugo Heppe and Mrs. Heppe, Sandy Yancey and Mrs. Elizabeth R. Yancey, Mr. and Mrs. Cerinthus Gibson, John G. Tate and Mrs. Tate, Boston and Mrs. Betty Tubman, John Miner, John Smith, J. M. Thompson, W. C. Tuning and Mrs. Angie Tuning, S. J. Tim, William D. Nichols, Lyman M. Sharper, and Thomas Stacy.

† In the years 1885-95 arrivals were: 1885, J. W. Bonner, J. W. Draper, F. C. Holderness, A. H. Watson, John W. Early; 1887, C. B. McLain, J. D. A. Scott, P. E. Walker, A. L. Sims; 1888, J. E. Clarke; 1890, I. N. Holder; 1891, M. D. Collins; 1893, J. N. Roberts, J. J. Powell, A. F. Nimmo; 1894, Hamilton C. Russ, Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Greeley; 1895, D. L. Harris and H. H. Evans.

‡ As Taylor was able to do so, he replaced these native structures with "ant-proof" houses.

Taylor's industrial missions were, for the most part, based on coffee-raising, a crop he felt would be so successful that within a few years it would begin to repay all the mission expenses. For each new station—if at all possible—he supplied several hundred young scions.[†] And in one instance, at least, he experimented with cattle-raising, importing a number of Short Horn cattle which he placed at Jacktown, twenty miles inland on the Sino River. This of course was Taylor's answer to the problem of self-support. The directly religious element of his missions was a system of evangelization based on conversion of the young through isolation in a Christian environment, the nursery missions. Finances limited this phase. If Taylor had not been able to enlist a number of women of courage and ability, who were not afraid to stay alone and did not mind the utter isolation, he could not have put it into practice at all. A tremendous amount of credit must be given to these women,[‡] some of whom put in years of service.

Bishop Taylor's Penetration of the Continent

While the challenge of Liberia undoubtedly appealed to Taylor, with still more enthusiasm he approached the other half of his episcopal commission—the penetration of the continent with the Christian message. In 1880 the German explorers Paul Pogge and Hermann von Wissmann had set out to study the southern basin of the Congo. Wissmann continued into the heart of the continent, the Bashilange country, in 1883. That area then became Taylor's goal.

A party of forty-four recruits[§] including families with children had been enlisted and while awaiting their arrival in Liberia Taylor made a few months' tour of the Conference's west coast. At the same time he planned his approach to the interior. Studying his map, he concluded that the Portuguese province of Angola, two thousand miles down the west coast of the continent from Liberia, would offer the most direct route to the interior. Rather than choose a waterway such as the Congo, unnavigable at the time in many places, he decided to go straight east, across land for the most part, to the Kasai River, a tributary of the Congo which flowed in a north-south direction.

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[*] As Taylor recounts it: "The first time I saw him I preached to him for a solid hour as he sat on the floor of his mud hut; and although he admitted the truth of all I said he was unwilling to give up his evil practices. . . . I sent to a suburb of his big town a lady missionary from Oregon, Miss Lizzie [McNeal], who adopted a number of children before they had become heathen. and they were soon witnesses to the saving grace of the Lord Jesus. Then with her little family of about twenty children she held open-air meetings under a breadfruit tree, and he and his chiefs were soon attracted to them. Her method was to read and explain the Scriptures and then give her converted children a chance, one by one, to give their testimony before their heathen neighbors. . . . A great revival resulted, during which the king, several of his chiefs, and a number of his people were converted to God." The king put up a chapel and himself became preacher in charge.—*The Flaming Torch* . . . , pp. 457 f.

[†] The idea was sound, but a scourge from India hit Africa's coffee orchards which ended the hopes of that continent as chief supplier. The Western hemisphere then became the chief producer.

[‡] The women in Taylor's Liberian work, other than missionary wives, were: Elizabeth McNeal, Mrs. Meeker, Barbara Millard, Rose Bowers, Anna E. Whitfield, Agnes McAllister, Clara Binkley, Ann Beynon, Georgiana Dean, Kate Orr, M. M. Dingman, Elizabeth Bates, Daisy Lee, Anna White, Mrs. Miner, Grace White, Sara Wilcox, Lena Carlson, Alma Lawson, Jennie Hunt.

[§] The group was composed of "one or more thoroughly-trained financiers, two physicians—one male and one female—two or more experienced school-teachers, mechanics, farmers, trained musicians, vocal and instrumental, some highly educated, some not; but all intelligent; some gifted evangelists . . . . Two of the company were . . . Quakers . . . ." (*Gospel in All Lands*, March, 1885, p. 113.) Of this party a number withdrew before the actual work was commenced. Three men, three women, and five children returned with Taylor's approval, mostly on account of illness. One other left to recruit his own missionaries to found a Quaker mission. During an unavoidable wait in Luanda, all but one of the party became ill with "African fever." One died from refusal to take proper treatment. Taylor's son Ross was of this original party but he decided to return home, which was a sore disappointment to his father. Nonetheless, it seemed justified inasmuch as he had four children under six years of age and his wife did not favor staying. In America he edited a publication, *Illustrated Africa*.—*Ibid.*, January, 1886, p. 44; *Bombay Guardian*, XXXI (1885), 33 (Aug. 15), 514.

He sent ahead Dr. William R. Summers and Charles W. Gordon, as ground breakers, to the capital city and seaport, Luanda, to introduce the mission through official letters and to set up quarters. At last his party was assembled and on its way. Taylor later wrote:

> We arrived at Saint Paul de Loanda [Luanda] . . . on the 20th of March, 1885. We were kindly received by the governor general of the province and by . . . the British consul. One of the largest and best houses in the city was procured for the temporary residence of our people . . . . Here we afterward purchased a suitable site and built a substantial two-story house conveniently arranged for all mission purposes.[73]

The Bashilange country was a thousand miles interior. Taylor's scheme was the establishment of a chain of missions from the coast to the Kasai River to serve as depots and transport centers. In this he received full cooperation both from the government and the chieftains.

> The chiefs and governors of the country contiguous to Loanda have been seen and consulted. These dignitaries are all favorable to the missionaries, and promise to give, or lease for 99 years, all the land they need, and to furnish other facilities for the prosecution of their enterprises.[74]

Restless to be off as soon as arrangements could be made, Taylor chose six workers for his pioneer party "to select and open stations [in a straight line east through Angola] in which to settle [his] workers, and especially the families."[75] It was a safari of the first order. After a 240-mile sea and river voyage along the coast and on the Cuanza to Dondo, they were ready to begin. Dondo, at the head of steamboat navigation, was made the first station. Next, they proceeded on foot, a "tramp of fifty-one miles," to Nhange-a-Pepe following the ancient caravan trail—"a path . . . fifteen inches wide, through a rugged mountainous country." Here another station was decided upon, to be a receiving center and farm.[76] Thirty-nine miles farther they trudged, climbing eventually "a mountain elevation of extraordinary . . . formation" to reach Pedras Negras. Despite the fact that this wild mountainous region was lion-infested, an ever-present threat to the surrounding villages, the scouting party decided the site was suitable, having in mind an industrial school. The trek was resumed for another sixty miles to what Taylor at last called his "interior station"—Malange.

September 10, 1885, marked their entrance into this town. They had left Luanda on May 20.

In short order, these five places were constituted a District, and members of the party were given appointments, under A. E. Withey as Presiding Elder. The string of missions fell short of reaching the Congo State beyond the Kasai River; furthermore, those now established were being designed for other purposes than mere stopping points in a chain. As Taylor explained, all felt it to be the will of God to settle as they had; all, that is, except the physically weak but intrepid Dr. Summers who made known his intention of continuing on to Luluabourg in the heart of the Congo Free State.

The initial task of station-founding completed, Taylor hastened to Europe to see the Belgian and Portuguese heads of state to present his program and ask for cooperation and grants in aid. In both countries he received favorable replies.* Coincidence led to his meeting on his journey two of Africa's great explorers, the Frenchman, Count de Brazza, and the German, Hermann von Wissmann. From Wissmann he learned details of his just completed exploration of the Kasai River from its mouth on the Congo to seventy-five miles above Stanley Pool in the Congo Free State, which indicated a direct waterway to Central Africa.[77]

Upon his return the next year the Bishop had another group of recruits ready to begin. With his newly gained knowledge, he was determined to try another approach to the interior, this time by traveling from the ocean along the Congo River to its tributary, the Kasai, which would eventually bring him to his destination. As he saw the situation:

> The south side of Lower Congo, extending from the ocean to Stanley Pool, was preoccupied by the Missionary Society of English Baptists and the American Baptists' Missionary Union, and others. Not wishing to intrude ourselves on preoccupied territory, and presuming that the organized transport facilities of the government, and of the missions by the way, could be depended upon for the transportation of our mission supplies to Stanley Pool, we settled on Kimpopo [Kimpoko], twenty miles up the east side of Stanley Pool, as our transport station and port of embarkation for the upper Kassai countries. [78]

He accordingly led a pioneer party "up through the mountains to Stanley

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* Taylor never seemed impressed by a man's importance of position, nor the protocol to be observed in approaching dignitaries. His manner was direct, man to man. As representative or agent of God, he spoke for a kingdom which no other could transcend. Often being short on time, Taylor would cut through the routine of interview and appointment and seek out a personal reception directly at the palace gate. Having in this fashion obtained the ear of the King of Portugal—first having submitted credentials, of course, including a letter from President Hayes—he sat down with the king and conversed freely. As he later told it, the king "asked me so many questions about my missionary work in different countries as to afford me a good opportunity of giving him a brief history of my self-supporting missions in India and in South America and in the Portuguese colony of Angola. He seemed interested and pleased, and bade me welcome to work under the flag of Portugal. I asked no favor of his royal majesty, but was nevertheless favored by his good will in all our subsequent intercourse with his Angola government officials, from the governor general down." Using shortcuts, he also gained admittance to the royal chambers in Brussels. "I was kindly received by all the different officers of state, and about 4 P.M., the time appointed, I was conducted by a servant to the royal residence of his majesty. A line of soldiers along the way leading to the reception room stood with their caps off as I passed through, and the king himself opened the door and received me."—W. Taylor, *Story of My Life . . .*, pp. 713 f.

Pool" and occupied the former site of a government station at Kimpoko. From here he expected to get passage on a government steamer and proceed to Luluabourg on the Lulubo River. Luluabourg, almost in the center of Africa, was the goal of Dr. Summers, who proposed to make the approach from Angola. They hoped that they might arrive at about the same time. The mission stations which resulted incidentally from this undertaking became the framework for the second south central African mission, called by Taylor the Upper Congo District.

Besides the planned program already described, two other mission stations had been founded at stop-over points along the Atlantic coast between Liberia and Luanda. One was at Cabinda, about fifty miles north of the Congo's mouth, in French-held territory later under Angola, considered important because of its location near the gateway to Central Africa; the other, Mamba, eighteen miles up the river from Mayoumba, 150 miles farther north, on the ocean.[79] This was in the French Congo which later became French Equatorial Africa.

ANGOLA DISTRICT

Not without hardship, sickness, and death was the Angola District put on a self-sufficient basis. But even in Africa, where there was nothing to build on, the system of industrial institutions was eventually started. Except for the aid received from the Transit and Building Fund Society and occasional outright gifts from well-wishers,* the means of subsistence had to be gleaned from the soil and by the sweat of the brow. Direct approach or appeal to those Europeans in authority locally brought cooperation and often grants of land and other favors, but in many instances property had to be bought from tribespeople, equipment had to be imported from England and the United States, and supplies for trading purposes had to be stocked. Only large sums of cash could cover these costs. With faith that the goal could be reached, year by year new volunteers came to add to mission strength.†

Of the five centers in Angola, undoubtedly the easiest to manage and most convenient to live in was the port of Luanda. Situated at the mouth of the Bengo River, as the capital it was well settled and civilized, and attracted a number of visiting foreigners and traders. A school was organized by Charles M. McLean and Charles A. Ratcliffe and paying students obtained. This was the natural beginning of their self-support. Besides teaching, the two young men distributed tracts and Scripture portions, and taught crowds how to sing Gospel hymns. In 1887 Miss L. Fannie Cummings and Miss Susie J. Harvey started a girls' school but they remained there less than a year.

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* The buildings at Dondo and Luanda together cost over $10,000. This sum was a gift from Thomas Critchlow, a leading committee member of the Transit and Building Fund Society.

† Records of Taylor's missionary personnel were not systematically kept. As far as can be learned, the following members of Conference, with their wives and children, were in Taylor's first two parties which arrived in Angola in 1885 and 1886: William R. Summers, Clarence L. Davenport and Mrs. Mary Myers Davenport, M.D., Joseph and Mrs. Wilkes, Agnes Wilkes, Amos E. and Mrs. Irene F. Withey, Mary Estella, Herbert C., Florence, and Lotti Withey; Charles A. Ratcliffe, Charles Murray McLean and Mrs. McLean, Samuel J. Mead and Mrs. Ardella Mead, Albertha (Bertha) Mead (niece); W. H. Mead and Mrs. Minnie Mead and their children, Nellie, Edna, John, Willie, Julia, and Sam; William P. Dodson, and Charles W. Gordon. Missionary workers in the first two parties other than Conference members were: Heli Chatelaine, Andrew S. and Mrs. Myers, Karl Rudolph, Miss Effie H. Brannen, "Brother Smith and wife," J. H. Cooper and Mrs. Cooper, William S. Miller, and Miss Hartly. There was, possibly, a Miss Cliff.

An iron house made in England was in use by 1887, which answered admirably the needs of the work and the rigors of the climate. It served as both mission house and schoolroom, and had a large room for public meetings. McLean was transferred to Dondo in 1887. After Ratcliffe returned to the United States in 1888, William P. Dodson took charge of the evangelistic program for two years. The school remained closed for lack of suitable teachers. In 1890 Lancaster C. Burling, Mrs. Burling, and their two sons arrived, as also Janette Roseman, a widow, who spent her time developing a nursery school. When the Burling family and Mrs. Roseman left, after about three years, only one man, C. W. Gordon, was sent as replacement.[80]

Dondo, the second site selected by the scouting party, was almost as large and important as Luanda. The population was almost entirely native and the chief men had requested the mission.

Dondo was about 140 miles from Luanda, on the Cuanza at a junction for trading, hence a center for caravans which offered a constantly changing audience for preaching services. As described by a missionary, Dondo "is laid out in long streets, and has sidewalks, and street lamps, and many other good things." At the outset, Taylor placed two men and one woman here, who opened an English night school for support's sake while they applied themselves to learning the languages necessary to engage effectively in their work. A decent house was purchased on the main artery traversed by the caravans. The school did not last long because the missionaries were not proficient enough in Portuguese to make it a success. A paying day school, a free evening school, and a Sunday school for young people were successful from the start. The young people's program developed so well that the rest of the work was cheered by it. A farm was also tried but it could not be made to pay for itself. The solution to the financial difficulties came with the beginning of a well-manned, well-equipped mechanical department. As time passed, a printing press was added, used especially for printing Scripture portions for the children, and an organ which was extremely helpful in attracting a crowd of hearers.[81]

Dondo, however, was not salubrious; it was known as the "furnace of Angola." Breakdowns came. Clarence Davenport, writing to *Gospel in All Lands* on November 3, 1887, counted up the losses: "You have received a card telling you of the death of my beloved wife [Dr. Mary Myers Davenport]. Since then our numbers have been still further reduced. . . . [by] the sickness of my sister-in-law, obliging their return to the States. Thus we lost our mechanic, Andrew S. Myers (my brother-in-law)." Nothing daunted, though the mission was now reduced to two, himself and Susie J. Harvey, he intended to keep it going. "Being in the midst of men of evil lives there was but one of two steps we could take. 1st, for Sister Harvey or myself to leave the station and thus overthrow the work, or 2nd, to get married." The work went on. Among others buried in the cemetery at Dondo was Mary Estella Withey, daughter of the Presiding Elder, who had been of great service to the mission.

Nhange-a-Pepe and Pungo Andongo, the next two stations, were also on the major trade route, the latter ninety miles beyond Dondo. Nhange-a-Pepe was beautifully located in a fertile valley with an excellent climate, "a lovely place where caravans stopped for the night under the mighty [baobab] trees, like a paradise wide and lovely to look at, inviting," but the drawback came from the fact that the native population "living under native chieftains . . . [was] rather scattered, and two neighboring traders . . . [made] up the white population. Little support . . . [was] to be expected from them." Because of its fortunate location Nhange-a-Pepe was early used as a receiving station for new arrivals to facilitate acclimatization. A number of houses were hopefully erected, and the cost of a missionary residence, a tannery, and a shop met through the generosity of an English friend. Karl Rudolph, one of the original party—considered outstanding by Taylor—was in charge of the preparatory training school. A Society of thirteen men and boys was organized. A very practical manual-labor program combined with regular periods of worship was made the order of each day.* From building corrals to operating the store and cooking the meals—all was done by the converts and staff.[82]

At Pungo Andongo,† the missionary family of Joseph Wilkes, father, mother, and daughter, alone took over. The climate varied from chilly mornings and evenings to fiery sun-parched hours, a contrast so extreme that it brought on recurring attacks of illness. All was hard going. A school begun for purposes of support did not meet the need and had to be abandoned in the interests of a trader's shop. This in turn cut down the amount of time given to religious work, but a free night school and Sunday school were held. The Wilkes family having become considerably worn down, departed in despair, and others were sent to replace them in 1889. Proceeding on the foundations laid, A. E. Withey and Charles W. Gordon brought the mission into the enviable position of "making money to open new stations in the regions beyond." In 1892 a native church of three members was organized. An adobe house, including chapel and storeroom, almost an acre of fruit-bearing trees in the town, and a farm of some three hundred acres a short distance away completed the station.[83]

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* Karl Rudolph wrote in 1888 that "with a McCormack plow and two yokes of cattle he plow[ed] half an acre of good ground in the forenoon of each working day, and that he . . . [took] all the afternoons for study and for teaching others."—Quoted in *Bishop Taylor's Quadrennial Report of Our Church Work in Africa,* pamphlet, p. 12.

† Robert Shields tells of the awesome impression Taylor unintentionally made on an important chief while on a visit to Pungo Andongo. The two men were invited to share the same room at the mission. The African chief occupied one corner, and the Bishop the other. At retiring time, the Bishop prepared for the night, while being closely observed by his companion. First he took out his teeth, cleaned them; then removed his wig and combed his long beard. Next he knelt down to pray, aloud, in English. As Taylor talked with God in a foreign tongue, the chief could not stand it any longer. He ran to the door, opened it, and called for his people. He announced to them that this white man was a God, for he talked to someone not in the room, that he took off his hair, and also took his teeth out of his mouth. Who but a God, said the chief, could do such a thing?—In August Klebsattel, Typed Ms. Notes, in Board of Missions Library.

The last of the five original stations was Malange, opened in September, 1885. This was a village over two hundred miles to the east of Luanda, of some two thousand natives. It had a good climate, and was well suited for agriculture. A substantial supply of lumber was nearby. Taylor appointed to this station a farming couple from Vermont, Samuel J. and Ardella Mead, and their niece, Bertha. When Mead set out for his station he was worried about how to begin. On the outskirts of the town he paused to pray, then with his party determined to knock on someone's door. A young man answered. Mead blurted out: "We are strangers in this land; are Christians from America. We have come here to teach the natives the knowledge of books and of the Lord Jesus. We now lack shelter and a place to arrange our food." This plain statement seemed to affect the young man, who worked as a foreman in a large trading house, and he at once extended the party hospitality, and that very night in his home—their first headquarters—the first Methodist prayer meeting in Malange was held.[84]

From this simple beginning arose one of the most successful of Taylor's African missions. By 1888 William H. Mead with his large family of children, and young Robert Shields, had joined Samuel J. Mead. The ground breaking was laborious work—ploughing, hauling logs, hewing timber, sewing and shopwork—but out of it grew a well-equipped center. Samuel Mead took care of the big farm; William Mead with native assistants operated two pit saws and turned out several thousands of dollars' worth of lumber in one year. A carpenters' shop and a trading shop contributed to income. While the first school did not cover expenses, "for lack of white or half-caste children," and ultimately was closed upon the departure of the teacher, a second school, free, for native children was opened. Costs were met by the presence of some students willing to pay and by tutoring others.

One of the mission members wrote in a letter dated September 29, 1888:

> Bro. Shields from Ireland and Bertha [Mead, whom Shields later married only to lose in death six weeks later] are pulling on in the native language, and have commenced to translate hymns. Music is a great attraction and draws the natives to us. . . . We have the little organ, violincello, cornet and violin . . . .
>
> Sunday morning is our class-meeting, then service and Sabbath-school until 11 o'clock. P.M. we take the cornet or other instruments, some native boys to sing and help explain the Bible pictures, and go to the native villages about, some of them a few miles away, and tell them of Jesus and his love. . . . Wednesday evening we have school for all. Tuesday evening prayer-meeting, and private lessons in music are given by some of us two evenings a week; and we have morning and afternoon day school.[85]

In 1890 Malange had an organized Society with five members and thirty probationers. In 1893 Bishop Taylor reported that the Society had grown to more than fifty, and a new one-story mission house had to be built in addition to the two-story house already standing, both put up at no outside cost. In 1894 S. J. Mead's school classes numbered about sixty pupils. Having no children of their own the Meads began adopting native children until they had eight in their family.[86]

As these first five stations discovered their most successful functions and became more than self-sufficient, openings were sought for extension of the work. Out of Malange itself came two new missions in 1890, Quiongua—later called Ben Barrett—and Canandua. William and Minnie Mead and five of their children went to Canandua for one year and then to Nhange-a-Pepe. Quiongua was manned by Robert Shields and twelve-year-old Samuel Mead, considered a juvenile missionary, who was apt in the language and gave "evidence of unusual working of the Holy Spirit." Within less than two months the boy was dead, another of four children of this courageous family to be buried in Africa.* Nonetheless, Quiongua was kept going,† and in three years' time had a number of buildings, and industries to meet all expenses, with a surplus of about four hundred dollars for their trust fund. Four to six people were helping at this station during 1894.[87]

Taylor proposed to open another station, to be called Munhall, to honor a generous benefactor who with others supplied the funds for its founding. Munhall was to be part of his scheme of Africa Industrial Nursery Missions. Writing later, he particularly showed his pleasure with this undertaking, which came to be known as Quessua:

> One of the most successful mission stations connected with the Malange Mission was located in 'Gan N'Zambi' ('The Garden of God'). In this Angola Eden we opened Munhall Mission and placed it in charge of some of our own native converts. . . . We saw the La Quess and Lombi Rivers meandering through the valley, and beneath our feet at the base of the mountain . . . [were] Munhall Mission house and farm, with its fields of mandioca, sugar cane, Indian corn, and fruit trees in their tropical variety. . . . In addition to a common school and general missionary work we founded in this mountain home a nursery mission for native girls . . . .[88]

At the end of this period (1895) the Angola District appeared in good financial health. Bishop Taylor had created a "Trust Fund"[*] a few years earlier and contributions for special causes continued to come in. In 1895 the assets, including commercial capital, cattle, and cash were more than $41,000. Earnings from livestock, industries, trade, and other sources made the District completely self-supporting. All the appointments had permanent, comfortable houses, some of stone, some of adobe.[89]

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* The William Mead family was exceptional. They never allowed the death of their children to be a deterrent to continuing their mission. Mead himself died in 1892. The oldest son, John, fourteen, made his father's coffin. His wife lined it and covered it and then read the funeral service herself. Taylor wrote of him: "Though about forty years of age when he went to Angola he so mastered the Portuguese and Ambunda languages as to preach in either fluently and effectively. He and his wife Minnie took six children with them to our work."—*Minutes, Liberia Conference,* 1893, p. 43.

† "It was . . . decided that the station at Quiongua should be called the Benj. Barratt [Barrett] Mission, as a token of loving remembrance of the donor of the funds for its erection. The new premises, located upon a healthy eminence, will include several good-sized rooms, high and airy, also a two-story central building of three rooms, so located that they will constitute a contiguous whole, with each department properly separated to its own quarters."—*Minutes, Africa Conference,* 1892, p. 37.

Through the years new recruits continued to come, while a number also departed for health or other reasons.[†] There were a number of deaths, especially of children. Of Taylor's initial party three men had died, one from "African fever," the second from consumption, and the third from seven years' overwork. Only one woman of the original group was stricken, Dr. Davenport, whose death Taylor attributed to "two years' exhaustive labor" in a fearful temperature. Others, however, who came later, and missionary children, raised the death total. The spirit of the ill and the bereaved was remarkable.[‡] Despite much illness and many fatalities S. J. Mead and others considered Angola a "good country." We "have borne more burdens," he declared, "done more thinking, lived and encountered more in the past five years than one would in fifteen years in New England." [90]

All the missionaries had learned to master the native tongue, Kimbundu, which, as Taylor adds, "had not been reduced to manuscript, much less to printing, and we had no interpreters; so we had to sit down and patiently pick the words from between the teeth of the Ambunda." The children especially were quick at learning the languages and were put to use as juvenile missionaries—exhorting, bearing testimony, and interpreting. Within five years after the work was begun the tongue had been so conquered that a grammar and the Gospel of John had been printed. Portuguese, too, had to be acquired as it was the second language of the country. Often English was not used at all in an interior station.

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[*] The Trust Fund was planned to contribute to the support of the stations, besides furnishing supplies at cost. The missionaries were to use it in trading, raising cattle, and other productive industries, for obtaining goods at cost, and carriage rates. They were, however, to continue to support themselves, and to open and build substations. Taylor, in turn, would use the Trust Fund for sending out more missionaries as the work expanded, paying for their passage, outfit, including books, etc. "He was also to provide funds for the opening of new stations, including the erection of mission buildings, provide them with furniture, schoolbooks, tools, and implements, a few head of cattle, and funds for the redemption of little girls from polygamous slavery, for infant training schools."—J. C. Hartzell, "'Self-Supporting Methods' in the Methodist Episcopal Missions in Africa," *Gospel in All Lands,* December, 1897, p. 546.

[†] Later arrivals in Angola were: 1887, Susie J. Harvey; 1888, William Hicks and Mrs. Hicks, Robert Shields; 1890, Mrs. Janette Roseman; 1891, Lizzie Whiteside, Christian A. Borella, Taylor Mead; 1892, Jeanette Peck, and Luzia Gossalvish; 1893, Miss McKenzie, I. B. Case and Mrs. Case, Harriet Bacon; 1894, Louise Raven, John W. Shuett and wife, Lavinia Ratcliffe (who died within forty days), Mrs. Catherine Dodson.

[‡] Of this spirit William Hicks and his wife were examples. They "never thought of returning home till Dr. Reid . . . informed him that his sick wife would die in three days if she remained where she was, but a voyage at sea might save her. Both were very reluctant to leave. She rather preferred to stay and die at her post; but Brother Hicks . . . felt that he could not do less than try to bring his wife from the grave's mouth." (*Bishop Taylor's Quadrennial Report of Our Church Work in Africa,* pamphlet, p. 15.) Another example was W. P. Dodson. In 1893 his health became so impaired that he was advised to make a voyage to the United States for recovery of his strength. He replied that "he would rather die in the work than to go home, unless clearly seen to be the will of God." In his annual report the Bishop said: "I arranged for his passage home, but the next news I received was that his heroic wife [Jeannie, who had agreed to carry on the work during her husband's absence] had gone to her home in heaven. Her husband holds on to the work daily in sight of her grave."—*Seventy-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1893), p. 28.

For the year ending July, 1895, there were reported twenty-four probationers and fifty-seven full members. In the infant nurseries fifty-six children were being brought up as Christians. The day schools reported 165 students, and the Sunday services an average attendance of 170.[91]

Amos E. Withey, one of the original party, who had been Presiding Elder through these years, commented in his 1895 report:

> We have occupied this province nearly ten years. There are twenty-three white missionaries. . . . There are eight stations and substations in the province. Our means of support are by trading, cattle raising, mechanical industries, and farming. We have no salaries. . . .
>
> There are many inquirers after the truth in the several stations who are quite regular attendants upon our services, and join heartily therein and give mental assent to all that is required of them. Many of them have thrown away their idols and endure persecution for righteousness' sake. Some have abandoned the pursuit of business that was contrary to the Gospel. Some are accepted as being regenerated. . . . We are hopeful, cheerful, trustful; rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in everything giving thanks.[92]

Despite the fact that reinforcements were sent in 1886, in April, 1887, and again in December, 1888, the turnover never permitted the District to reach full strength, an important factor in continuing self-support. On several occasions men had to "hold the fort" in a neighboring mission while waiting for new recruits. The success of Malange was credited in part to the fact that Samuel and Ardella Mead had been posted there from the outset and remained there continuously through the years.[93]

When at last changes came about through the retirement of Taylor as Missionary Bishop by the General Conference of 1896, and the formation of a separate Congo Mission Conference at the same time, to be organized by Taylor's successor, Bishop J. C. Hartzell, a new realism was imposed on the self-supporting mission. Considering the shortage of men it was considered wise to concentrate and consolidate the work in this part of Africa. With Taylor's approval it was decided that the missions should come under the aegis of the Missionary Society * and, secondly, that some should be discontinued—notably Dondo and Nhange-a-Pepe—and their force transferred elsewhere. Dondo was later reopened.

UPPER CONGO DISTRICT

The goal of penetrating the African interior was not put aside. To achieve this a second mission field in South Central Africa was opened in 1886. Summer's determination to reach the hinterland at all costs was a great challenge to Taylor. As already noted, Taylor intended the Kimpoko mission to be

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* The action was taken by the General Missionary Committee: "We accept the missionary work heretofore known as Bishop William Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions in Africa, and constitute them foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We authorize and request the Board of Managers to accept and pay annually interest on certain annuities, etc. We refer the unpaid obligations due the William Taylor Mission Fund, to an amount not exceeding $4,500, to the Board of Managers with power."—*Gospel in All Lands,* March, 1897, p. 105.

the springboard from which he would reach his goal. In Malange, meanwhile, Summers was making his plans.

It was May, 1886, before Dr. Summers was able to complete his preparations. With the funds he was able to accumulate entirely by his own efforts, he reported later, he had supplied himself with

> one hundred dollars' worth of medicines, paid carriers, and had seventeen boxes of material for paying my way and future use, and three loads of rations on the way; the other loads being books, boxes of medicines, stationery, private materials, etc., one load of biscuits and one of dried salt fish, the two latter given me by a patient, a mulatto gentleman, who, when on the journey, wound up by giving me a riding ox and saddle! [94]

With his thirty-six-man caravan he marched for three months through jungle, over highlands, open fields, and across streams. Though thrice threatened with poison by unreliable carriers, he managed to reach the Bashilange country (also known as Baluba) in safety and received a cordial welcome from the powerful king of the region. Among his company were native tailors, blacksmiths, and other artisans, with whose help he hoped to introduce some of the arts of civilization along with his medical ministrations.[95]

A few months after his arrival he recounted:

> Every chief wants a Missionary. In some places I have had difficulty in leaving the towns, the Chief crying and begging me to remain. At one place the Chief, named Mwamba Mputto, was with his people overjoyed at my arrival. He begged me to stay, saying he wanted his people to become like white men, and that he had been expecting me for a long time. I said, 'I cannot possibly remain, as I must go on and meet the steamer [on which he expected Taylor's company to arrive], and that then I would, perhaps, come back, or some one else would probably come.' The Chief cried like a child, and said he was sure the white man would come at some time, and that he had built a house for him, to be ready in a few days.[96]

At Luluabourg, after a long wait because of the inadequate mail service cross-country, Summers received permission from the government capital at Boma to build. He put up three houses for the mission, brought in seven head of cattle, and set about earning his support by collecting medicinal plants for the Congo State.

Meanwhile, Taylor had organized a second company of missionaries and set out to reach the Bashilange country by waterway, by traversing first the Lower Congo from the Atlantic coast, and hoping near Stanley Pool to reroute to the Kasai River, a tributary. His party reached Stanley Falls, as we have seen, and with permission from the government he began the construction of a receiving and transport center at Kimpoko. The site was to his liking:

> No cattle, no horses, no asses, no domestic animals larger than goats. Elephants stalk the plains and hills, and hippopotami herd in the rivers. One of my men

> went out in a native canoe and killed three of these monsters of the deep, which gave us a taste of the beef of those parts . . . . We consider the site of Kimpoko to be beautiful, climate salubrious, equable, and healthful.
>
> . . . The Lord has reserved for us the best place of the pool. We are now housed at Kimpoko. Leading out from our door are five thousand miles of explored steamboat navigable water-ways.[97]

While there he personally planted some fifty fruit trees as a beginning for missionary support.

Luluabourg was still several hundred miles' distance to the southeast of Kimpoko—and a thousand miles northeast of Malange. From Stanley Pool Taylor had planned to travel with his party by government steamer. Here, however, he met his first setback. No steamer bookings were available, not even for one person. Completely frustrated, he began to imagine the possibilities of a steamer of his own. Before long, he was imploring his supporters back home for the means to purchase one, at an estimated cost of $20,000. "An appeal was made to the American people for popular subscriptions of one dollar each; they responded grandly," he recounted later, "and [hastening to England] I left an order with a Liverpool firm for the boat, and sailed back to Africa." [98]

In the spring of 1887 he returned from England and was joined at Harper by a second corps of missionaries. At Vivi on the Lower Congo, the terminal point for ocean transport, he awaited the arrival of the steamer. Here he assembled his missionary force, recalling some from Kimpoko and bringing in others from the coast and adding the second force in an all-out endeavor to get the boat transported up to Stanley Falls. While thus bound to Vivi, Taylor engaged in exploratory trips along the north bank of the river, where no missionary society had yet begun to labor. His first fear of edging in on pre-empted territory was soon eliminated by the assurance of other societies that there was room and work for all. No further encouragement was needed. By the end of December, 1887, at a District Conference at Vivi, he reported:

> Meantime, though I have wrought in our varied work at Vivi three months out of the five of our sojourn here, I have explored the line to Isangala, and report the opening of five stations—. . . Vivi, the site of the former capital of the state. For a little over seven acres of ground here and the buildings remaining we paid £160. . . . At Vumtomba Vivi, four miles distant . . . we have built an adobe house and opened a station. . . . Sadi Kabanza, about twenty miles from Vivi. . . . Matamba, about twenty-nine miles from here, all on the caravan trail. . . . Isangala, where our freights have to be taken by boats up the river to Manyanga. We have not built, but our missionary, E. A. Shoreland, occupies, rent free, the station-house of the Government. . . . Natumba, near Banana, we have just received permission . . . to select a site . . . and to settle on the premises in a tent till we can get a small iron house ordered from Liverpool.[99]

Inasmuch as the steamer was still not ready for launching, the workers were given appointments. From beginning to end, the saga of the steamer Anne

Taylor had its comic touch. After one half of the transportable parts had been hauled in manloads a distance of sixty miles from Vivi to Isangila, the next navigable point in the river, it was discovered that the heavier machinery as shipped from England could not be moved without the most powerful pulling apparatus. Taylor's exasperation knew no bounds:

> After innumerable delays and disappointments, utterly despairing of getting our steamer stuff transported to Stanley Pool, we [decided to have her] . . . built and put onto the Lower Congo, a first-class steamer, eighty feet long and sixteen feet beam.[*] At that time Banana was the port of entry, and freights for the Upper Congo were carried up by river steamers to Matadi, the starting point of the Congo Railroad. With that arrangement our steamer would have soon refunded the money invested in her, and would have yielded a large income for the establishment of missions.[100]

With this decision made, the first half of the parts had to be hauled back to the initial depository at Vivi. That accomplished, still more trouble ensued. When it came to assembling the steamer, no one knew how. Forthwith, a dispatch had to be sent to England for both a builder and an engineer, to put the Anne Taylor together again.

> The builder did his work, but the engineer condemned the boiler sent out . . . as inadequate to the Congo service, making it necessary to order a new one by telegram from England, and he could not wait to complete his work. To avoid further expense and risk of hiring an untried engineer, Mr. Teter [stationed at Vivi] undertook the completion of the steamer.[101]

Teter, to do this, decided he must have the boat brought down to Banana, and accordingly "employed a Congo Government steamer to tow her from Vivi beach." Eventually, at Banana, "by his own genius and industry, [he] put in the boiler and adjusted the engines, high and low pressure, Worthington pump and fittings," and became engineer of the boat. Ironically, several years had now passed since the usefulness of such a steamer was determined, and when at last in 1892 the boat was ready for duty, the river transit system had considerably improved. By 1894 the steamer had become part of W. O. White's charge at Vivi, being used "as occasion demands, and as a Bethel Mission." Finally in 1897 it was sold, with Taylor's blessing.[102]

The appointments of 1888 covered the full extent of the District.[†]

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[*] Among the special features of the ship were a "bath-room, galley, capstan, to work by steam, electric lights, hose and nozzle . . . for many purposes, among others to put to flight, if need be, a fleet of attacking canoes." It also had a "saw-mill and separate steam-engine to run it, to saw wood when in transit, and to saw plank when at rest."—William Taylor, general report, in *Gospel in All Lands,* March, 1887, p. 131.

[†] The first and farthest station was Kimpoko. Here four people were appointed: Bradley L. Burr, Dr. James A. Harrison, and Hiram and Roxy Elkins. Luluabourg, Dr. Summers' station, was included in the list. Along the Congo, between the ocean and Stanley Falls, were the six centers Taylor had opened during his visit at Vivi. To Vivi itself—primarily a transport depot because of its convenient location on the river—J. C. Teter, J. S. Cutler, Silas M. Field, Edward E. Claflin, William Rasmussen, William O. White, William S. Briggs, William H. Arringdale and wife, and Mrs. Belle Claflin were appointed. To Isangila, also a transport center, E. A. Shoreland was sent. At Vumtomba Vivi Elizabeth J. Trimble, Mary B. Lindsay, and Mr. and Mrs. Lyman B. Walker were stationed. John A. Newth went to Sadi Cabanza; Charles Claflin to Matamba. Natumba, near the port of Banana, at the mouth of the Congo, was assigned to Mary Kildare, a spirited Irishwoman who had paid for her own way to Africa to join the Taylor forces, and Susan Collins. Finally there were the two stations established by Taylor as he first journeyed between Liberia and

For the Congo region the plan was the same as for Angola and Liberia: the missionaries were to plant industrial missions and child nurseries to accomplish the dual goals, self-support and evangelism. Taylor regarded the possibilities of achievement of these goals better rather than worse in Africa than elsewhere despite the backward state of civilization and the lack of foreign support to draw on. He told the General Conference of 1892 that

> the native people of Africa are, in available resources, the richest people in the world. Their debasing heathenism keeps them down on the dead-level of hand-to-mouth subsistence. What they need is leadership, to teach them to appreciate, develop, and utilize the indigenous resources of their own country for all the purposes of Christian civilization; hence, any plan of missionary work for Africa that does not teach, both in theory and in practice, the industries essential to that end, is too narrow to meet the demands of the case. Brain-culture and religious teaching are essential to the elevation of barbarous heathens to the plane of Christian civilization; but without hand-culture it will be an arid plane on which they must starve, or beg for subsistence. . . .
>
> So that, to secure the best results of missionary labor in Africa, we must provide for the education of head, heart, and hand simultaneously, and the shortest and surest way to success is to begin with the little children.[103]

How much his plan succeeded depended on the caliber of the missionary. Mamba, truly isolated from the rest of the work, was a case in point. At Mamba Ai Sortore, farm supervisor, died within three years from overwork. Following his death, Martha Kah, a woman of courage and perseverance, took on the double assignment of the farm and the mission all by herself. In 1888 the French government having gained control of this area by the 1884-85 Berlin Conference (which settled European territorial rights) an edict was issued that schools could only be taught in the French language. Taylor himself was ready to abandon the station, but Miss Kah was not willing to quit. In 1890 Henry Nehne came to assist and in 1894 married Miss Kah. They planted a good farm, built a "superior mission-house," and began a small boarding school. As for the language difficulty, a Swiss woman, Jennie E. Buckhalter, was obtained in 1892 as an additional missionary. She began a popular child nursery but, tragically, died in 1894 before her work got under way.[104]

In contrast, Cabinda, also isolated on the Atlantic coastline, illustrated what a less than first-rate missionary could do. Taylor had such faith in his chief appointee, J. L. Judson, "as a man of superior ability and integrity"

Angola—Mamba, 150 miles north of the Congo's mouth, a two-to-three days' journey north from Banana, at which he had in 1886 placed Henry E. Benoit as preacher-in-charge assisted by Ai Sortore, as farm supervisor, and two women; and Cabinda, about fifty miles north of Banana, to which J. L. Judson was assigned, aided by Archer Steel, Jr., and Thompson. Some of these stations were of brief duration. Taylor's report to the Missionary Society in 1889 indicates a few of the vicissitudes of his kind of missions: "We, two years ago, started three stations between Vivi and Isangila—Vumtomby Vivi, Sadi Kabanza, and Matumba [Matamba]. We built pretty good houses at a total cost of $30, not counting our labor. One of the noblest young missionaries we had, John A. Newth, of London, sleeps, all alone, in his station at Sadi Kabanza [died 1888]. . . . The people I appointed to work Vumtomby Vivi and Matumba Stations became dissatisfied with their work and huddled together at Vivi, with others of kindred spirit, and worked against us."—W. Taylor, letter, *ibid.*, August, 1886, p. 423; *Sixty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1886), p. 49; *ibid., 71st* (1889), p. 38.

that he gave him letters to the Portuguese governor there and he was accordingly well received. "For a year," Taylor relates, "he reported extraordinary success in every department of his work. He went in by a dash and went out like a flash, by sudden death." Soon afterward the mission property was seized for debt and affairs were at sixes and sevens. Gradually the temptation and downfall of Judson became apparent to Taylor. In writing his obituary later on, he sadly commented that Judson "went unhappily into business speculations on his own account, wasted the funds entrusted to him for building up the Mission, contracted heavy debts in his own name, and fell into gross immorality, and suddenly died. . . . Poor man! we have no hope in his death!" [105]

During these years the center at Kimpoko continued to develop. Once its original purpose was abandoned it was treated as a mission and industrial farm. To insure against droughts, an irrigation ditch over a mile long was dug, which tapped a mountain stream. In 1899 B. L. Burr, in charge, wrote:

> Three of our boys have given up their fetiches and made a profession of having faith in Jesus. They join in all our social meetings, and we believe them to be sincere. . . . Mrs. Elkins, Dr. Harrison, or myself have been quite regular in visiting the villages and in endeavoring to instruct the people.
>
> In times of sickness Dr. Harrison has been in the habit of visiting the farther villages . . . attending on all who asked for his services. . . .
>
> I have had a general oversight of the station since Jan. 1, 1889. We have been self-supporting, besides paying out quite a sum for transport [they later built a mission house 15x80 feet]. . . . The plantation, though small, has been a factor in reducing our living expense, while the sale of hippo meat has kept us in ready money. [When short on cash, Burr would go out for a few hours to kill a hippopotamus or two.] We hope soon to get some cattle from the far interior by means furnished us by friends at home.[106]

Burr, who served as Presiding Elder, too, a good part of the time, brought the mission to a high level of usefulness. When he died in 1894 he left it with "two good mission houses, a well-developed farm, small native school, and regular preaching appointments in the native villages." Two families were keeping up its efficient operation, the Rasmussens and the Jensens.[107]

Luluabourg continued to be the only mission in the far interior and that in name only. It was not a success despite the hopes, dreams, and struggles to bring it into existence. When Taylor was prevented from getting there by lack of transportation in 1886 he sent Dr. Harrison to consult with Summers, and for a while both men labored together, finding favor with the people. A call for reinforcements was sent out, but nothing could be done. Unfortunately, Dr. Summers at best was not rugged in health. His first season at Luluabourg saw his store of energy much depleted by a severe attack of pleurisy and pericarditis for which he had no medicines, nor anyone to render personal care. In 1888 he died. The post remained "to be supplied" because of the impossibility of arranging transportation for appointees, although from time to time men were assigned to reopen the work.[108]

At Vivi, under the hand of J. C. Teter and his capable wife, Mary Lindsay, a fellow missionary whom he married on the field, the fertile plains were made to bring forth mango and palm trees, and abundant garden produce. In the way of livestock, Teter reported he had "twenty-five goats, eight sheep, two head of young cattle, half a dozen muscovy ducks, and one hundred chickens." When short of meat he took his gun and went out to kill a deer or a buffalo. Within no time this mission, obviously, was self-paying.[109]

The other missions, likewise, had become self-operating, the credit due mostly to the faith and ingenuity of the staunch pioneers. Mary Kildare for several years remained at Natumba, alone.* On her ten acres of ground—purchased for $120.—there was a "comfortable little house of galvanized iron." She conducted a school, with about twenty pupils, and itinerated on preaching missions to the nearby villages. With a box of Liberian coffee presented her by Taylor she began a tree nursery as well as a fruit orchard.[110]

A new station was opened in 1890 at Matadi, on the south bank of the Congo River across from Vivi. The town had been selected by a corps of Belgian railway builders as the logical point to begin the Congo inland railway since river steamers could traverse the waterway from the ocean to this point. With the beginning of the project some thousands of men were brought from Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Guinea coast, and elsewhere to undertake the labor. Great numbers of them had made an acquaintance with the Church's ministrations and in many cases had become members of the various missions.

> Here at Matadi, passing through their acclimatizing fevers, many died. No church to go to when well, and no minister to visit them when ill, they got discouraged, and determined to go back to home and friends. In this condition of things Brother Teter [of Vivi] came across and down the Congo a few miles and established regular preaching on Sundays . . . . He had large audiences, and soon a Methodist Episcopal Church organization of twenty-eight members.[111]

Apart from this inviting opportunity no other work of account took place in the following years, although a few new appointments were listed. The *Gospel in All Lands* informed its readers late in 1893:

> In January, 1893, there were reported on the Congo and vicinity the eleven stations of Mamby, Natomba, Banana, Boma, Matadi, Vivi, Mangila, Brooks, Manyanga, Kimpoko, and Luluaburg, with fifteen missionaries, about twenty-five members and probationers, and property valued at over $24,000. The steamer *Annie Taylor*, belonging to the mission, is running on the Congo River.[112]

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* Mary Kildare was one of these wholly devoted spirits. Writing to a friend in America, giving thanks for a gift of supplies, she added: "I do wish I could tell you how very happy I am. It is such a wonderful joy to be in Africa for Jesus under any circumstance, but how much more reason have I to be joyful now. In every trial and discouragement the grace of God has been sufficient. . . . His presence has been my comfort and safety. I sometimes wonder if there is anyone happier than I. . . . I wish you could see how cozy and comfortable I am in this pretty little home, standing in the centre of an acre of ground, . . . all surrounded by a good strong fence with various kinds of fruit trees."—In *Report of Bishop Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions from March 25th, 1888, to October 31st, 1889,* pamphlet, p. 39.

With the continuing arrival of recruits*—some coming unbidden at their own expense, some from Liberia—a rough balance was maintained against the deaths and the departures. Of the fourteen self-supporting missionaries at work at this date, six were of the original Congo group, wholly committed to the Taylor proposition, thoroughly immersed in the work.

When in 1892 Taylor as Missionary Bishop submitted his quadrennial report to General Conference he was full of hope for the future of the Congo mission, though admitting that it was still in its infancy and not much had been thus far accomplished in "soul-saving." He had in mind to send out a large reinforcement so that the work could be pushed the twelve hundred miles from the Atlantic to the Kasai River. Mastering the Fiote language was just one drawback that he mentioned.[113]

As it was, the Upper Congo District had a hard time holding its own. In 1895, two years before the work was turned over to the Missionary Society, the annual report indicated a decline. A brave but forlorn note could be sensed in the description of Natumba, Vivi, and Isangila as "maintaining their ground hopefully," but the death of six men and one woman within a two-year period had left a number of stations without missionaries.

In 1896 Hartzell, elected as Taylor's successor, submitted a report to the General Missionary Committee in which he stated that the District at that time included six stations on the Lower Congo, three of which were occupied by eight missionaries; that there were twenty-six children in homes of missionaries, and that the property, including the steamer, and other assets, amounted to $12,900.

On his tour in 1897 Hartzell found only two missions actually functioning. One was Natumba, which Mary Kildare was still maintaining but without organized school or church work. At Boma he found property, and likewise at Matadi, but the former had never been opened as a mission and the latter had never been built upon. Vivi was still in good condition, though the man in charge, J. Oman, had just died. A mission family of converted children was living there. The string of stations farther along the river had been abandoned on account of the death or departure† of missionaries.[114]

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* Those who served the Congo mission during the period 1887-95 were: Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Arringdale, Mr. and Mrs. Bradley L. Burr, Dr. James A. Harrison, Mr. and Mrs. Hiram Elkins, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Claflin, Mr. and Mrs. Lyman B. Walker, William O. White, Dr. William R. Summers, Mr. and Mrs J. C. Teter, Mr. and Mrs. William Rasmussen, J. S. Cutler, Silas M. Field, Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Claflin, William S. Briggs, Mary B. Lindsay, Elizabeth J. Trimble, Susan Collins, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Steele, John A. Newth, E. A. Shoreland, Mary Kildare, Archer Steel, Sr., Archer Steel, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Lancaster C. Burling and their two children, J. L. Judson, Ai Sortore, Martha Kah, Henry Nehne, John Kuno, Jens W. Jensen, M. D. Collins, James G. Brimson, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Walrath, Edward Pixley, Jennie E. Buckhalter, Mr. and Mrs. William Snape, and Mr. and Mrs. Crilles Jensen. Inasmuch as some of these names appear but once in the official records we cannot be absolutely sure that they entered upon work on the field.

† In the 1897 Missionary Society *Annual Report* Bishop Hartzell stated that Taylor had sent fifty-eight missionaries, all told, to the Congo, counting three children. Of these thirty-one had returned home, and at that time only five were on the field. He judged by this that the Congo had a much higher death rate than Angola.—*Seventy-ninth Ann. Rep. M. S.* (1897), p. 36.

INHAMBANE DISTRICT, EAST AFRICA

Before his official retirement, Taylor opened one other Methodist center on the African continent. Although he linked the work as a District with the Liberia Conference it was distant three thousand miles by coastland from the Angola endeavors thus far mentioned. The region was Southeast Africa, in the Tonga country, the area today of Natal and Mozambique. The entry of this far distant corner of the continent was another example of those fortuitous situations which Taylor so often came upon, recognized, and seized. For a number of years the American Board had occupied the area, but for a variety of reasons had decided to withdraw. One of their missionaries, Erwin H. Richards, had for ten years labored in the vicinity of Inhambane Bay (Mozambique)—the land of the Zulus—and did not have it in his heart to desert his converts. Taylor stepped in and as "a Christmas present to the Tonga people," in 1892 appointed Richards to that portion of Africa, with entire control. The following year Richards returned to his former station and through "liberal responses of the friends of the cause" was able to "purchase back all the [American Board] mission property."

To the Missionary Society Taylor reported:

> We purpose . . . to open a mission this year in Zambezia, a large province opened by the English government,[*] bounded on the north by the great Zambezi River. . . . It is said that the founders of that new province have promised to preclude from it both slavery and rum, and we want to cooperate with them in planting and developing Christian civilization there by means of industrial education, nursery missions, and Gospel preaching.[115]

Richards made a tour of his field and in 1894 arranged for work to be opened at four of the former centers, Inhambane, Makodweni, Kambini, and Mongwe. Taylor in response arranged for four missionaries to come from New Zealand to take up the work.[116]

While with the American Board, Richards had translated the New Testament into the Tonga tongue and had it printed at their Board press. Eventually from the successful labors of this one man sprang another Methodist Conference, but when in 1896 the work was turned over to the Missionary Society it was a part of the Congo Mission Conference. At that time five missionaries were reported and several native preachers and teachers, 275 children in missionaries' homes, and property worth $3,000.[117]

AFRICA MISSIONS IN RETROSPECT

At one point in the long history of the Liberia Mission the question was raised whether the Church was doing too much or too little for Liberia. The question reflected a double-mindedness and doubt as expressed in the administrative policy through the years. Even at this distance in time who shall say which would have been the better way? How many factors entered in, each of which would have to be tested as a variant—climate (humid, disease-laden), caliber of American white missionary leadership (at times plodding and unplanning, and at other times imaginative, energetic, and courageous), the character of the Liberian freedmen (a few educated and experienced, others uneducated and with little experience and unused to making decisions for themselves)?

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[*] Zambezia was the former name of the British territories of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and a district of Mozambique.

The Church through the decisions of the Missionary Society, the General Missionary Committee, and the General Conference maintained no one steady policy. Neither was it thorough enough in exploring the alternatives and making a close study of results. This is not to condemn those in authority; their patience through the years dealing with a lethargic people,* too many of whom were willing for everything to be done for them and unassertive in doing things for themselves, grew thin. Also it must be remembered that there were an ever-growing number of foreign missions demanding the Church's attention and financial support at the same time. The Board's policy was one of vacillation with attempts at solution more in the nature of temporary expedients than considered and tested experiments. Whatever policy was tried, what was needed was determined, patient effort during a sufficient time to learn the value of what was attempted. The display of a certain amount of enthusiasm and confidence that the situation could be bettered was also needed to instill hope and to arouse the dependent Conference to greater endeavors. Some recognition of this was obviously in the mind of some General Conference leaders when after debating the issue in 1884, this body moved as though by common impulse to turn the field over to William Taylor. His reputation as a human dynamo had been well established and though he was a controversial figure, particularly on account of his disregard for the accepted official agency of missionary control, the possibility of trying a leader of his reputation and wide experience overcame all objections.†

The Church's established mission in Africa was in Liberia but for years, as we have seen, a strong desire existed to extend the work from the Americo-Liberians to the native Africans of the interior. In fact, it had been at times proposed to inaugurate a second, and independent Africa mission. Taylor's commission had been twofold: so administer Liberia that the spirit will be resuscitated, and open an effective mission to a "benighted" Africa.

First, then, what did Taylor do for Liberia? Probably not as much as was expected of him. By and large, he did not try to do too much about the

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* It must be kept in mind that the struggling Republic of Liberia could do little about a school system.

† He was retired by the 1896 General Conference at seventy-five years of age. Despite his years he was still quite competent to continue. To the end he remained a controversial figure.

"old work," as such. He approached the Liberia problem along three different lines. The most direct was through the Conference, when he made the members face squarely the condition Church life had fallen into and then proposed changes which were within the realm of possibility. Where a situation had been tolerated which led finally to neglect, he drove toward new resolutions on the subject, outlined plans, and wrote to the Board for men or means to put them into effect. He tackled the educational problem with full force, for the reasons the Board had long pointed out. Men on the field had to be prepared to take over.* The three seminaries had to be reopened, and no excuses. While the Board came through patiently with extra appropriations as asked, for repairs and refurbishing, he saw that classes were begun even if all was not restored and ready to function on the most efficient level. Furthermore, he appointed people of his own ilk who undertook their work with an unswerving belief in its eventual success. It is interesting to note that even as late as 1895 Taylor and the Board were not seeing eye to eye about the kind of man he had put in charge at Monrovia Seminary. At least, it can be said that the educational system was once more in operation.

Lastly, Taylor's plan included the establishment of new centers of work, not isolated, unrelated missions, but organized planned centers, located in a chain, in relation to each other, to serve as stepping stones to regions beyond. He opened three centers of work, two in new areas, the third, in the midst of the Conference work. All were, one might say obviously, on his system of self-support. He brought out from America his own missionaries to man them although he did occasionally appoint a Liberian. There was a plan behind the founding of these missions; those on the Cavally River he saw as an *entree* to the inland tribes from which thousands could be reached, and in an area as healthy "as our own Hudson." Those along the coast were directed to one tribe, the Krus. As far as he was able he saw to it that these missions were related to all of native life: manual labor for the sake of the mission, and the teaching of skills as a means of livelihood; the introduction of large-scale farms and orchards for the better utilization of the soil and also to supply a steady income; the nursery schools for systematic instruction of children and youth and for their nurture as Christians; and the substitution of the natives' gifts of free land and labor for the missionaries' giving of "dashes." Within this period he brought into existence, all told, twenty-eight centers of work, some of which through the years took on real importance.

While Taylor chose to turn over his work to the Conference and thereby place it under the aegis of the Missionary Society, he was in no sense indicating a failure of his own system. The conditions on which he did so, and the state of the work at the time showed favorably what his method could accomplish. He pointed out that these stations had been carried on "with not a dollar from the Missionary Society" and that they were debt free. He felt that with income from coffee, and certain specific grants from the Society that there should be no trouble in maintaining them, to which end he offered his assistance. The proffer of the missions was in response to what he termed the desire of the Society to "take a controlling hand" in his African missions, but he was prepared to go ahead on his own should the Society decline his offer.[118] The conditions he imposed were three: all stations receiving support from the Society to be under its control. Any person, however, desiring to found or develop a mission to the point of self-support should be free to do so. Lastly, all self-supporting churches abroad should sustain the same relation to the Methodist Episcopal Church as did those at home.[119]

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* His contention was that "the best material for [an] evangelizing agency in any country is the raw material—indigenous—and the best place for its development is the place in which it was born; that is the special business of my foreign missionaries, so that we have some hundreds of native lads and lasses under training for their great life work."—*Seventy-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1895), p. 30.

Until Taylor's appearance, no white male missionary had been sent to Liberia in twenty-seven years. He personally brought to Liberia more than fifty men and women, mostly to take charge of his self-supporting work. By the proof of a good number of white people surviving the rigors of disease and fever, the Board felt reassured. Taylor believed it was God's will that he should concentrate again on building up a force of white missionaries.[120]

Perhaps Taylor's chief value to the Conference was his presence as Bishop from America residing among the African people. Taylor said from the outset that the only way foreign Bishops could be effective in Africa was to "proceed to the field directly to which the Lord called them, eat where they labor, sleep where they eat, commit their way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and allow him to bring to pass results worthy of his own wisdom and preserving power."

One difference in Taylor's method was his reference to a time deadline, a date set for accomplishment. Everyone felt the goal could be realized —and within a short time. Besides, Taylor had an answer for everything— nothing was insuperable or discouraging. Language difficulties, for instance, he would face by introducing a phonetic alphabet. He hoped "by this short cut to have numberless interpreters in three years." If something failed, he always had a positive solution.[121]

South Central Africa was entirely Taylor's field, initiated by him, directed by him, and independent of any controls, either by the Missionary Society or by the Liberia Conference with which it was organically related by District organization. What he accomplished, speaking practically, was a mere beginning, a string of missions stretched across the face of Angola and the Congo. They served to introduce Methodism; they made friends; they established good will; and they made a few converts. When they were removed from Taylor's control and were officially received by the Church's Missionary Society and organized into a Conference some were closed down.

Was Taylor's way, then, a sensible scheme for the evangelization of Africa? One of the real values of the Taylor undertaking was in the spirit in which it was entered and in the faith which believed it could move mountains. As early as 1887, there appeared an editorial in the *Methodist Review,* presumably by Daniel Curry, in recognition of this:

> Not the least valuable of the results that may be expected to accrue from Bishop Taylor's work in Africa is its probable influence in modifying the methods of missionary administration in the field and in the home office. . . . Organic ecclesiastical action is usually quite too conservative to utilize opportunities, or to venture upon perilous enterprises. The sure way to accomplish great results is to go about the work, and often that is possible only through a degree of practical disregard of constituted authority. . . . The hardships of ill-provided expeditions may become the most effective discipline for profitable labor; and if the outgoing host shall be depleted till only a few tried souls remain, these shall see the victory. . . . It is a good thing for a band of missionaries when the faint hearts fall out by the way; and Bishop Taylor's plan of hard service and poor pay may hasten the process among his not always wisely-selected recruits.
>
> The watchword of 'self-support' comes in good time, and it may be hoped that it will accomplish much-needed amendments in the financial affairs of some of our older and well-established missions. It is found to be generally almost absolutely impossible to bring up a mission to the stage of self-support. . . . the continuous and assured receipts of gifts from the home treasury by a foreign mission is far from being wholesome in its action . . . .[122]

The sense of conviction he communicated to his volunteers which led them to dedication of their whole selves can be felt by his summation of purpose written for those at home:

> God is most manifestly leading this movement, and if we go with Him we are bound to succeed on a scale in breadth, depth, and accumulating force, proportionate to the stupendous work to be done, and the available resources of God for this very thing. . . . We must go for a full realization of God's own purposes and plans . . . . We are in for it.[123]

The entire dedication of some is illustrated by the case of Ardella and Samuel Mead, at the Malange station. The farm of three hundred acres had been bought with Mrs. Mead's own money. Taylor offered to refund the money along with interest and have the property deeded to the Transit and Building Fund Society. The Meads prayed over the matter and then returned the reply that "as they had given themselves body and soul to God for his work in Africa they had nothing to withhold, but would at once deed the whole property, free of all incumbrances and no pay, to the Transit and Building Fund Society." [124]

William Rasmussen, a native Dane, provides another example. Converted in the United States in 1885, within six months he left for Africa. For four years he put heart and soul into his work at Vivi before being stricken by hematuric fever. Found insensible, he was sent back to Denmark by officers of the Congo State. Upon recovery of his health, he converted his mother and a number of friends in his homeland, and after a year left for Africa again where he married another missionary. He was arranging to build and open a new station, Brooks No. 2, when his health again broke. After recuperation in Denmark and the United States—where he worked briefly at the Danish mission in Des Moines, Iowa—he again returned to Africa in 1893 with his wife and small son. His health broke for a third and final time in 1895, and he died at the scene of his work.[125]

When Bishop Hartzell reached the field and met the men and women with whom he would work, he had nothing but praise:

> This company of Christian workers commanded my thorough respect as consecrated and faithful servants and handmaidens of the Lord. . . . They had been compelled to struggle, at times with desperation, for the necessaries of life, and to build houses to shelter them from the heat and rain.
>
> They had tried to hold more stations than was possible for their numbers, and had often been sick at heart because they had not more time for direct missionary work among the multitudes about them; their homes were poorly furnished, most of them sleeping on cots, and they could not have many things which in America would be considered absolutely necessary as household comforts. They had been systematic in their studies of the Bible, of good literature, and especially of the works of Wesley and Fletcher.[126]

The question remains whether Taylor's premise concerning self-support in Africa was sound. William Taylor claimed that the Church had two methods in opening new fields, the "primary, apostolic method, of indigenous self-support from the commencement," and the use of funds and the "fostering care" of missionary societies. If these two methods "proceed harmoniously side by side" in England and America, "why can they not do so in any and all other countries?" But what appeared to him to be "undebatable" was considered by others to be a "fanatical, wild scheme" which would lead to scandal and disgrace. He could not see that his primary method would in any way "lessen the number nor retard the work" of the societies, but on the contrary believed that it would enlist "thousands of prophets and prophetesses who never could have been sent out by the Missionary Society . . . ." "Why put such men, already at the front of the battle," he added, "under the control of men ten thousand miles away?" [127]

The Missionary Society was paying about $2,500. annually during these years for ministerial support, but it was also making additional appropriations for specific requests if it felt they were warranted. Bishop Taylor received a salary, as well, which he accepted, not for his personal use but because he wished to have available additional funds to put into his field as he saw fit. How much he may have given to Liberia it is impossible to know. In his own Liberian work, Taylor introduced new industries and occupations, some of which called for initial outlay. He also built well, importing corrugated iron for houses when possible. Such examples had their stimulating effect on the over-all work. Two or three new missions were begun by Liberians on their own following his success. The income received for ministerial support even when combined from both sources—that raised locally and that received from New York—did not cover the cost of living. In order to live, these preachers and the Local Preachers, too, had "the honor of carrying on this work mainly by their own productive industries of various kinds." When the financial accounts were examined in 1896 it was evident that the centers which succeeded were those where a strong trade had been inaugurated with the natives, and in order to conduct such, ofttimes it was necessary to first put a considerable sum of money in stock. In the Congo for some reason trading posts were not set up. The other scheme for raising money, in which a tremendous investment had been made, the river transport business, was a fiasco which undoubtedly played some part in holding back the growth of the District. Isangila and Vivi, for instance, were especially designed to enter on the "transport line of business," as their "paying industry." [128]

Critics were numerous from the beginning and not a little of their criticism had considerable point. It was asserted, for example, that food raised by the missionary cost twice as much as that available in the open market, that it was difficult to make a living during six days which would permit him to follow his missionary function on the Sabbath; that the necessities of earning a livelihood in a secular community sometimes called for a compromise of Christian principles. Probably these charges were half true. Some of Taylor's men having tried the system came up with criticisms out of their own experience. Joseph Wilkes, who with his wife and daughter had been stationed all alone at Pungo Andongo and had a particularly trying time, wrote following his return home three years later that the exigencies of existence forced the missionary to accept work which might be "to repair whiskey stills, false balances, and billiard tables" and "to keep accounts that relate to the white man's rascality in dealing with the ignorant heathen." He described the "destitution among some of the missionaries" as "pitiable in the extreme." [129] Charles A. Ratcliffe, at Luanda, who had the rather easy assignment of beginning an English language school for children of Portuguese residents, wrote, after putting his efforts into this line of self-support for a while, that he was going to resign and take to the road for direct evangelizing endeavors. Otherwise he could not feel that he was engaged in the great missionary movement in Africa.

The nature of some of the jobs cynically offered to missionaries and the kind of trade which had to be accepted in their own trading stores did prey on their conscience. A. E. Withey, Presiding Elder in Angola, wrote in 1891:

> Our Mission Store trade has been radically changed in character during the year, and for the better. The competition trade in rubber and wax it has been judged

> best to discontinue, on account of so much stolen property in this line being offered for sale, which could not be known to be the rightful property of the seller. And in its place, trade in breadstuff has been developed, which brings us nearer to the people to whom we came, and makes us fulfill a sort of Joseph office to the natives, which seems to meet a great need that they have.[130]

Sometimes these real problems were only present at the outset, and as a workable system of self-support was evolved, and the most efficient ways found, a better planned program was introduced.

Withey gave a description of his District in 1892 which indicated a well-rounded life:

> in general from four o'clock A.M. until eight o'clock P.M., with regularity and seasons of rest interspersed, we have been able to study the Holy Scriptures and two foreign languages, read the sermons and writings of the holiest men we have ever heard of, to translate into the Kimbunda a hymn book, catechism, the ten commandments, and portions of the Scriptures for our Ambunda and Brethren to teach our own and native children the word of God, and common English branches of study, 'to preach the word' every Sabbath and other days, . . . to hold Sabbath schools, to work with our hands, to repair station property, and lay foundations of new, and enlargement of old, to care for an increasing trade in five stations; to clothe our adopted children, to relieve the necessities of the poor and needy, to gather the lame, halt, and blind, and feed them, to sing to them in their own language, and teach them the word of God, to treat many sick, to bury the dead and to praise the Lord with cheerful hearts and glad voices of content, 'worshiping Him in the beauty of Holiness.'[131]

Another question which seems debatable was that of time. Not infrequently it was pointed out by critics that a missionary who was given his support by the Board could immediately without worry begin his evangelistic mission and give his entire time to it. Two missionaries could make almost twice as much progress. Under the self-support arrangement, it was claimed, it might take seven men to accomplish what one paid missionary might achieve within the same period of time. It was felt that one way or the other the faith type of mission failed. If seven men were stationed at one place there was a waste of man-power. If only one or two men were stationed, the spread of the Gospel was unduly delayed. To look at the matter in reverse, however, when the question was asked, "what did paid missionaries accomplish in Liberia and in how short a time?" no greater results were seen. In any case, the old familiar directive, "to lay foundations broad and deep," could certainly apply to the Taylor method. Three of his emphases, infant training, industries, indigenous resources, related Christianity to every facet of life of the African. Something must be said for the value of example, too. The Taylor missionaries in deriving their living from Africa itself were becoming at one with the Africans. They were not specialists in the Gospel, that is, one-sided in the aspect they showed of themselves, but people first who lived and labored on the scene and while doing so made God's kingdom their chief love.

One of the most insistent questions concerning Taylor's missionary system was financial. It was claimed by his opponents and sometimes by individuals connected with the Missionary Society that Taylor's was "the most expensive Mission ever established in one year," having cost $63,000., and that possibly it was "immersed in debt to a dangerous point"—a charge vigorously denied by Taylor. In any case, if the total outlay of the Board over the years was added up it would have been discovered that the sum ran to almost a million dollars.[132]

The claim was made that Taylor was constantly appealing for money for his "so-called self-supporting Mission" which was, in reality, supported by money and goods sent from America, the only difference between it and a standard mission being that it had no parent committee and no organization. To this line of argument Taylor replied that the money donated was not a charity "never to be seen again" but an investment for God "on a business principle to fulfill a mission of mercy and come back with a margin of profit for the further extension of the work." [133]

It has to be borne in mind in seeking to evaluate Taylor's missionary approach that it was a mission of faith. It was the belief that this work was of God, that He was in it, that He would provide. It was launched on a self-help basis, but it did not preclude the moving of the Spirit in others to lend a helping hand. When premises were being bought in Luanda, Angola, "a friend of the enterprise" saw fit to give $8,000., the price asked; when the need for a steamer was announced other friends donated $20,000. Taylor believed that by asking it shall be given unto you, although he added, "as you know we never solicit anything."

There was no doubt that Taylor went ahead and made whatever initial investments he felt were warranted to plant his industrial system or provide permanent shelter and mission houses. If some benefactor offered assistance, well and good, but if not he would proceed anyway. Apart from the special gifts, Taylor had his "Africa Fund," made up of general contributions from well-wishers in the United States and England. During a twelve-year period he received into it $54,053. This was greater by far than the amount the missionaries were able to raise on the field through their labor—$28,395.* The Trust Fund established in 1891 in Angola indicated a modification of the self-support principle. It served as a boost to the trade conducted with the natives—the most successful means of income to be found. Taylor was able to allocate to it only $7,773. over a four-year period, which fell short of meeting pressing needs. Hartzell observed in a financial report issued in 1897: "Had the trust or trading fund been enlarged to $10,000 or $12,000 and had the money for buildings and necessary outfits . . . continued, the mission stations occupied could have been held, and much more done in their development." Without a trading fund in the Congo, very little income was derived from the usual self-support schemes, and much of the work had to be neglected.[134]

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* It is interesting to see how income was derived. From the financial books of A. E. Withey, treasurer in Angola, come these figures for the twelve years 1885-97. Day schools at Luanda and Dondo during about four years provided $3,415. of the above. Burling as a mechanic earned around $2,000., and Andrew Myers about $1,000. at the same trade, and another $1,000. was realized from sawing and selling lumber at Malange. The chief income, some $16,800., came from profits in trade with natives at the several stores. Expenditures during the twelve-year period for living and general maintenance showed that on the average support of thirty-five people together cost but $2,584. a year.—*Gospel in All Lands,* December, 1897, p. [545].

The chief contrast between the methods used by organized missionary societies and independents is one of placing of responsibility. An individual who is not duly elected and given a terrible trust of administration of millions of dollars for the sake of the Gospel can well afford to take risks, to venture, and to chance his life and those of his followers (whom he promises nothing better than the possibility of a glorious death). Such a man is in debt to no one; he can well carry "the Flaming Torch," as Taylor aptly titled one of his books, dramatizing and highlighting the work of the Lord, arousing enthusiasm and often pure joy. A missionary society would be irresponsible in the extreme if it did not consider, first of all, the preservation of the lives of those it appointed; if it did not weigh the best use of funds placed in its hands by its entire body of membership; if it did not keep a balanced distribution of men and money all over the world, not emphasizing one field at any particular time. Of course, these points made a difference. The Methodist Missionary Society had method and organization. It was moderate and sensible, as it had to be, but in the process some of the fire of mission undertaking was lost as the years passed by. Taylor was able to obtain what the Society could not, types of applicants who were fearless, even more than that—rugged, robust, and with consuming drive. By his system, too, he was freed of the financial worries which plagued the Board at every step it took. What better contrast than the Board's effort to inaugurate an interior Africa mission—the one at Boporo—and Taylor's Angola, Congo, and East Africa missions.

Bishop Willis King of Liberia comments in his "History" that while Taylor's plan of self-supporting missions has been generally considered a failure, he cannot view it in that light. He writes:

> The final test of the value of Bishop Taylor's plan is what it did in helping to establish the work of Methodism in remote sections of Liberia, and in giving to it such vitality that, in its essentials, the work was carried forward by the people themselves, even after the missionaries withdrew. It is not a mere coincidence that, in some ways, the most vigorous and loyal Methodists in Liberia, are those on the Kru Coast, where mission stations were first established by Bishop Taylor and his self-supporting missionaries. With little aid financially, and left for many years without missionary leadership, they have remained loyal to Methodist traditions, and have kept alive their Christian heritage under most difficult circumstances. They have vindicated the faith which Bishop Taylor had in the possibilities of men of all races and nationalities to enter into the Christian heritage.[135]

The same was true for other centers begun by Taylor. Not all, of course, remained in existence. However, before they are discredited, thought must be given to other factors which affect the welfare of a mission. Particularly in Africa, the introduction of Western civilization and the invasion of the white man created havoc with life patterns based on the simple level of native society. Steamboats, railroads, trading centers caused shifts in population. Unhealthful or badly located towns were more or less evacuated. The ancient trade routes were superseded by roads. But while necessity dictated the removal of missionaries from missions where population was diminishing, later visitors to these deserted mission centers have testified to finding a spirit of Christianity still present.

X

Expanding Foreign Missions—Europe

EARLY METHODISM differed widely from Presbyterianism and Lutheranism in having no close tie with the Churches of continental Europe. At one point, however, religious influence from continental sources made a direct and very significant contribution to the origin and rise of the Methodist Movement. In the evening of May 24, 1738, it will be recalled, John Wesley attended the meeting of a Religious Society in Aldersgate Street, London. There, according to his own words he felt his "heart strangely warmed. . . . did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation" and received the assurance that he was "saved . . . from the law of sin and death." In this meeting Methodism as a spiritual and evangelical force was born. In the influences and events which led up to the experience the European Moravians and their teaching had no small part. He had first met some of them on the voyage to and sojourn in Georgia. He was particularly impressed by Spangenberg, lecturer of Halle University, the Moravian pastor to whose searching questions, "Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" he could give only a hesitating, uncertain answer. Later at Herrnhut in Saxony he witnessed Classes with meetings for personal religious testimony, open air preaching, and preaching by laymen. While at the Aldersgate meeting the inner light burst upon Wesley's mind and heart as "[o]ne was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans." There was comparatively little in common between the spirit and teaching of the nineteenth century Lutheranism of Germany and the Scandinavian countries and the experience and religious faith of the Methodist preachers of the same period. As for the Calvinism of the Reformed Churches, its basic doctrine of predestination was the very antithesis of the Arminian teaching of free grace and universal redemption central in Wesley's preaching* and that of his followers.[1]

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* This statement does not ignore George Whitefield's adoption of the Calvinistic creed nor the founding and spread of the Calvinistic Methodist movement. However, it was apart from the main stream of Methodist life and theology and never took root in America. See John S. Simon, *John Wesley and the Methodist Societies,* pp. 34, 47, 98-99.

Against this background it is understandable why the practice of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the period 1844-95, and more recently, has differed from that of the Presbyterian and Lutheran Churches. In his *One Hundred Years . . .*, a history of the missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (1837-1937), Arthur J. Brown says:

> The Presbyterian Church . . . recognizes that churches . . . known on the Continent as Reformed, have long been established . . . ; that they are indigenous there with European history, traditions and leadership; that they are so widely distributed that there would be no justification for establishing American controlled churches alongside of them; and that any assistance that they require from their American brethren should be given to them for their own work.[2]

While the Methodist Episcopal Church was in general accord with the Presbyterian and Lutheran Churches that Europe was not considered foreign missionary ground for American churches in the same sense as Africa and the Orient, it considered itself fully justified in answering appeals which came from European countries for spiritual help. It also felt justified, when converts were moved, for their own spiritual welfare, to organize Societies within the more formal State Churches and to aid them as their needs seemed to require. The impetus for separate denominational organization, as we shall see, came more from within than from without.*

Norway Mission

Norway, in common with Sweden and Denmark, following the Reformation embraced Lutheranism and supported a State Church. About the middle of the nineteenth century the laws were relaxed sufficiently to allow Catholic and Dissenter worship.

Methodism in Norway owes its introduction to a single founder, Ole Peter Petersen. As a young Norwegian sailor, Petersen had his first contact with the Methodists in Boston in 1843. The next three years brought much serious reflection and a strong feeling of spiritual need. In 1846 he responded to an altar call by Olof Gustaf Hedström,† Swedish pastor of the Bethel Ship Mission in New York Harbor. On a sea voyage thereafter, in March of 1846, his soul found peace.[3]

After an absence of five years, Petersen returned to Norway, arriving at his home in Fredrikstad in June, 1849. His intention was to witness to his new-found life in Christ, and to get married. He was detained for about a year, owing to an inner compulsion to fulfill his self-imposed mission. Meanwhile, he not only impressed his fiancée with his fervent and cogent personal witness but left lasting evidence in homes where he attended or conducted prayer meetings. A number of Hans Nilsen Hauge's[*] followers, given to pietism and critical of formalism in the State Church, were aided by him to a clearer understanding of the sacraments and of evangelical doctrine, including "freedom in Christ" and "the witness of the Spirit." Petersen's plan, at that time, was not to preach nor to create a new denomination.[4]

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* The Bulgaria and Italy missions were exceptions to this statement.

† For Hedström and the Bethel Ship Mission see pp. 271 ff.

In 1850 Petersen, still a layman, returned with his bride to America, meaning to earn his living in coastal journeys at sea but, through the influence of Hedström, who hoped for greater things from him, he was made a Local Preacher in 1851. Shortly thereafter Bishop E. S. Janes sent him as a missionary to the Norwegians in upper Iowa. Meanwhile, people in his native land in whom he had awakened desire for a more vital faith were appealing to Hedström and to the Missionary Society for Petersen or someone equally well qualified to come and preach to them.

> At a meeting of the Foreign German Committee of the Mission Board, held March 16, 1853, Pastor Hedstrom called attention to this revival in Norway, begotten of the visit of Mr. Petersen, and a special committee was raised by the Board to bring the subject before the Bishops having charge of foreign missions.[†] The committee promptly discharged their duty, and on the 8th of June following Bishop Waugh addressed a letter to Mr. Petersen, recalling him from Iowa, and directing him to report to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society as missionary to Norway. His business, as the Bishop told him, was "to raise up a people for God" in Norway.[5]

On July 31, 1853, Bishop Waugh ordained Petersen both deacon and elder and in December he arrived in Fredrikstad, Norway. During his three-year absence Methodism had flourished, but Mormonism also had gained ground, coming from America by way of the Danish Mormon mission at Copenhagen. Some Norwegians, it was reported, knew no distinction between Mormonism and Methodism. Many doors were at once thrown open to the Methodist preacher from America. He went about preaching with power before large gatherings. People were awakened and his first letters to the missionary office reported some fourteen conversions. But offense also was taken by some that a missionary had been sent "to so enlightened a nation as Norway." Others objected to the novel doctrines of the Witness of the Spirit and complete sanctification. Opposition "occasionally became violent." [6]

Petersen meanwhile was made to feel like an alien, since the laws required that in order to leave the State Church a person must testify before a magistrate he had elected to follow a certain non-Lutheran pastor, who likewise must appear before the same magistrate, show his credentials, and swear obedience to the laws of the land. For the first two years he considered it advisable to counsel his converts to remain in the Lutheran establishment, despite the awkward and uncomfortable relations. His reasons were twofold. In the first place, he thought it best not to give the impression that conversion consisted in transferring from one Church to another. Also, he felt that his followers would be stronger in their determination if they were given opportunity to weigh the consequences more carefully and unhurriedly.

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[*] Hans Nilsen Hauge (1771-1824), the son of a peasant, convinced that he was divinely commissioned, began to preach at the age of twenty-six, attacking rationalism and calling people to repent. He was thrown into prison and for twenty years (1804-24) was held in custody. His followers, known as Haugianer, or *Leser* (that is, readers), were earnest believers in evangelical doctrine.—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1954, XI, 253.

[†] A few months earlier the General Missionary Committee (Nov. 9, 1852) had shown an interest in missions in Scandinavia by making an appropriation of $750. "for work in Norway and Sweden." At the 1853 meeting the appropriation was increased to $2,000.—"Minutes, General Missionary Committee," Vol. A, Nov. 9, 1852; Nov. 3, 1853.

With the beginning of a revival in Sarpsborg, a town of about one thousand people, not far from Fredrikstad, Petersen took up residence there, while he continued to travel extensively. He reported striking successes in Sarpsborg, with many seeking help through prayer. Still, in all humility, he said he did not understand why the Methodist Church had entrusted him with so important an assignment in this "dry land." The work was arduous and exhausting. At times it was a chore to remove his shoes before retiring at night. He wrote, "I have for some time been traveling six or seven miles on the Sabbath, all on foot, and preached three times; sometimes to very large congregations. In addition . . . , I preach as often in the evening through the week as I can get opportunity."[7]

Petersen's reports in the fall of 1855 complained of lonesomeness, of having received no word of advice or encouragement from New York, and of accomplishing only a few conversions during the summer. He was diligent and consecrated but temporarily frustrated:

> I love the doctrine and like to converse about it. But when I speak in its favor I feel an inward voice saying, Teach yourself before you teach others. . . . I feel, sir, that we are but ill-qualified as yet to establish a mission in this foreign land without books and a man able and qualified for this undertaking. . . . I am not able to undertake the work without more help and means. . . . We have twenty privileges in America to one in this country. And if I may be allowed to speak the true feeling of my heart, I should be very glad and thankful to God if there were a sure way opened for me from Norway to America again. I often wonder whether I have any personal religion or not. Please remember us, and do what you can for us.[8]

In July, 1856, Christian Willerup,* who had been serving in the Wisconsin Conference as a missionary to the Norwegian and Danish people, arrived in Norway, under appointment of Bishop Morris, as Superintendent of the Scandinavian Mission. He became pastor at Fredrikshald (later Halden), not to be confused with Fredrickstad, while Petersen remained in nearby Sarpsborg. Withdrawals from the State Church now began. Among the first to leave was Andrew Haagensen, then a young man, who joined the Methodists to give his life to preaching and editing. He and eleven others submitted a request to the government church department for permission to organize an independent congregation at Sarpsborg, with Petersen as pastor. They also sought recognition as a branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church. With the granting of these requests, Methodism became the first dissenting body to benefit from the law of 1845 making independent congregations possible.[9] On September 11, 1856, the first Methodist Society in Norway was organized at Sarpsborg with about fifty members. At the close of the year the Society had grown to 119 members. A Sunday school was begun, the first of any denomination in Norway. Before the close of the year Halden (Fredrickshald) likewise had a Society of about seventy members and a Sunday school. Many of Petersen's adherents kept their names on the books of the State Church. Possibly some attended his meetings as a convenience, there being no Lutheran church in Sarpsborg.

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* See pp. 276 f., 279.

An adequate church building was now the immediate need in Sarpsborg. Meetings were being held in private homes, in shops, and in schoolhouses and sometimes, Willerup reported, "not only the house has been full, but many have stood in the yard and on the street." He prayed that God would provide a "sufficiently roomy and substantial meeting house." In 1857 the congregation erected the first Methodist church building, without help from the Missionary Society.[10]

Willerup was much encouraged by the growing number of adherents, as well as by the episcopal visit in 1857 of Matthew Simpson, the first visit of a Bishop to Norway. He relieved Willerup of his pastoral charge and appointed him to Copenhagen, "that he might lift up the standard of evangelical religion" in the capital of Denmark and that he might be a more general evangelist.

Engebert Arresen, once a Haugian preacher, was appointed to the west coast town of Porsgrunn. There a Society was organized on May 22, 1858.[11]

In 1858 Bishop Morris appointed S. A. Steensen and A. Cederholm, both from the Scandinavian missions in the United States, as missionaries to Norway. Steensen was sent to Sarpsborg to work with Petersen. The next year Petersen returned to the United States and for nine years the Norway Mission was deprived of his assistance. On his departure Steensen became pastor. Cederholm was appointed first to Enningdal and a little later to Halden, which in 1859 had 148 members, two Local Preachers, four Exhorters, and nine Class Leaders.[12]

On the threshold of the 1860's total membership in Norway reached 595, with Sarpsborg (250), Halden (184), and Porsgrunn (90) having the largest number of members. Three new preaching places, Eidsberg, Holand, and Enningdal, had been established. There were now five pastors and five Local Preachers. Five Sunday schools were reported, with a combined membership of 134.[13] Although faithful work was done by the pastors little advance was made during 1860-65. Willerup's reports as Mission Superintendent were much the same year after year for all the stations. In 1861 Holand became a four-point Circuit served by P. Olsen, assisted by M. Hansen. In 1863 two new appointments were added, Hedmark County and Odalen. The next year a small Society was organized in Kristiania (now Oslo).[14]

Corresponding Secretary Durbin, who visited Norway in 1866, was of the opinion that emigration to America was the chief hindrance to more rapid growth of the mission. He noted also the lack of literature in the Norwegian language and the great need of a school for the ministry. Also:

> He noted the obstructions to Methodism that were interposed by the clergy, and such as came from the laws that prevented the exercise of the pastoral office by dissenters; and he advised that measures be taken to obtain formal authority to exercise the pastorate; and if it should not be granted, then he advised the Methodists to proceed to the exercise of pastoral functions without it and to let the question of privilege be tested by law.[15]

Bishop Calvin Kingsley made an inspection of the Norway Mission in 1868. His study of the situation convinced him that Willerup's administration—partly because his residence was in Copenhagen—was less effective than it should be. In reaching this conclusion he agreed with O. P. Petersen, who had suggested as much in correspondence with the Bishop. Accordingly, he appointed separate Superintendents for the three Scandinavian countries, naming Petersen as Superintendent of the Norwegian work. He instructed Petersen, then in Wisconsin, to proceed to Norway and administer the mission "until it should be revived and should spread widely and with power." [16]

Reluctantly leaving his family behind, Petersen made his way back to Norway in the summer of 1868. He found conditions no less challenging than in the 1850's. In his first report following his return he emphasized problems growing out of the subordinate relationship of Methodism to the state religion. He was particularly concerned over the influence exercised by the State Church upon the children.

> You may depend upon it, that so long as we shall have to send our children and youths to the Lutheran State Church for training, we will not be able to make much progress as a Church, and our children will not fare very well, at times they will be abused; if that was all it might be borne with, but they must listen too, and be instructed in some of the State Church heresies, and be told that they must not follow their parents, but come back to the State Church and be confirmed therein, otherwise they cannot be respected or married, but will be looked upon as heathens, etc.[17]

Petersen arrived in Norway in June, 1869. For that year he reported, conservatively, a total membership of only 656. There were ten preaching points, seven church edifices, and nine Sunday schools. Within three months he had visited all points in the Norway Mission and had "preached often to large and attentive congregations," where God had manifested His power and awakened the souls of the listeners. He was disturbed, however, that the mission appealed, for the most part, to "the poorer classes, who work from five o clock in the morning to seven and eight o clock at night for about sixty cents a day." Among the few more prosperous who attended, there was a tendency to hold back because of the pressure of the poorer folk who crowded the small and uncomfortable meeting places. Nevertheless, the revival spirit was so pronounced that the State Church built prayer houses next to its churches and permitted laymen to speak against Methodism.[18]

In accordance with his understanding with Bishop Simpson, Petersen took leave of Norway in 1871. He had accomplished much in two years. Membership had risen from 656 to 975; five new Sunday schools had been organized, and the number of scholars had increased from 241 to 604.[19]

To succeed Petersen, Martin Hansen was appointed Acting Superintendent. He had been converted as a seaman through Episcopal and Methodist influences in New Orleans in 1855, and had returned to his home in Sarpsborg. Here he joined the Methodist Church in 1857. His ordination as elder followed in 1870. Among the earlier congregations that he served were Porsgrunn, Skien, Brevik, Halden, Horten, and Oslo. His new appointment was popular with his ministerial colleagues. On his initiative a children's paper, *Den Lille Børneven* (*The Friend of the Little Children*) and *Evangelisk Kirkentidende* (*Evangelical Church Times*) began publication.[20]

Hansen's reports from Oslo reveal a healthy growth. In 1873 he was appointed Superintendent in full charge. He could record that in the capital city alone 120 persons in full connection and 177 on probation had been added to the church rolls. The construction of a new chapel to accommodate 1,200 was begun in 1873. One widow gave $4,500. in the form of property. Other members contributed sacrificially. The building cost $16,800., about half of which was paid at the time of dedication in 1874. Because of the economic doldrums in the 1870's both in Europe and in America, the Oslo debt hung heavily upon the pastor and his parishioners. Hansen found time to open a school for the training of young men for the ministry. It soon had seven students, but, since the enterprise required financial assistance from the Missionary Society, its future was uncertain.[21]

Bitter opposition to Methodism developed in the west coast seaport city of Stavanger, where Anders Olsen began preaching in 1874. One clergyman delivered some forty polemics against the Methodist heresy, while others were only less vitriolic. Pastors and members of the Church were ridiculed. Verses in derision of the "Methodists" were sung. And as late as the watch night service of 1876 worshipers were disturbed and alarmed by an unruly crowd outside.[22]

Hansen proved to be an efficient Superintendent. During his term of office Methodism was given a solid footing in Norway. While there had been thirty-three preaching points in 1870 there were in 1875 eighty-two. Among the more promising charges, recently organized, were Kragero, Larvik, Kongsberg, Honefoss, Furnes, and Stavanger. From 896, membership had increased to 1,870. On probation were another 637. Annual offerings had risen from about $3,000. to over $13,000. While nothing had been raised in 1870 for missionary purposes or for self-support, during the Conference year ending June, 1875, $843. was paid to the Missionary Society and $823. was gathered for self-support.

The Superintendent briefly summarized the progress of these years:

> We have gone forward both spiritually and financially; we have grown in numbers and in strength; and I think it may be said, to the glory of God, that the members in every Society are growing in wisdom and grace. I think there are very few of them who are not truly converted to God, for, in the first place, we do not generally receive any in full connection of which we have not reason to believe that they are converted; and, secondly, we exclude every member who will not walk in the ways of our Lord. And, besides, backsliders commonly leave us of their own accord and go back to the State Church.[23]

NORWAY CONFERENCE

The time had come for Conference organization. Pursuant to the action of the 1876 General Conference[*] Bishop E. G. Andrews convened the Norway Conference on August 17, 1876. Charter members were six Norwegian preachers who had previously been elected as elders in the Wisconsin Conference and one as deacon. Five preachers were received on trial and three were admitted into full connection. Christian Willerup was transferred back from the Denmark Mission to give him Conference status although he was to continue his work in Denmark. Receipts for self-support and benevolences had materially increased. There were seven much-needed Local Preachers, eighty-three Exhorters, thirty-six Sunday schools with 1,859 pupils, and seventeen churches and chapels. Appointments[†] were divided into two Districts, Kristiania and Porsgrunn.

Certain restrictions still hindered the growth of the Church. It was impossible, for example, for persons under nineteen years of age to leave the

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[*] *G. C. Journal*, 1876: "That a Conference be organized in Norway to embrace that country, and to be called the Conference of Norway."—P. 301.

[†] Appointments were: *Kristiania District*, Presiding Elder, Martin Hansen; *Oslo*, Frederick Ring, one to be supplied; *Hamar and Furnes*, Lars Doblong; *Odalen and Kongsvinger*, Lars Brynildsen; *Holand*, Christen N. Hauge; *Moss*, Joseph Wahlstrom; *Fredrikstad*, H. Joachim Petersen; *Sarpsborg*, Hans P. Thorstensen; *Halden (Fredrikshald)*, Christian Willerup; *Drammen*, Hans P. Bergh; *Kongsberg*, Bernt Jorgensen; *Honefoss*, Nils Jonassen. *Porsgrunn District:* Presiding Elder, Anders Olsen; *Stavanger*, Ole Olessen; *Arendal*, to be supplied; *Kragero*, to be supplied; *Brevik*, Bernt Larssen; *Porsgrunn*, Peter Olsen; *Skien*, Christian P. Rund; *Larvik*, Carl L. Carlberg; *Horten*, Seved Hansson.— *Gen'l Minutes*, 1876, pp. 109 f.

State Church, hence probationary members of the Methodist Societies had to be at least that old. It was not possible for Methodist members, no matter how well educated, to become schoolteachers, military or naval officers, judges, or apothecaries. Bishop Andrews, however, was impressed by the extent of freedom which dissenting Churches enjoyed.

> Boards of trustees can be regularly incorporated, and hold property for the Methodist Episcopal Church. The rites of marriage, baptism, and the Lord's supper, performed by our ministers, are of unquestioned validity. No espionage is held upon our assemblies. All is entirely free.[24]

The Bishop was convinced that Methodism was making a significant contribution to Norwegian church life:

> far beyond its organized and numerical success, it has quickened religious thought, has made manifest the defects of the existing Church life, has stirred the pastors to greater activity, has introduced in many places better measures for the religious improvement of the people, (the prayer meeting societies are an evidence,) and thus beyond its own proper limits has done great good. I believe that this result is of incalculable value, and amply repays all our efforts.[25]

In 1877 Bishop Andrews again presided over the Conference. He found that progress during the year had been "eminently satisfactory." A reduction in missionary appropriations for the first six months of 1877 had necessitated greater efforts for self-support. Prior to the annual session the Presiding Elders had ascertained in their respective Quarterly Conferences the ability of the Societies "to bear additional burdens." Thus equitable apportionments could be made for the coming year. Assessments for self-support were increased.[26]

The years 1876-80 were characterized by both temporal and spiritual difficulties. Annual Conference sessions were held in successive years in Horten, Oslo, Stavanger, and Drammen. In 1877 Frederick Ring, by resigning as pastor of the strategic Oslo church, helped to set in motion a series of withdrawals. He is said to have inaugurated an independent evangelistic movement which centered chiefly in himself.[27]

The economic situation was very serious. Hansen said in his 1879 report:

> The reason of our pecuniary troubles has been the general suspension of business every-where in the country, on account of which the wages have been considerably reduced, and several of our members been without work and without bread. With regard to Church matters, there has been a disorganizing tendency among our people, caused by persons who seem to wish to elevate themselves above the ordinances of the Lord and all other authority. Under the influence of this commotion the people have been running here and there, forgetting the one thing needful . . . .
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> * * * *
>
> The Sunday-school work has also been hindered and restrained in no small degree by the whirlwinds that have agitated our spiritual atmosphere. The fault may partly be with the parents, and perhaps with some of the teachers, but the chief

cause is, doubtless, to be found in the selfishness, willfulness, and the perverted and distorted idea of liberty that appear at present to be prevailing.

Anders Olsen told of similar difficulties in the Porsgrunn District. Hansen subsequently pointed out that economic trials were forcing some congregations, then in debt, to seek once more financial assistance from the Church at large. The men were mostly day laborers, who generally could not earn fifty cents a day, and the women, who were in the majority, earned little or nothing.[28]

Bishop S. M. Merrill convened the 1880 Annual Conference on August 19. He vigorously seconded the appeal of the Conference to the Board for special appropriations in relief of pressing church debts, particularly at Drammen and Larvik. The statistics, he stated, could not reveal all that the churches did for themselves such as relief of poverty of members, payment of rents, and payment of State Church taxes.

The Bishop was distressed by the opposition and the handicaps imposed by the State Church. In some instances imposing edifices were erected near the plain chapels of the poorer Methodists. All dissenters were required to contribute toward the cost and maintenance of the stately structures that they never frequented. In addition to these hindrances to increase of membership heavy emigration caused serious losses. As a result membership in 1880 fell off 225 from the preceding year.[29]

In 1880 Martin Hansen left Norway for America. However, this loss was at least partly compensated for by the arrival of John H. Johnson from the Norwegian-Danish Conference, who was appointed Presiding Elder of the Kristiania District. He appears to have been equally effective on both sides of the Atlantic.* In his first report from Norway he declared that he had traveled and preached daily to well-filled meeting houses. "The Spirit of God," he said, was at work.[30]

The 1881 session of the Conference at Fredrikstad was marked by tremendous enthusiasm. "At all the public meetings the chapel was densely packed, and at the preaching services, held in a large hall, no less than three thousand persons were present." The popular response was, in fact, much greater than the official membership would suggest, for at that juncture there were not even three thousand in full connection.[31] Bishop J. T. Peck presided at the Conference. Visitors included Secretary John M. Reid and Karl Schou, Superintendent of the Denmark Mission. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Methodism in Norway was observed. Martin Hansen's effort to maintain a school at Oslo, because of lack of financial support from America, had proved unsuccessful and urgent need was felt for a theological institute. A lively discussion occurred concerning the feasibility of establishing a union seminary for the three Scandinavian missions, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. Because of unexplained difficulties "not easily surmounted," the three committees appointed to consider the project—one from each country—found the proposal unworkable.[32]

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* John H. Johnson (1837[?]-96) emigrated from Norway in 1857 and located at Perry, Wisc., where he became a district school teacher. In 1859 he united with the Methodist Church and later was licensed as a Local Preacher. He enlisted at the beginning of the Civil War in the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment, composed mostly of Scandinavians in which, after the resignation of the chaplain, he received from the government a chaplain's commission. In 1865 he was received on trial in the West Wisconsin Conference. He became a member of the Norwegian-Danish Conference at its organization in 1880 and in August of that year sailed for Europe as a missionary. He held important pastorates in Wisconsin, including Richland, Sheboygan, and Racine. For twenty-two years, in Norway and the United States, he served as Presiding Elder. At the time of his death he was pastor of the First Norwegian Methodist Episcopal Church in Chicago.—Obit., *Christian Advocate,* LXXI (1896), 50 (Dec. 10), 883; Official Biographical Files, Division of World Missions.

New congregations in Trondheim and Haugesund were reported in the Larvik Conference of 1882. In 1883 chapels were built at Bergen and at the glassworks near Rands Fjord Station. In Trondheim a two-story building, favorably located, was converted into a combination parsonage and chapel, the chapel being on the second floor. Johnson wrote to the New York office concerning Trondheim: "nobly has the missionary, our dear brother Ristvedt, with a few true-hearted men and women, toiled and struggled to get our work firmly established here; and here is the most important point for our mission work north of the Dovre Mountains." The chapel in Bergen, seating five hundred persons, also was erected above a first-floor parsonage. Considerable indebtedness resulted, but Bergen was no exception in that respect.[33]

The Conference of 1884 in Bergen brought news of much activity in church building. New churches were dedicated at Tonsberg and Eidsberg while several others were refurbished. Nels E. Simonsen and James A. Sanaker, both later to become prominent in Norwegian mission work in the United States, were ordained by Bishop John F. Hurst. A committee was named to collaborate with similar committees in Denmark and the United States in composing a common hymnal.[34]

Notably active in the work of the Church at this time were two women, one of them a hymn writer and the other a public speaker. Elevine Heede, while studying in France, came into contact with a Wesleyan minister and his family. Her life was changed. For a time she taught the Norwegian and English languages in the Methodist theological school in Oslo, editing meanwhile a children's paper. Of even greater significance was her preparation of *Sions Harpe,* the recognized hymnal of Norwegian Methodism. She composed some original hymns, including the beloved "Aand fra himlen" ("Spirit from Heaven"), and translated others from the German and English languages.

Frederikke Nilsen played a somewhat different role. A well-known actress for twenty-six years, she was at the time of her conversion the *prima donna* of the theater in Bergen. Eventually she took to the Methodist pulpit, despite general opposition to women's participation in public affairs. On occasion she digressed from preaching to lecturing, especially on the right of women to preach. Not only did she attract large crowds in the Scandinavian countries but likewise in America, where she appeared in some three hundred cities and towns in twenty states. At the time of her death in 1912 Norway and Denmark were about to adopt woman suffrage, a tribute to the indefatigable labors of Mrs. Nilsen and her associates.[35]

The 1885 Conference was held in the city of Trondheim. The location was described in a most interesting way in the *Annual Report of the Missionary Society:*

> Far up in the North, farther north than, perhaps, a Methodist Conference was ever before held, at Trondhjem . . . the Norway Conference met this year, on the 11th day of June. The old cathedral of the city, built in 1035, is the most remarkable edifice in the kingdom. This was the capital of the old Norwegian kings, and the old palace still stands, being used as an arsenal. In this . . . place, amid a most interesting people, Methodism had a week of great interest and gladness while the Bishop and preachers conferred together as to how spiritual holiness could be spread over that 'land of the midnight sun.'[36]

Optimistic reports of progress were made by Johnson, serving as Presiding Elder of the Bergen District, and Lars Petersen, Presiding Elder of the Kristiania District. A mission had been opened at Kristiansand on the southeast coast and churches built at Haugesund and at Tistedal, near Halden.[37]

Bishop Cyrus D. Foss presided at the eleventh Annual Conference, which met in Halden in 1886 with twenty-six Conference members present. The Bishop emphasized the significance of the Sunday-school movement in a country where thirty years before such a thing as a Sunday school was unknown. Now not only mission churches but "every State Church" had a school. The "evangelical leaven," he said, had permeated religious thought and earnest religionists continued to awaken people from "their doctrinal ceremonial stupor." To this Johnson added: "Not only the work of temperance and lay preaching, but every other good work in the country has been quickened and advanced by the presence and work of Methodism."

In Kragero a lot was bought and plans made to build a chapel following a revival. New mission work was undertaken in Levanger and in Vardalsoren where a merchant soon began to build a chapel. In the same year new Societies were organized in Hamar and Kristiansund (not to be confused with Kristiansand).

Encouragement was stimulated not alone by evidence of spiritual growth, but also by increased membership. The reports for 1886 recorded 3,737 members and 659 probationers. There were thirty-one churches and chapels and forty-eight Sunday schools with an enrollment of 4,099.[38]

The 1887 Annual Conference met in Oslo. The year was notable in the improvements made in churches and in church building. At Lister a new church, costing 4,700 crowns, was dedicated. Two new Societies were organized—a second organization, located in the center of the city, at Oslo, and a Society at Vardalsoren, sixty miles north of Trondheim. Heavy emigration to the United States prevented continuance of growth in church membership.[39]

One of "the most substantial, fine, and well furnished churches" in the mission was dedicated at Skien in 1888. A frame church at Kristiansand and a brick church at Kragero were dedicated; also a church at Kongsberg. At long last Johnson was able to report that the theological school at Oslo was in operation. In 1885 announcement was made of 12,000 crowns having been collected for its establishment. The school began with six students, and M. Hansen as principal. Courses were given in the Norwegian, English, and Greek languages, Church history, theology (Wakefield's), Bible exegesis, counseling and psychology. The Board of Education (U.S.) made a grant of $250. for loans to students. A factor retarding Church growth not previously mentioned was stated in Johnson's report. Many converts, he said, were intrigued by the so-called "free-mission" movement which discouraged church membership. In 1888 Johnson left Norway to return to the United States. M. Hansen was reappointed to the Bergen District to succeed Johnson.[40]

Bishop Charles H. Fowler met the 1889 Norway Conference on July 17 at Kongsberg. Little of special interest was reported. At Hamar a new church had been built. J. Lanaker was elected as principal of the theological school in succession to Hansen. Anders Olsen succeeded Petersen as Presiding Elder of the Kristiania District.[41]

The Skien congregation were hosts to the 1890 Annual Conference in their new church, Bishop H. W. Warren presiding. Under Hansen's active leadership the Bergen District was able to make a good report, although only four of its charges had a hundred or more members. The District stretched "along the Norway coast from Kragero to Hammerfest," the most northerly town on the globe, a distance of more than 1,200 miles. The District had a number of small churches, some of which were "new and very poor." On July 6 a new church for the Society of twenty-five members was dedicated at Egersund. At Hammerfest, which had a population of 2,300, Hansen organized a Society of eighteen members on May 25. A second preacher was sent to Bergen, the second largest city in the country, with a population of 48,000, so that work might be carried on in two sections of the city. On the Kristiania District, as for several years past, little progress was reported.[42]

Only a fragmentary report of the 1891 Annual Conference, held at Bergen in July under the presidency of Bishop J. M. Walden, reached the Board office. The Conference voted two to one against the admission of women to General Conference and was also against equal representation of laymen. During the year sixteen Epworth League chapters had been organized, with a combined enrollment of three hundred young people, in contrast with earlier years when their membership in a dissenting Church was illegal.[43]

In 1892 the Conference was divided into five Districts: Tromso District, in the north, with only three churches; Trondheim, with four appointments "reaching from Aalesund [Alesund] to Levanger, a distance of 180 miles"; Bergen District with twelve appointments; Larvik District, with seven, extending from Skien to Drammen, about 130 miles; and Kristiania District, covering an extensive area, with fifteen appointments. Only two of the five Presiding Elders traveled their Districts.* Of the other three, two were pastors and the third was principal of the theological school. The school in 1893 had nine students preparing for the ministry. The need for it became more apparent every year. This year there were several town and country places in which preaching might have been established but preachers were lacking. During the year the fifth Society in Oslo was organized, made up of members transferred from the first church. Two chapels were dedicated during the year, one at Hammerfest, the other at Tauggronden, a village several miles from Kongsberg. At Oslo an orphanage had been opened. The first contribution toward it (500 crowns) had been made by M. Hansen as a memorial to his deceased daughter. Friends also aided by additional gifts. In 1893 twenty orphans were being cared for.[44]

Debts on many of the churches continued to be an impediment to growth, increasing the difficulty of adding new members. Other hindrances were enumerated by J. Thorkildsen, Presiding Elder of the Bergen District, in his 1894 report:

> The slow going character of the people, with some marked exceptions, the prevalent tendency against reforms, and the naturally cramped state of the lines of communication often make mission work very difficult.[45]

The 1895 Conference met at Stavanger, Bishop James N. FitzGerald presiding. Increase of full membership for the year was 118; there were, however, only thirty-four more probationers than in 1894. Most of those converted, he said, as in previous years, did not become members of Methodist Societies but stayed in the State Church.

> The Bishop also visited some other places, preaching the word of God to multitudes. At Bergen he dedicated a new chapel for the Second Church there. . . . The chapel . . . is a solid building with good light, and has sittings for five hundred hearers. The debt is large . . . . At Voss, a country place about seventy miles from Bergen, a new chapel was also dedicated by the bishop.[46]

This year, which marked the end of the period 1845-95, the Norway Conference had thirty-one ordained and thirteen unordained Norwegian preachers. Other helpers numbered sixty-seven. There were 4,736 members in full connection and 509 probationers. In addition 2,555 adherents were reported, and 10,450 attendants at public worship. The forty-three churches and chapels were supplemented by ten halls and other places of worship. The fifty-seven Sunday schools enrolled 5,728 pupils. Little effort had been made to provide parsonages. This year only one was reported. Other than the active effort in behalf of temperance reform little emphasis was placed on social work. Also, in contrast to most of the overseas missions, women's work had no distinctive place in the mission program.[47]

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* In 1892 the Presiding Elders were: *Bergen District,* Johan Thorkildsen; *Kristiania District,* T. B. Barratt; *Larvik District,* James A. Sanaker; *Tromso District,* J. P. Lie; *Trondheim District,* Anders Halversen.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1895, p. 275.

The membership as stated in these statistics by no means represents the total results achieved in the four decades of earnest effort. Every year some of the converts—in some years a considerable proportion—emigrated to America where they became members of the rapidly growing Methodist Societies in the Middle West and Northwest. Norwegian emigrants, in proportion to the population of their country, exceeded in number the emigrants of all other European countries, with the exception of Ireland. Many of the converts—in some years a majority—remained in the State Church. While this restricted the growth of the Methodist Church it is probable that it was a factor in modifying the rigid formalism and contributing to the warmth of the religious life of the State Church. While the Methodists constituted a small minority in Norway during these years they nevertheless gave impetus to the movement for religious toleration, temperance reform, and the religious education of children.

DENMARK MISSION

As in Norway, so also in Denmark at mid-century, dissatisfaction was felt with the stiff formalism and privileged political position of the State Church. At the same time apathy in matters of moral and spiritual concern prevailed. Hans Nilsen Hauge of Norway helped to lay the groundwork for free church movements. Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig's advocacy of the "living word" in preference to dogmatic liberalism in theology gave inspiration to the popular movement.* The Danish government voted religious toleration in 1849.

The first Methodist to preach in Denmark, according to Haagensen, was a Dane, Boie Smith, who had turned to Methodism in New York City in 1849. In 1857 he returned to his native land where he was engaged by the Scandinavian Mission.[48]

Christian B. Willerup of the Scandinavian Mission, released by Bishop Matthew Simpson in 1857 from his pastorate at Halden "that he might be a more general and active evangelist," and particularly that he might undertake a Danish mission, arrived in Denmark about the first of July, 1858. In that year the Missionary Society announced that a goodly number of persons in Kobenhavn (Copenhagen) were preparing to become members of the Methodist Episcopal Church by applying to the government for separation from the State Church. On January 11, 1859, the first Methodist Episcopal Society in Denmark was organized in Copenhagen.[49]

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* Grundtvig (1783-1872), a Danish poet, statesman, and divine, first expressed bold theological opinions in 1810. For many years he was forbidden to preach, but in 1832 he was again given freedom to express his views in the pulpit. His theology was characterized by a substitution of the authority of the "living word" for the apostolic commentaries. His aim was to see each congregation almost autonomous. Patriotism had a large part in his dogma; he established popular schools in which national poetry and history were part of the curriculum. His followers regarded everything as pure, and therefore were free to enjoy all pleasures.

Denmark at this time comprised the peninsula of Jutland and a group of islands in the Baltic Sea. Beginning in Copenhagen, the capital city, on the island of Sjaelland, the mission expanded into smaller centers of population. In late 1858 or January, 1859, and again in 1860, J. P. Larsson, of Swedish birth, who had for a while continued Willerup's work in Halden, having his hands tied in Sweden by the lack of religious freedom, joined Willerup to assist him temporarily in Copenhagen, but returned to Norway in 1861, this time to Fredrickstad. Also in 1860 Boie Smith commenced to preach in Vejle and Markus Nielsen came from Porsgrunn, Norway, to open a mission in Svendborg. In 1861 Lars Doblong was transferred from Norway to aid Willerup. By 1862 Societies were organized in Vejle and Svendborg. C. Johansen, once a leader in a free church in Norway, was appointed in 1863 to Aalborg, formerly included in the Norway Mission. Work was begun in Faaborg and Trolleborg in 1865, with Christian Sorensen as pastor.[50]

In 1864 Willerup reported that although members had increased at every place where a Society had been formed yet on account of removals, principally by emigration to America, the total membership for all Scandinavian work was less than stated in his report for the previous year.[51]

Probably the greatest immediate need was a church building in Copenhagen. As early as 1861, Willerup had declared that the house in Copenhagen was crowded with people, mostly of the poorer classes. "The higher classes and persons of position," he reported, "drop away on account of the uncomfortable quarters we are confined in." But he did not wonder at their leaving. Sometimes the throng and the atmosphere were "almost intolerable." [52] Financial aid came from a wealthy Copenhagen man, converted by the mission, who gave 3,000 rix-dollar (about $1,500.) toward a church. Also, Harold Dollner, Danish consul-general and merchant in New York, gave liberally and in his will provided for building additional churches. The General Missionary Committee appropriated $5,000. in 1861 and the Missionary Society promised in 1863 whatever amount was necessary for the completion of the Copenhagen church, knowing that Dollner had already contributed $5,000. in 1863 and might donate more.[53] War between Denmark and Prussia in 1864 delayed construction but finally the building was completed and on January 6, 1866, the beautiful brick structure of St.

Paul's Methodist Church, Byzantine in style, was dedicated. Among the audience of a thousand people were several dignitaries, including a judge of the Supreme Court, the governor of the city, some university professors, some Lutheran ministers, members of Parliament, and Joseph A. Wright, United States minister to Berlin. Wright delivered an impressive speech before the altar, with P. K. Rye interpreting for him. Rye, who had been assisting Willerup in Copenhagen since 1864, was associate pastor of the church, which at that time had only ninety-eight members, including probationers, and a Sunday school of twenty-two pupils. The church was later renamed St. Mark's, partly to accommodate the Lutherans since they too had a St. Paul's Church in the city. Denmark at the close of 1865 had five appointments: Copenhagen, Vejle, Svendborg, Aalborg, and Faaborg (which included Trolleborg), with 181 members in all.[54]

Corresponding Secretary Durbin visited Denmark along with the other Scandinavian missions in the summer of 1866. He judged on the basis of his observations that the opportunity for evangelization was not as great in Denmark as in Norway.

> It is noticeable that our missions in the country circuits in Denmark do not prosper as in Norway; and I suggested to Brother Willerup, . . . [that it would] be better to employ the brethren in Norway if he had need of more men there. He seemed convinced that we ought not to let these Danish missions be disbanded. Two or three years will indicate the best policy to be pursued in this respect.[55]

In 1868 three superintendencies were created for the Scandinavian countries; Willerup, a Dane, was continued in charge of the Danish Mission. In 1869 four ordained men carried the responsibility of ministering to 219 members on three Circuits and nineteen preaching points. Four Sunday schools enrolled 326 children. M. Nielsen, who had been appointed to the Copenhagen church, found on examining the register that of all those who had been received into church membership since the beginning of the mission, seventy-three had emigrated to America; 133 had withdrawn or been expelled; and thirteen had died; leaving 100 members, of whom fifteen were probationers. In 1870 a new field was opened on the island of Langeland, where Bishop Grundtvig had at one time been active. There twenty people stood ready to join the Methodist Church. On this thirty-five-mile-long island, separated from Svendborg by fifteen miles of water, services of worship were conducted temporarily in the spacious house of a farmer.[56]

At the close of 1872 Karl Schou succeeded Willerup as Superintendent; Willerup retired to the United States. Schou came at a critical juncture.

> Theaters and saloons are the universal resorts on Sabbaths, more than other days. Prostitution is licensed, and it is almost impossible either for a lady or gentleman to pass unmolested through the thoroughfares of the city. The prisons are about closed against religion; no persons being permitted to speak with the prisoners upon the subject of salvation but the priest. In the hospitals likewise, some of our

sisters, who are nurses, have been repeatedly cautioned against speaking to any about their souls . . . . We are not permitted to enter unless some one of our members is sick, and not permitted to speak to any other.[57]

There were, however, reasons for encouragement. Hindrances to recognition by the government were removed; Schou won legal recognition in 1872 as pastor of the Copenhagen congregation by taking the prescribed oath of loyalty to the State. A Young Men's Christian Association was organized. Improved prospects were not confined to Copenhagen. By 1874 the Danish Mission as a whole had 388 members in full connection and twelve Sunday schools with 1,013 pupils. Support came from an unexpected quarter when the United States minister to Denmark, M. J. Cramer, made bold to preach and vigorously defend the Methodists. It developed that he himself was an ordained Methodist minister and a member of the Cincinnati Conference.[58]

At Odense, the oldest city in the north part of the island of Fyn—according to tradition founded by Woden himself—Schou rented a hall in 1874, and the following year services were held regularly. There Grundtvig's adherents were gaining strength, and an unusual kind of opposition developed. While they discarded the orthodox interpretation of Scripture they regarded the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart as of prime importance, but in practice often obstructed Methodist advance. The movement gave vent to drinking, dancing, and gambling. "Every thing is pure for them," said Schou. "These are our bitterest opponents."[59] In the four preaching points on the island of Fyn (Odense, Svendborg, Faaborg, and Trolleborg) only fifty-five Methodists, including ten probationers, could be officially reported in 1875. Nine new preaching places were added to the appointments. On the island of Thorseng, where at first an entrance was gained with difficulty, there were seven preaching places. In Schleswig, then under Prussian control, for the first time permission was gained to preach.[60]

In 1876 Schou was moved to declare that "the devil had marshaled all his forces of every kind against us." Other than this he mentioned no specific obstacles! He had visited all of the charges and most of the preaching places several times and had found the services well attended and "often pervaded by deep religious feeling." Many probationers at the various charges had been dropped—in Copenhagen over eighty at one time—for what reason is not stated in the reports. Work was begun this year at Vendsyssel, off the north end of Jutland.

The year 1877 was said by Schou to have been "especially marked by continued and heavy trial, and much hard work without any great results." Financial difficulties affected all but bore most heavily on the laboring classes. A new chapel was built at Vejle, also with the aid of Mr. Dollner. N. F. Carstensen saw fit to exclude some unruly members at Copenhagen but prospects for the future were nevertheless good. The work in Jutland was extended this year (1877) to include a large part of the northern section. In 1878 in Vendsyssl eight hundred people attended a single meeting. At the annual meeting of the mission Bishop Bowman divided the Vejle Circuit and listed two Circuits in the Vendsyssl section of the country—Fjovring and Frederikshavn—each with seven appointments.[61]

Schou's guarded optimism suffered a blow in 1878. Carstensen in Copenhagen returned to the church of his fathers and took many of his parishioners with him. Under these trying circumstances Schou recorded in 1878:

> I took charge of the society in February, and have been here alone since, without the aid of a local preacher or exhorter. God has been good to us during that time, and brought us out of our sore afflictions, and given us gladness for sorrow. His name be praised.
>
> In this difficult work I have had a wise and faithful counselor in Dr. Cramer, the United States Minister to Denmark. I cannot speak too highly of the interest he has taken in our work here. He has aided me by his counsel and assistance, liberally by his means, and filled the pulpit for me several times.[62]

Copenhagen later revived. A lesser blow came in 1879 with the expulsion of Sorensen, pastor in Langeland, for having caused Methodism much embarrassment by his "ungodly and wicked life." [63]

The 1880 meeting of the Denmark Mission was convened in Copenhagen on September 2 by Bishop S. M. Merrill. All of the members of the mission were present at the first session. Appointments were made to seven charges,* each of which had from six to twelve preaching places. There were in Denmark at this time only four chapels. In his report to the Board the Bishop emphasized a crying need for more preachers and more chapels.

> There ought to be just double the men employed in Denmark, and many more plain comfortable chapels. The people can be reached, but they will not make their church home in rented halls, often uncomfortable, difficult to reach, and never churchly in appointments. The State Church influence necessitates the building of churches to be *dedicated,* and treated as churches.[64]

Too many of the rented halls and church sites were in out-of-the-way places. The chapel at Langeland was an example of the too prevalent remoteness. It lay in the country, six miles from Rudkobing, the only town on the island. Besides, when it was built in 1875 it was with the proviso that one half of it, fitted for a dwelling, should be occupied by the donor and his family for the remainder of their lives. At other places the rented quarters were only small rooms—at two points basement rooms "where a feeble light and damp atmosphere make it rather unpleasant to sit for a couple of hours, even if it is to listen to a most interesting sermon." [65]

Bishop Merrill's plea for more chapels was reiterated in the report of

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* The seven charges and the pastors appointed in 1880 were: *Copenhagen and Christianhavn,* Carl F. Eltzholtz; *Vejle and Circuit,* J. J. Christensen; *Hornsyld, Horsens, and Circuit,* H. Hansen; *Rudkobing and Circuit,* C. Thaarup; *Frederikshavn and Circuit,* P. M. S. Jensen; *Odense, Svendborg, and Circuit,* J. de L. Thomsen; *Hjorring and Circuit,* O. Olsen.—*Sixty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1880), p. 106.

Bishop J. T. Peck the next year (1881). He recommended that "one or two churches should be built each year for a decade, and at least one new city entered every year." The annual meeting was held at Vejle where the chapel was too small to entertain the mission satisfactorily. City authorities denied the mission the use of the town hall, contrary to the treatment accorded to Methodists in Norway and Sweden. Two chapels were built this year, one in Frederikshavn and another at a country appointment on the Vejle Circuit. Societies were organized at Odense, Horsens, and Enkelund.

J. de Lorent Thomsen, recently from America, the first preacher stationed at Odense, achieved remarkable results through the regular means and through open-air meetings. His preaching changed the lives of many. Lutheran opposition developed to the extent of inaugurating a Sunday-school program of their own and exerting pressure upon the children of Methodist parents to join.[66]

Day schools were established during these years in several places and were rendering excellent service, particularly on the Vejle Circuit. The year 1882 was marked by the dedication of a church at Svendborg on October 15, built of brick, with an auditorium seating four hundred people. The 1883 annual mission meeting was held in the new Svendborg church. The ministerial force was increased by three, two Local Preachers and a missionary, H. Jacobsen, transferred from the South India Conference. He was a native of Denmark who had served in seamen's missions at Calcutta and at Rangoon, Burma. He was appointed to Odense.[67]

At the 1884 annual meeting the mission celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Denmark. In his report Schou commented on the religious progress during the period:

> Great changes have taken place in that period of time here in the country, also in the religious condition of the people. That great instrument of good, the Sunday-school, which was scarcely known twenty years ago, is now an acknowledged power even in the Lutheran Church. The employment of lay workers in spreading the Gospel message, which was despised and scorned, has also become a powerful instrument for good; so much so, that a proposition has this year been made by a number of Lutheran pastors that laymen, upon certain conditions, should be admitted as preachers and pastors. Though such a proposition could not for a moment be entertained by the higher powers, still it shows the tendency.
>
> . . . We are preaching the Gospel in more than 60 regular appointments. . . . Though our loss of members has for many reasons been great, we have reached 1,000, with as many adherents, and over 2,000 regular attendents. In our 22 Sunday-schools we teach over 1,400 children . . . .[68]

In 1885 mission work was begun in an attractive rented hall, "Bethania," leased for five years, located in a populous section of Copenhagen. Preaching services were held twice a week, with prayer and Class meetings, and a Sunday school maintained of more than two hundred children. In the Christianhavn church, there were seven sermons each week, three prayer meetings, thirteen Class meetings, and three Sunday schools with about six hundred scholars. Preaching services were also held twice a week at a mission hall (in a changed location), as also Class and prayer meetings, and a Sunday school.

This year the mission had six day schools. The schools were operated within the law; instruction was given in all the subjects of the public school, and the girls in addition were taught sewing and embroidery. However, education on higher levels was available only under Lutheran auspices or through private tutoring.[69]

The stimulus of the Methodist Sunday-school movement was more and more felt among Lutheran officialdom.

> Methodism was the first religious body in Denmark to begin the Sunday-school work, and although it was for years opposed and declared to be unnecessary for Danish children, it has now been taken up with vigor, in some places in self-defence and in other places with good intentions, and Lutheran Sunday-schools are being established throughout the country. In September last a public appeal for help was issued by a pastor here in Copenhagen, that he might be enabled to prosecute his Sunday school work, which was threatened by the sects, and especially by the Methodists.[70]

Relations with the Danish government remained somewhat less than cordial. The Methodist Church was one of the recognized churches in Denmark, but in order to have the benefits of legality, it was also necessary that the pastor receive government recognition. The first to receive recognition was Willerup. In 1872 recognition as pastor of the Copenhagen Church was given to his successor, Schou, as we have noted, when he swore loyalty to the State. All Methodists in Denmark were then considered members of the Copenhagen Church until further recognition took place. It was not until September, 1886, that legal recognition was extended to another, H. Jacobsen, pastor of Horsens. Horsens was the youngest and smallest of the appointments, but here, in the State Prison, Jacobsen had converted a noted convict. It was doubtless for this that he was given recognition, and, in accordance with the regulations, for only so long as he served the Methodist congregation at Horsens. The recognition then was of little value. Because of this many who were interested in Methodism did not take steps to leave the State Church, and could only be counted as adherents.[71]

The prevailing disregard of the Sabbath by the populace posed a problem. The Methodists strictly observed Sunday as a day for rest and worship and many of them were thrown out of employment by their refusal to work on that day. The unwillingness of many converts to unite with the Church also continued to be an insoluble problem. Schou made a study of the church records over a ten-year period and found that less than a half of those professing conversion joined on probation and that a half of those who became probationers later decided to remain in the State Church. He concluded that the impact of Methodism upon the attitudes and religious thought of the Danish people could not by any means be measured by its membership rolls.[72]

The year 1887, in Schou's judgment, was one of the best the mission had known. The membership was increased by more than fourteen per cent and no previous year had closed with so large a number of probationers. A fourth Sunday school was opened in Copenhagen. The pastor at Odense and Faaborg reported fifty-five conversions. At Frederikshavn the congregation so increased that it was necessary to enlarge the church.

The 1888 annual meeting was held at Svendborg. With Bishop Mallalieu's encouragement action was taken to establish a theological institute at Copenhagen. The school was opened on August 1 with five students. Again this year a larger net gain in membership was registered than in any previous year, a total of 175.

While 1889 saw a larger number of conversions, 415, a net gain of only 173 was recorded. On February 3, 1889, the Dollner Memorial Church, an imposing Gothic structure, was dedicated in Odense, the most beautiful and practical of any Methodist church in Denmark. Although it seated 550 people it was uncomfortably crowded on many Sundays of the year. Adjoining this brick building stood a day school, with apartments for the pastor and the sexton.

Schou died during the year. He had been an excellent Superintendent and was therefore difficult to replace. Bishop Fowler appointed J. J. Christensen his successor.[73]

In Copenhagen in 1890 a third preaching place was established, known as Elim. At Frederikshavn, a seaport on the Kattegat between Denmark and Sweden, many of whose inhabitants were fishermen, the Methodist Society in 1890 had a membership of 343, including probationers. Some of the fishing boats bore such names as Wesley, Fletcher, and Moody. The Copenhagen Theological Institute, as it was called, caused the mission to be less dependent upon transfers from the United States. It usually had five or six students who were aided by the Board of Education in America. Christian Jensen, one of the 1890 graduates, was sent in 1891 to Kalundborg, an "ancient town . . . [of] five thousand inhabitants in Sjaelland [Zealand]." He began his work there in a dancing hall but such interest was awakened that the hall would not hold all who came to the meetings. The congregation resolved to build a church, which was dedicated on July 14. It accommodated four hundred people and was filled every Sunday. A year later there was a Society with sixty-four members and nineteen probationers.[74]

Christensen reported in 1891 that at Vejle ninety persons were converted during the preceding year and seventy-four received on probation. He said:

> I believe . . . [the pastor] would see yet greater results if we had a larger chapel. We have, in order to reach all those who desired to attend the meetings, preached in the woods around the town; here several hundreds have assembled to hear the preaching of the word. It was here that our Annual Meeting was held this summer; we were then obliged to rent a large public hall, where we held our services, and where Bishop Walden preached to a crowded house.[75]

By 1890 a Methodist Book Concern, established earlier, was advancing rapidly in the size of its operations.* Two weekly papers were printed and circulated, *Kristelig Talsmand* and *Sondagsskolen,* as well as hymnbooks and a quantity of tracts. The growth of the operation is shown by the fact that in 1890, 1,455,000 pages of matter were printed and in 1892, 2,331,085. The staff of the Book Concern in 1892 consisted of a manager, a printer, a compositor, and two boys.[76]

The Denmark Mission did not make heavy demands upon the Missionary Society. Valiant effort was put forward to achieve full support although many of the converts were poor and their ability to contribute was limited. It was quite impossible for some of the pastors with families of three or four children to live on the meager salaries of three or four hundred dollars a year which they received from the people. Expansion was hampered also by shortage of preachers. If more men and more money were available, Christensen wrote in 1892, he could easily have opened twenty new preaching places during the year for he had received "invitations from several towns to come and preach the word of God to them." Churches were also dedicated at Varde and Holstebro. Building steadily continued, with two churches erected in 1893: a new chapel, called Bethania, for the second Methodist church in Copenhagen; and a church at Vejle with seats for eight hundred, a pastor's quarters, a schoolroom, and two apartments available for renting.[77]

At the 1895 annual meeting fifteen charges were filled by as many ministers, leaving two places to be supplied.† There were eighteen ordained ministers and thirty-five "other helpers." Full members numbered 2,540; probationers 304; an increase for the year of 107 full members and sixteen probationers. Adherents were estimated at 2,790. There were thirty-two Sunday schools with an enrollment of 3,659 pupils. The Epworth League had thirteen chapters and 737 members. Church buildings totaled seventeen and rented halls, 116. Nekso, on the Baltic island of Bornholm, appeared in the appointments for the first time. Christensen and several other preachers had visited the island in 1894 and held a series of meetings. A number of people who were converted asked for a regular pastor and took it upon themselves to build a church which was dedicated in December, 1895.[78]

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* The first mention of the circulation of printed matter originating in Denmark occurs in the Report of the Corresponding Secretary made to the Board of his visit to the Denmark Mission in the summer of 1866. He wrote not long after the building of the first Methodist church in Copenhagen that "the brethren have commenced a weekly Sunday-school paper, which they circulate among the congregation, by the aid of the Sunday-school scholars, at one cent per weekly number."—*Forty-eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1866), p. 63.

† Appointments in 1895 were: *Aalborg,* C. Jensen; *Aarhus,* H. Hansen; *Esbjerg,* Laust Christensen; *Faaborg,* Jens Nielsen; *Give,* R. Petersen; *Frederikshavn,* L. C. Larsen; *Holstebro,* C. Thaarup; *Horsens* and *Hornsyld,* S. N. Gaarde; *Kalundborg,* P. M. S. Jensen; *Langeland,* to be supplied; *Lokken,* C. Nielsen; *Nekso* (on the island Bornholm), Lauritz Petersen; *Odense,* Anton Bast; *Randers,* to be supplied; *Svendborg,* N. P. Nielsen; *Varde,* P. Eglund Nielsen; *Vejle,* Anton Christensen, *S. K. Johansen,* teacher in Copenhagen Theological Institute and editor of *Kristelig Talsmand* and *Sondagsskolen.*—*Seventy-seventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1895), p. 118.

Despite the annually reiterated statements of Superintendents Schou and Christensen concerning the influence of the Denmark Mission on the State Church, and the indubitable fact that a majority of the professed Methodist converts remained within the Church of their fathers, it cannot be said that Methodism, preceding 1895, became a great force in Denmark. Its future, however, was no longer in doubt. Its leavening power in later years would be determined by its genuineness and continued growth in a land where formal Christianity had long been known and among a people whose loyalty to Lutheranism or to any other form of Christianity showed signs of lacking depth and strength.

The more sensuous aspects of Grundtvigianism attracted some, while others became adherents of Mormonism at its strong Copenhagen mission. Many hundreds of converts emigrated to Utah, the Zion of the Mormon faithful. Despite severe competition from without and some ministerial defections from within, Methodism gained enough members and followers to guarantee its continuance and growth in years to come.

Sweden Mission

Sweden, like other European countries, had embraced Christianity centuries before Methodism appeared as a religious force. Following the Reformation, the nation established a State Church, founded upon allegiance to the Augsburg Confession—though it was not officially Lutheran. Methodism, at its inception, was introduced into Sweden in a modest manner. By the time the Methodist Episcopal Church was ready to list the country as a missionary field the way had been well paved.

In the form of Wesleyanism the Church was first made known in Sweden in the eighteenth century through a Swedish Lutheran priest who had himself become acquainted with it while serving in America. Through the earnestness of this man—Dr. Karl Magnus Wrangel—Wesley had previously sent his first missionaries to America. Following a conversation between Wesley and Wrangel, it was arranged also for the introduction of Methodism to Sweden by the formation there of a society to print and distribute tracts.[79]

Methodism was given much greater impetus as a result of the evangelistic labors of George Scott of England, who was undoubtedly the outstanding religious personality affecting Swedish religious life in the nineteenth century. For twelve years, until expelled by the government, he worked indefatigably for vital Christianity. Scott had no intention of introducing

Methodism as an organized Church yet his preaching resulted in the free church movement in Sweden,* of which Methodism became a part.[80]

METHODISM COMES FROM AMERICA

When Olof G. Hedström began preaching aboard his floating chapel in New York, on May 25, 1845,† he set in motion a chain of circumstances destined to establish the Methodist Church in all the Scandinavian countries, as we have seen thus far. Sweden, like Norway and Denmark, was evangelized first by converted sailors returned to their native shores. The Missionary Society officially included Sweden only after appeals had come from the land itself.

The number of people who came under the influence of Hedström's preaching was amazing. Victor Witting—later made Superintendent of the mission—writes that there were as many as twenty-eight Scandinavian ships in New York Harbor at one time. He personally had experienced Hedström's influence:

> The first time I saw Pastor Hedström was toward the end of October, 1847—the same day I arrived in America. We had hardly anchored in New York Harbor, opposite Castle Garden, when a middle aged man, large and with black hair, carrying a package of Bibles and tracts under his arm, came aboard. This was Pastor Hedström. After he greeted the Captain and had a few words with him and other officers, he began conversation with immigrants and seamen, inquiring what kind of passage we had, bidding us welcome to America, dealing out some tracts, and finally pointing to a distant ship flying the Swedish flag, he invited us to come there in the evening since a Swedish Service would be held.[81]

Hundreds of these immigrants and seamen found a vital Christian experience at the Bethel Ship. Some settled permanently in America, establishing Scandinavian churches in the localities to which they went. Others were seamen on temporary call in New York who, by the nature of their work, returned to their homeland in due course of time. On arrival they told relatives and friends of their new-found religious experience. This testimony was reinforced by a lively correspondence from those who had remained in America bearing their witness to the religious impact upon their lives which had come through Hedström and the Bethel Ship. In sufficient numbers to have made a great difference, immigrants became so concerned about the spiritual welfare of their parents, brothers, sisters, and friends that they crossed the ocean for only one purpose—to work for their conversion in the Methodist evangelical pattern. In 1852 Hedström reported:

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* Speedily acquiring a knowledge of the Swedish language, Scott preached an evangelical message to overflowing congregations. He founded the Swedish Temperance Society which was closely allied with the evangelical movement. He also established the Swedish Missionary Society in 1835 which was largely responsible for the propagation of an evangelical revival throughout the country. He began the publication of a religious journal entitled *The Pietist,* which achieved the widest circulation of any religious periodical in Sweden in the nineteenth century. The movement was continued by his successor, Carol Olaf Rosenius, and eventually resulted in the organization of "Evangeleskafosterlandstiftelsen" (The National Evangelical Foundation), a reform movement within the State Church. In the course of time, a group from this movement broke more completely with the Church of Sweden and organized a separate Church called the Mission Covenant, which became the largest free church denomination in Sweden.—Gunnar Westin, *George Scott, Hans Liv Och Verksamatt,* Vols. I and II.

† See pp. 272-74.

> Several have gone home during the year—some to Sweden, Norway, and Denmark—for nothing else than to warn their friends to flee the wrath to come, and some of them, we have heard, have proved a great blessing to many souls.[82]

John Peter Larsson was among the first. While on the seas, about 1852, he had been shipwrecked, but an English ship had come to the rescue and returned Larsson to Swedish shores.

> Being a zealous Christian, he told his friends and neighbors what great things God had done for him in America, and by this means, . . . awakened so great a religious interest that he . . . [was detained] among them for more than eighteen months, 'working with his own hands,' meantime, to support himself.[83]

In order to sustain Larsson in labors so productive, on Hedström's advice the Missionary Society voted a sum of $200. per annum, at its September, 1854, meeting. Larsson made the city of Kalmar his center but also itinerated through the countryside for the purpose of distributing Bibles, visiting in homes, and holding meetings. The following year the Missionary Society included him in their appointments to Scandinavia as "Missionary, Sweden." [84]

Another pioneer was Jonas Ostlund who was converted on the Bethel Ship in 1851. Compelled by his concern for the spiritual welfare of his loved ones, he returned in 1855 to his childhood home in Ostansjö, Norrland, to bear testimony of that which God had wrought in his life. Invited by a devout couple to hold a little devotional service in their home one Sunday evening, he accepted with considerable hesitation. However, these Sunday evening gatherings continued for one year, the entire period of his stay in the homeland. In 1856 he returned to America. He later became the first minister of any denomination to preach the Gospel of Christ in North Dakota.[85]

One of the more affluent members of the Bethel Ship—who had served as a Class Leader—S. M. Swenson, returned to Sweden on business in 1855, and while visiting Kalmar to look at Larsson's work, at once fell into evangelistic labor.

Methodism came to the Island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea off the east coast of Sweden through the efforts of two returning seamen, C. Levander and John Lindquist. These efforts resulted in an informally organized Society. An appeal was sent by these adherents to Christian B. Willerup, Superintendent of the mission in Denmark and Norway, and a second appeal was sent to the Board of Missions in New York, for a preacher. Both appeals were of no avail and Hedström finally reminded Willerup of his responsibilities not only to Denmark and Norway, but also to Sweden.

August Olson, converted on the Bethel Ship in 1853, also returned to Sweden. He was the first to preach the Gospel as a Methodist in the communities south of Gothenburg. Two churches, one in Wallda and the other at Släp, resulted from his labors.

Many others whose names remain unknown followed the pattern, bringing great numbers to a conversion experience during the decade 1850-60. The movement was nebulous and did not begin to take form until the following decade.

The complete dominance and authority of the State Church, protected by law, posed a deterrent to Methodist aggression. By a law of 1855, obviously directed toward the Baptists, fines were imposed upon laymen who administered the sacraments. Since every citizen of Sweden was considered a member of the Established Church, and since all except its priests were considered laymen, freedom to practice one's religion outside of the State Church was seriously restricted.

However, in response to the growing pressure of the free church movement, three steps were taken liberalizing the law. By an enactment of 1858, members of the State Church were permitted to assemble for devotions without the leadership of a Lutheran pastor, provided that these sessions did not conflict with the regular service hours of the parish church and that the service was open to the parish clergy, Church officials, and public officials.

In 1860 an act of Parliament gave Christians of faiths other than the "true evangelical" the right to petition the king for permission to organize congregations. If granted, this permission was limited by rigid laws. Services were to be held only in churches or chapels, reports had to made to parish priests, children under eighteen could not affiliate, marriage could only be performed outside of the State Church if both parties belonged to the "strange" Church, and penalties were prescribed for the spreading of doctrines contrary to the "true evangelical faith." [86]

During the 1860's Methodist interest in Sweden was renewed through the visits of three of the most gifted leaders of early Swedish Methodism in America. In 1863 Olof G. Hedström himself made a visit to Sweden, going first to Karlskrona. For four weeks he preached almost daily in the surrounding communities to large congregations of people. In the city he preached in a rented meeting house to overflowing audiences. On July 23 he wrote in a letter:

> You can judge for yourself how great the hunger for God's word is when I tell you that I have preached no fewer than fourteen times in two weeks and that people came to the meetings from a distance of ten, twenty, yes even forty miles.[87]

Hedström proceeded to Gothenburg. The city, second in the kingdom, had a population of 40,000, and because of its size, wealth, and commercial interests was thought to be "liberal in its views and feelings in regard to religion." Hedström was pleased with the responsiveness he observed, and following his departure a Local Preacher, August Olson, was left to circulate among the people who had shown interest.[88]

Hedström, because of his experience, ability, and status, was listened to by a segment of Swedish society unreached by returning seamen and immigrants. The affluent as well as the poor had respect and confidence in him. Even the State Church priests were friendly and some opened their churches to him. Though his proclamation of a full and free salvation from sin was strange to them, they were impressed by his sincere and humble piety. On one occasion, when he was invited to conduct a service in a Lutheran church, even to the extent of the liturgical parts of worship, he demurred, agreeing to preach if the priest would himself conduct this part of the service. However, the priest became so absorbed by Hedström's solemn preaching and prayer that he completely forgot to fulfill his responsibility.

After a trip through Norway, Hedström visited his brother in Luleå and preached in his home, being the first Methodist preacher in the northern part of the province of Norrland.

Albert Ericson* also visited Sweden, reaching Stockholm shortly before Christmas in 1866. He had been sent to study Swedish literature as preparation for a professorship in the newly created theological institution in the United States. With singleness of purpose Ericson became completely preoccupied with his studies. He had been in Stockholm a considerable time when he was one day invited to preach in a Baptist chapel. Word spread that a Methodist preacher had come to Stockholm. Many who had heard about Methodism through correspondence or visits by returning seamen and immigrants were eager to learn more about it. A group of pietistically minded dissenters, dissatisfied with the ministry of the Established Church and the Baptists alike, invited Ericson to preach in a hall called "Benikebrinken." Ericson accepted this as providential guidance. This ministry was fruitful. The influence spread like fire. Again, Ericson appealed to a more affluent and educated segment of society.

Probably the most notable consequence of Ericson's labors in addition to the establishment of Methodism in Stockholm was his influence upon a group of young men who became dynamic Methodist ministers in a period that desperately needed consecrated and intelligent leadership—J. Kihlstrom, D. S. Sörlin, Theodor Larsson, N. J. Nilsson, C. J. Johansson, C. J. F. Petterson, J. A. Johnson, and others.

When Ericson completed his studies he was ready to return to America. Letters were sent to the Board of Missions in New York and to Bishop Janes who was supervising European missions, requesting that Ericson remain in Stockholm. Permission was granted for an extended stay but when word arrived Ericson was already on his return trip. However, this led to another fortuitous event through which Victor Witting succeeded Ericson in Stockholm.

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* See p. 283 *n.*

Witting was the editor of *Sändebudet,* a journal comparable to the *Christian Advocate,* published in Chicago. For some time Witting had longed to pay a visit to his native land and his family.[89] On May 1, 1867, the same day that a disappointed and sad crowd of Christian friends waved farewell to Ericson at the station in Stockholm, C. O. Lundberg, a Chicago businessman, walked into the office of *Sändebudet,* and invited Witting to accompany him to Sweden on an expense-paid trip. After arrangements were made for the care of *Sändebudet* the invitation was eagerly accepted. Witting arrived in Gothenburg the middle of June. He sought out Larsson and preached for him awhile before traveling to the province of Skane in the southern part of Sweden, to visit his family. Here he preached in the city of Malmö and the university city of Lund, where a Mission Covenant meeting house was opened to him. Many students crowded the reasonably large hall and not a few theological students. Several of these received an evangelical conversion.*

Up to approximately this time, no regular appointments had been listed for Sweden. The restrictions imposed by law had been so discouraging to Larsson that, feeling his hands were tied, he had accepted an appointment in Halden, Norway, in 1858. While religious freedom had been expected almost hourly, expectations were, of course, ahead of deeds, for such reforms as were contemplated required consideration and time for acceptance even though the king personally favored them. In the meantime, Willerup decided not to make further appointments until he heard "the good news," as he put it. At the end of 1865 the Missionary Society *Report* indicated that Sweden still "waits for our coming." [90]

However, a commencement had been made at two points. During 1864, A. Cederholm, a Swede, had been transferred from Norway to the Island of Gotland, Sweden, where Methodism had been earlier introduced, as we have noted. The island was small and sparsely populated with poor farmers, for the most part, and had only one town, Visby. Shortly word was sent home that "the Lord is with them in great power in all their meetings." [91] Two years after its establishment, the Gotland mission was still limited in scope because of the laws of the State. About fifty people had been awakened and were ready to build a church. Another Swede, Alexander Palm, had been sent to assist. During the year (1866) Corresponding Secretary Durbin —on an official tour of Scandinavia—visited Gotland and advised Cederholm "to form into classes all persons who wish to come under our pastoral care, and have them apply to the government for authority to him to take pastoral care of them, and then to administer the sacraments to them as they have need, and to hold his services at such hours as best suit the people."[92] Not too long afterward, Cederholm died suddenly. J. P. Larsson was transferred to be his successor.[93]

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* Methodism gained intellectual status it did not earlier have through the preaching of Hedström, Ericson, and Witting. In no small part, this had a determining effect upon the future character of Methodism in Sweden. Early Methodism had appealed to intelligent dissenters and pietists, who while they were dissatisfied with the religious life of the Established Church, yet could not feel at home in a free church movement which was growing up in Sweden with exclusively lay leadership, many of whom were extremists. Without Hedström, Ericson, and Witting this could not have occurred.—See Henry C. Whyman, "The Conflict and Adjustment of Two Religious Cultures—The Swedish and the American . . . ."

Since the visit of Hedström to Gothenburg in 1863, a number of people had been interested in Methodism. August Olson, though only a Local Preacher, had kept up and extended the results of the initial enthusiasm until Willerup upon the advice of Durbin decided to appoint a regular missionary in 1866. Larsson was transferred back from Norway, and given the same instruction Cederholm had received: "to form the people into classes . . . and, with the aid of Brother Olsen, take the pastoral oversight of them; and as soon as possible, have the people apply to the government for authority to be given to Brothers Larsen and Olsen to become their pastors."[94]

The year following Durbin's visit still another visitor to Scandinavia helped give substance to the Swedish beginnings. This was Bishop Kingsley, fulfilling his assignment of episcopal supervision of European missions. While in Copenhagen in 1867, the Bishop and Victor Witting met by chance. Up to this time nothing had been done to follow up on the successes of Ericson in Stockholm because a strong enough man had not been available to occupy so important a city. Bishop Kingsley had in mind to visit the capital city, and invited Witting to meet with him and Willerup there at a future date. The reunion took place as arranged. Kingsley preached to overflowing crowds in the Benikebrinken Hall, being interpreted by Willerup. Witting also preached on several occasions. At the earnest request of the leaders of this congregation, the Bishop asked Witting to accept an assignment in Stockholm. The challenge was too great not to accept; consequently, late in July, 1867, Witting returned to America for the purpose of moving his family to Stockholm where they arrived in the beginning of November of that year.[95]

The year 1867 was in every way encouraging. In writing the Missionary Society *Annual Report* for the Scandinavian Mission, Durbin commented:

> There is a more general awakening among the people, and in some places, as particularly in Stockholm and Gottenburg, and in their vicinities, this awakening is widespread and profound. . . . The mission in Sweden has been greatly strengthened by the transfer of Rev. V. Witting to Sweden this year. And God has raised up two or three powerful young men to help in this part of the work.[96]

This was cause for rejoicing, for Methodism was overcoming considerable handicaps. The restraints imposed by law were severe enough; adherents had to call upon their courage to withdraw publicly from the State Church in order to petition for a dissenting pastor. The imposition of fines for infractions of the law and the cost of rental for public buildings meant financial strain for these folk, whom Durbin had observed on his visit, were poor, "very poor," being "with very rare exceptions, servants and day-laborers." The preachers were limited in their abilities. Durbin had commented in his report on his trip that most had a language problem, having lost facility in their native tongue through residence in America or labors in Norway, and that in most cases they had "in their youth only the simplest rudiments of education." [97]

During 1868 Societies were formed in all three centers of work. The church in Stockholm had the honor of being the first—on January 8—with a membership of fifty-seven people. By September the mission had seven Societies, fifteen preaching places, 424 members and five Sunday schools with 354 children.[98]

Up until this time, the Sweden Mission had been a part of the Scandinavian Mission with Norway and Denmark, under the superintendency of Willerup. It was not long before the Missionary Society recognized the advisability of having a Superintendent for the Swedish work alone. Witting received the following letter from Durbin, dated April 14, 1868:

> Dear Brother, I am authorized and instructed by Bishop Kingsley to notify you that he has separated our mission in Sweden from the superintendency of Brother Willerup and placed the same in your hands. With receipt of this letter, will you therefore regard yourself as superintendent of all our missions in Sweden and also the responsibility of its management and development.[99]

SEPARATE ORGANIZATION

With the appointment of Witting as Superintendent a new era was inaugurated. A Preachers' Meeting was held in Stockholm on September 17-24, 1868, at which seven men were present: Witting, J. P. Larsson, Alexander Palm, Seved Hansson, Erik Carlsson, Johan Kihlstrom, and Daniel S. Sörlin. A few others were also there. After an address by Witting, they organized under the name of the Swedish Methodist Missionary Society with a constitution and by-laws. Appointments were made to Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Visby, on the Island of Gotland, and to Kalmar and Wallda as well.[100]

Kalmar—on the southeast coast—had first been visited as long ago as 1855 by J. P. Larsson when he had itinerated the countryside. Witting visited Kalmar shortly after the annual meeting. Work here was being revived under D. S. Sörlin. In November, a Society was organized, and the Lutheran mission house purchased for headquarters.

Karlskrona, opened to Methodism through Hedström's preaching, had importance because it was a principal port of the Royal Navy. A considerable number of navy personnel were members of the Methodist group. Hardly a naval vessel left port without one or two Methodists aboard. For a long journey these men would have a captive audience. The ships were not large and they usually returned to Karlskrona with a considerable number of committed Methodists.

During the year Witting visited Karlskrona and preached in the same meeting house that Hedström had used five years before. Throughout his eight-day stay, the aisles were so filled he could scarcely reach the pulpit and even the spacious grounds were thronged. An extended revival occurred. When Witting could no longer remain he released his colleagues D. S. Sörlin, J. P. Larsson, and J. Kihlstrom from other assignments to spend brief periods of time in Karlskrona. The Society, organized sometime after May, 1868, had eighty-two members in September, and 156 before the end of the year, with a Sunday school of 144 children. On March 1, 1869, a meeting was held at which 2,213 crowns were subscribed to build on real estate already purchased. Action by the first Quarterly Conference held by this Society resulted in the building of Emmanuel Methodist Episcopal Chapel, the first Methodist chapel of Sweden. In addition to a large sanctuary, it contained four smaller rooms for Class meetings and Sunday-school work. It was dedicated February 27, 1870, with four hundred people standing outside unable to get in. In June, 1869, Bishop Kingsley had transferred Bengt A. Carlsson from the Erie Conference to care for this city work.[101]

In Stockholm, Johan Kihlstrom, a particularly able young man, was granted a Local Preacher's license, thus becoming the first Methodist minister produced by the Sweden Mission. He then devoted his full time to this city. From Stockholm Methodism spread to the neighboring communities of Sigtuna, Upsala, Gävle, Arsa, and Morko.[102]

On the Island of Gotland the work begun in Visby continued to flourish and spread to other communities. Under Larsson several Classes were formed, and a Sunday school organized of about a hundred students. The following year this field was reported as even more "glorious," with work enough for four men. Andrew H. Berg had been added in October, and he had helped spread the fire of revival.[103]

Gothenburg, which had probably been given longer cultivation than anywhere else, was cause for rejoicing. Witting himself filled the appointment. During the year a "powerful revival" took place, and the large crowds called for a proper place of assemblage. A lot was purchased looking toward building, although on account of the poverty of the people it did not seem possible to raise the enormous sum of ten to twelve thousand dollars needed for construction. Although the attitude of the priests of the Established Church was generally negative toward the intrusion of another organized Church which was proving a drain on its constituency, here in Gothenburg the archdean of the Diocese viewed the situation differently and extended a cordial hand of cooperation. Another well-wisher was a wealthy lady of the city who besides making cash gifts offered to clothe any poor children in need.[104]

Calls came from other towns for ministers to come unto them. Mönsteras, about thirty-five miles from Kalmar, sent a letter of twenty signatures or so, stating they had a large meeting house, which would probably be turned over to them. These people were all moderately well off if not wealthy.[105]

A strong mission in Örebro was started when Witting was invited to this community by A. M. Graezer who with his family had moved there from Brooklyn, New York. They had been converted under the ministry of Hedström. The first Methodist sermon was preached on September 15, 1868, at the Academy (Real Skolon), which seated up to eight hundred persons. It was about half-filled then, but Witting revisited the community the following January and held more meetings at the Baptist chapel. This time a revival resulted. In April, 1869, N. J. Nilsson, one of the brightest young preachers of this period, was appointed to Örebro and in June a Society was organized with 157 members which grew to 212 by October, and 238 by the end of the year. Örebro by location was important, being about midway between Stockholm and Gothenburg. The whole countryside came under the Methodist influence, and Witting reported, "Societies can be formed any day in a half dozen places around, if we only had the means to take care of them."

In all things, the Sweden Mission was most industrious, which perhaps accounts for the almost sensational development of the movement. In less than two years of Witting's superintendency, Sunday schools were in operation in almost all the centers, despite the fact that children in the public schools were forbidden to attend them. The parents saw that the children attended, nonetheless, and there was no lack of suitable teachers. Large numbers were reported attending; and also conversions occurring.

Literature was almost immediately produced, first in the form of tracts, explaining Methodism, and then through the publication of a small monthly, *Lilla Sändebudet,* which quickly paid its own way. Within the first two years of independent organization, the missionary personnel rose from seven men to fifteen, the number of Societies showed exactly the same increase, with a leap from fifteen to forty-nine appointments. The most astonishing statistics, however, were those concerning membership, an increase from 424 to 1,326 in one year. Converts were found among the middle class; and through the addition of these members the financial state of the mission was bettered.* By special invitation, Witting was asked to preach before Princess Eugenie at her summer home near Visby.[106]

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* For instance, a rich citizen of Mönsteras opened his mansion for preaching services in 1870. The same year an important businessman and manufacturer instituted a program of morning and evening prayers at his woolen mill, and preached every Saturday to his employees. Besides, he gave generously to pay the chapel debt and extend Methodism to other places.—*Fifty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1870), pp. 74, 75.

The next six years were remarkable in mission history. During 1869-70 Methodism had been taken to a number of new towns; Vänersborg, which reported a Society of fifteen members in 1870; Nysund, fifty-nine members; Sigtuna, thirty-five members; Gävle, thirty-one members; Vingaker, two Societies totaling eighty-five members; Arboga, a Society with thirty members; Valdermarsvik, twenty members; Östergarn, on the Island of Gotland, 112 members; and Filipstad, twenty-six. In the appointments for 1871 three more centers were scheduled for entry: Norrköping, Upsala, and Malmö, all important cities. This impressive expansion was made possible by another remarkable feature of the Swedish mission: all the preachers were Swedish, converted in their own country, with the exception of the Superintendent. A good number of these men, being untutored, served in the capacity of Local Preachers, but being on their own soil, familiar with the language and the ways of their own people, they had little difficulty in obtaining a hearing and finding a following. Apparently, also, a number were in a position to labor without salary, so that calls could be answered in new places although there was no appropriation to cover them. Besides the formation of Societies, very often there were additional outstations connected with the work, and in practically every center a Sunday school was established. Each year new town names appeared in the Superintendent's report.*

Summing up the situation in his 1875 report, Witting remarked:

> We occupy new places only as the finger of God distinctly points to them, and then we dare not refuse to go. For instance, a member moves to a new place; he begins to tell his friends and neighbors what the Lord has done for his soul, he prays with and for them, he talks to them about the one thing needful. Many are convicted, conversions occur, a class is formed, and we are called to come and take care of the new converts. Under such circumstances we dare not refuse, for the opening is surely of God, and thus our missions are organized.[107]

In order to answer the need for better-trained preachers, in 1874 a seminary was established with headquarters in Örebro until arrangements could be made for a permanent site in Stockholm.† During its first term, seventeen men were given instruction, six of whom immediately set out in the work.[108]

A very systematic attempt was being made at the same time to reach the young children. By 1872, besides the numerous Sunday schools, which had over three thousand enrolled, two day schools had been inaugurated, and a cry was raised for more. A child's paper was issued shortly afterwards, which within two years attained a circulation of more than four thousand.

As another phase of laying a firm foundation, chapel building was systematically pursued. In 1875 alone five churches were erected and dedicated, three of which cost from $7,000. to $10,000. each, and four others were under construction.[109] The necessity for owning property and having a suitable structure to accommodate the ever-increasing crowds, of course, was obvious, but the haste in which buildings were contracted for by people who could not raise the money could only be justified by the situation in Sweden. Indebtedness was undertaken for periods sometimes covering a life span, but because of the stability of the nation there seemed little risk. The undertaking was vindicated by Witting, who wrote in 1876:

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* Places entered, 1870-75—but not all of them permanently—were: Nora, Hallsberg, Kristianople, Jönköping, Malmköping, Eskilstuna, Linköping, Motala, Oscarshamn, Nybro, Karlshamn, Västervik, Delary, Morko, Ransätar, Arsa, Lindesberg, Sinköping, Kristinehamn, Majorna, Grebbestad, Karlskrona Circuit, Buttle, Kappelshamn, Laerbro, Moerkoen, Linde, Ryssby, Södertalje, Finspang, Edswalla, Lommelunda, Ronneby, Bjuf, Lövers, Öland, Lerbäck, Halmstad, Strömstad.

† Tuition was free but the students had to support themselves. In 1876 the seminary was brought to Stockholm and housed in St. Paul's Church. It was transferred to Upsala in 1883.

> The churches, thirty-one in number, are valued at $97,262, and the indebtedness on them is $55,442. The increase of value for the past year is $17,627, and of indebtedness, $9,472. This disproportion of indebtedness to value naturally causes anxiety. But the reasons for building are urgent. Suitable halls for preaching are obtained with difficulty, and at a large annual expense; and the school-house accommodations, of which the early American Methodists made such good use, are not to be had. A permanent church-home, convenient and attractive, gives, it is thought, a status and influence to the Church essential to its success. If a church is built it must be substantial and enduring, not a temporary and cheap structure . . . . This the law of the Swedish cities and the sentiment of the community enjoin. . . . A conference which sat under the shadow of a cathedral which was about two hundred years in building, and is six hundred years old, may, perhaps, be pardoned if it lay its plans for the life-time of the generation. I say these things rather in extenuation than justification of the indebtedness; yet, on the other hand, not quite sure but that the circumstances and the temperament of the people justify the course pursued.[110]

The use of the printed word was so valued that a power press was purchased in 1874, and sufficient other equipment, to establish the Wesleyana printing house. Immediately a large supply of tracts and pamphlets was issued, and a number of Methodist classics were translated into Swedish, and found an appreciative market. The two publications were also produced by the press.[111]

At the annual meeting of 1874, the extent of the work was considered to be so vast that three Districts were created, and the next year a fourth was added: Stockholm, under J. P. Larsson, with twenty appointments; Gotland, under Frank O. B. Wallin, with five appointments; Karlskrona, under Bengt A. Carlsson, with seventeen appointments; and Gothenburg, under Gustaf Fredengren, with nine appointments.

As Methodism spread like wildfire, it became a threat to the Established Church. Obstacles were thrown in its way in an effort to curb withdrawals. But as usually happens, resistance and trial merely strengthened the membership by sloughing off the superficial followers, and by presenting a cause to rally round for the truly convicted adherents. Persecution succeeded only in drawing attention to the spirit of Methodism.

Public pronouncements against the Methodists, in which they were ridiculed or described as dangerous heretics, incited mob violence or pranks, some of which had serious consequences. The crashing of chapel windows by stones thrown during services was almost to be expected. Arriving for or leaving a Methodist service was not without its personal hazards.

One Sunday the parish priest at the little seaside town of Grebbestad spoke in bitter and violent opposition to the Methodists who were just establishing work in that community. That evening a group of farm hands secured an old ship's cannon at the waterfront, loaded it with lead and stones, dragged it to the private home where the Methodists were meeting and fired broadside against the house. Fortunately, no great damage was done. Considerable newspaper publicity was given to this event, none of which adversely affected Methodism.

A mob with charcoal-blackened faces invaded a Methodist service in Nybro, Sundland, while the sermon was being preached. The pugilistic champion of the community disguised in an animal mask and horns went directly to the pulpit, and to the consternation of the congregation took hold of the preacher as though to throw him out. The preacher—a man of courage and considerable physical strength—tore off his adversary's mask and with the words, "So it is you Carlson," sat him with some force in the first pew. The same preacher, C. J. F. Petterson, on another occasion was assaulted, badly beaten, and thrown into a pit where the mob started to bury him alive. His cries brought help and the mob fled.

Not all were as fortunate. In Kalmar, Johan Larsson, an Exhorter, was stoned into unconsciousness. When he revived, he continued his homeward journey but became violently ill and died praying for those who had perpetrated the crime.

The laws against dissenters were extremely intolerant and so long as they continued to remain on the statutes local authorities found legal support when it served their purpose to jail or fine Methodists for preaching the Gospel. In Warberg, a Methodist preacher, N. J. Nilsson, on complaint of the parish priest was brought to court and fined. When he could not pay the fine he was put in prison for eleven days on bread and water. The story of Philippi was re-enacted, for when the eleven days were over, the jailer, impressed with Nilsson's Christian spirit, took him into his home where a richly spread breakfast table was set and a group of invited Methodist guests were assembled to welcome him from jail. Here again newspaper publicity brought criticism to the community of Warberg, and contributions from all other Methodist Societies in Sweden paid for a memorial chapel there shortly after the event.

On the national level a more understanding and tolerant spirit was exercised. Count Aldercrantz suggested to Witting that Methodists refuse to be satisfied with the actions of local community courts and officials but rather appeal to higher courts.* In general those who suffered fines or jail sentences failed to make such an appeal.

More surprising to the Methodists than any official opposition on the part of the Established Church and local authorities was the antagonism which they experienced from older nonconformist groups which later became a part of the Swedish free church movement. These were in general entirely lay led and thus Methodism with its ordained ministry gained official status more easily. Even George Scott, whose work in Sweden before his expulsion by the State, resulted in the National Evangelical Foundation, out of which came the Mission Friends, wrote an article for the Established Church organ *Vaktaren* in 1869 in which he was sharply critical of the Methodists.[112]

Up until 1873, a Methodist either obeyed the laws of the land or his conscience. The fact that on the whole Methodists chose to obey conscience and that the law was not stringently applied in many places did not make them less rebellious.

The Methodist annual meeting in 1874, held in Stockholm, was presided over by Bishop Harris. It was decided to take advantage of the new Dissenters' Law of 1873 and to apply for withdrawal from the State Church in accordance with its provisions.

Preparation for this important step was carefully made. In February of 1875 a committee of seventy-five, both preachers and laymen, representing various geographical areas of Sweden gathered at Stockholm and sought an audience with the king. An appointment was made. The committee was officially received by the king, asking each in turn his name and home town. He invited the members of the committee to speak freely and without reservation in the matter which they had come to present. Victor Witting as the chairman and spokesman of the group presented the request in as few words as possible. His petition on behalf of himself and his colleagues for permission to withdraw from the State Church and to establish an independent denomination was supported by a document carrying the names of fourteen hundred Swedish Methodists. In addition, the king was presented with the *Discipline,* the *Catechism,* the *Hymnal,* and a volume of John Wesley's sermons. The king's answer was, "I cannot immediately offer you any definite promise but I will do for you what I can."

The ensuing conversation impressed Witting with King Oscar's spiritual earnestness. He described this as one of the happiest and most blessed days of his life.

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* One such appeal was epoch-making in the development of Methodism in Sweden. In Kalmar, B. A. Carlsson, an ordained Methodist minister, performed a marriage of two Methodists. On complaint of the Lutheran parish priest, Carlsson was brought to court in Kalmar and fined 300 kronans. He appealed to the Royal Court at Göta where the decision was reversed. The complainant, dissatisfied with this turn of events, appealed the case to the king and here the decision of the court at Göta was upheld and Carlsson freed. This action is of particular significance because Carlsson's defense was simply that he was an ordained pastor or priest and according to Swedish law entitled to perform marriages since that statute does not limit this right specifically to Lutheran priests but simply uses the word priest. The result of this action was to heighten the prestige of the Methodist Movement in the eyes of the public. The official actions of its ministers were recognized by the State. Its ordained ministers were acknowledged even though the Methodist Church in Sweden was not yet officially recognized.—*Stilla Stunder,* July, 1881, p. 400.

The king was anxious to know how Methodism differed from Lutheranism. Witting answered that the essential difference lay in the interpretation of the sacraments and in the doctrine of Holiness. The latter particularly excited the king's interest, resulting in a detailed description of the Methodist concept of holiness. When the king in response inquired if salvation was not imparted through baptism and communion, Witting answered that in this respect the Methodists approached the Reformed thought.

After this presentation had been made there was a considerable period of waiting. The Sweden Mission continued to develop its work but in their planning they now had to consider two alternative courses of action—continuing as they had or in the event their petition was granted planning to take more formal steps toward organization. Making his annual report to the Missionary Society in 1875, Victor Witting said:

> We have every reason to believe that, as far as he [the king] is concerned, our petition will be granted, but the decision is not yet published. The reason why it takes so long time ere we get a definite answer is, that the petition is to be sent to the consistories in all the dioceses within whose boundaries we have Societies, and the Government has requested their opinion about it. . . . In case it is granted we will immediately organize under the name and style of 'The Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church,' and in case it is not granted, we will go on as hitherto, preaching the Gospel and organizing Societies wherever we can.[113]

During the period of waiting, the preachers of the Swedish Mission gathered for their eighth annual meeting. The *Minutes* of this meeting indicated the spirit of determination which characterized the group.

> The committee appointed had an audience with the King in last February, when the petition was presented.
>
> No answer to this petition has as yet been received, but his Majesty has requested the several Diocesan Consistories to come in with their opinions upon it.
>
> We can consequently do nothing before the reply from the Government is received, but in case this should be favorable, we propose the following resolutions,
>
> 1. That we immediately organize in accordance with the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
> 2. That we pray God to graciously bless this important step. Amen!
> 3. That the names of those members, who have not, within six months from the date our petition is granted, notified of their intention to withdraw from the State-church, shall be stricken out from our Church-records.
> 4. That, in case the reply is unfavorable, we occupy the same position as hitherto.[114]

It was not until a year later in March, 1876, that the answer was given. It was affirmative. Thus the Methodist Episcopal Church became the first denomination to be officially recognized by the State to which members could belong by withdrawal from the Established Church.

Sweden Conference

The next logical step after being granted status as an independent denomination was the organization of the Sweden Conference. At the annual meeting held in 1875 at Visby an application was drawn up to the General Conference for authorization to organize. The General Conference of 1876 complied with the request. Later that year the enabling act was used and the Conference formed.

In the church at Upsala, August 2, in the presence of Bishop E. G. Andrews, the mission held its first session as a regular Annual Conference. Eight elders, eighteen deacons, and twenty-three probationers were listed as charter members.* An additional nine were admitted on trial.[115]

For Victor Witting this day marked a personal triumph. Methodism, recently acknowledged by the State, was now formally established as a Church. Less than nine years ago, there had not been even one Class, or one chapel, not one congregation or Sunday school. Now there were fifty-five traveling preachers, of whom twenty-six were ordained. There were fifty-nine Local Preachers who labored without salary or compensation. Out of their combined efforts during this brief period had come a membership of 5,663 persons, and 4,931 children in 125 Sunday schools. There were thirty-one churches and chapels valued at $97,262.[116]

The Conference was organized into three Districts: Stockholm District with twenty-six appointments; Karlskrona District, with twenty-six appointments; and Gotland District, with seven appointments.† What remained to be done now was the cultivation of the field—the pruning and nourishing.

Bishop Merill, presiding at the 1880 Conference session, observed:

> The work of our Church in Sweden is decidedly encouraging, and yet it needs the supervision and fostering care of the Church in America. It has been disturbed by irregularities on the part of trusted ministers, and fears have been entertained of its permanency in some localities; but these difficulties are passing away, and the Conference is proving itself to be both vigorous in administration and loyal to the Discipline of the Church. The multitudes that attend our ministry are something

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* *Elders:* Victor Witting, Bengt A. Carlsson, John P. Larsson, Andrew H. Berg, Gustaf Fredengren, Frank O. B. Wallin, Nils M. Liljegren, Johan Kihlstrom. *Deacons:* Carl Wallenius, Seved Hansson, Alexander Palm, Carl A. Stenholm, Carl J. Johansson (1st), Carl Carlsson, Theodor Larsson, John Hellberg, Emanuel Nilsson, Nils Sandell, Jacob M. Ericson, Johannes Roth, Andrew J. Gustafsson, Jens Pedersen, Carl N. Elmström, Frederick Ahgren, Carl H. Lindskog, August Wallen, Jacob T. E. Kjellstrand. *Probationers:* N. J. Nilsson, Jonas P. Danielsson, Frank U. Liljegren, Carl Englund, Isaac G. Finerus, Carl P. Carlsson, Frank W. Hohne, Peter G. Bergdahl, Carl J. Johansson (2nd), Peter A. Juhlin, Foelix G. Holmgren, Richard Cederberg, Carl W. Henricksson, Adolph F. Häggström, Carl A. Jansson, Anders Andersson, Peter G. Söderlind, Carl L. Ljunggren, Lars G. Berglund, Carl O. Ljungdahl, Andrew Johnson, Matthew J. Elander, Frans J. Svenborg. (*Minutes, Sweden Conference,* 1876, pp. [3] f.) Andrew H. Berg was expelled by this Conference; and Witting returned to America after the session concluded.

† *Stockholm District:* Stockholm; Södertelje and Morko; Sigtuna; Upsala; Gävle; Arsa; Mora; Eskilstuna and Malmköping; Arboga; Odenswi; Linde; Nora; Örebro; Glanshammar; Lekhyttan; Nysund; Kristinehamn; Edswalla; Ransätar; Filipstad; Lidköping; Gothenburg, Majorna; Wallda; Warberg, Grebbestad and Strömstad. *Karlskrona District:* Karlskrona; Lövers and Kristianople; Kalmar; Öland and Nybro; Ryssby; Mönsteras; Oscarshamn; Västervik and Loftahammar; Valdemarsvik; Norrköping; Linköping and Boxholm; Motala; Lerbäck; Finspang; Hallsberg; Jönköping; Delary; Bjuf; Lund; Malmö; Karlshamn; Ronneby. *Gotland District:* Visby; Buttle; Östergarn; Kappellshamn; Lommelunda; Boge; Wamlingbo. (*Gen'l Minutes,* 1876, pp. 95-96.) In 1878 the Gotland District was combined with the Karlskrona District. The Gothenburg District, which had lasted only one year, was re-created in 1878. In 1887 Gotland was again formed into a District.

> wonderful. The people every-where in Sweden appear hungry for the bread of life. Our Churches are full to overflowing, but the larger part of them are very poor. They have built and are building some churches without aid from the Board.[117]

Three years after Conference formation it was voted: "That this Conference organize itself into a Conference Missionary Society." One of its chief concerns was the fact that the "far greater portion of the people of our country is yet without true godliness." In geographic extent, the Conference included about one half the country—the southern half—with heavy concentration around Stockholm. A large number of the more important cities had Methodist Societies, such as Upsala and Lund, university cities, Gävle, Malmö, and other thriving seaports. In fact, quite often the Church made better headway in the cities and towns than on the country appointments, which were frequently reported as "hard to cultivate." While the missionary society probably did not lead to the entering of new areas, it nonetheless was rather successful in raising funds and encouraging giving. Despite the fact that the membership, by and large, was in the lower income bracket,* self-support was often early reached in the congregations and substantial sums raised toward the missionary offering. Typical of giving was the amount collected for this latter cause in 1879; the sum of 6,080 crowns, equivalent of 3,000 days' work, or $3,000. [118]

With the establishment of Methodism in towns, the more educated people were attracted to the Church. This was important since Sweden at this time was badly ridden by class distinction and cleavages. J. P. Larsson, one of the oldest members of the mission, and for years Presiding Elder of the Stockholm District, was particularly qualified to observe the change. Writing in 1883, he remarked:

> The confidence in our cause has increased very much during this period. In some of our chapels now several of the greatest and most esteemed persons are seen at the services, hearing the word of God with deep devotion and veneration. New doors are opened every-where, and, in some places, new congregations are formed. Now we can, indeed, say that the country is open to us. . . .
>
> Now that our cause is pretty well known and, in most places, legally ordered, the persecution seems almost ceased; so that we, untroubled and in peace and safety, can spread the Gospel of Christ in the country.[119]

Probably the greatest sign of the Church's acceptance and respectability was evidenced when one of its outstanding leaders, J. M. Ericson, editor of the *Svenska Sändebudet,* was elected to the Swedish Diet—the Riksdag—in 1885. He was one of nineteen representatives from Stockholm.[120]

During the 1880's very little restriction was imposed on dissenting Churches. The Established Church, however, in its favored position had the legal right to educate the State's children, and to claim tax money for its support. Under pressure, many parents, though adherents of Methodism, permitted the Lutheran priests to instruct and confirm their children. B. A. Carlsson, Presiding Elder of the Gothenburg District, commenting on this situation in 1881, stated that "this unmeet behavior often produced the sad effect that the children not only were forbidden to attend our services in general, but also entirely were drawn away from both God and his people." [121] Referring to the same interference, the Presiding Elder of the Karlskrona District, N. M. Liljegren, wrote in 1883: "There is no persecution at present worth mentioning; but still the established Church must lay every possible hinderance in our way, and our members are compelled to contribute to the Lutheran Church." [122] A complaint was made at the Conference in 1885 that baptisms and funerals were usually performed in accordance with the liturgy of the Established Church in cases where Methodist adherents had not formally withdrawn. A dual church affiliation resulted in disadvantage to the Methodist group.[123]

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* This was a period of great emigration from Sweden. Those who left could afford to pay transportation, those remaining being too poor to take the risk.

The heavy taxation was equally a problem. In 1887, Johannes Roth, Presiding Elder on the Island of Gotland, stated:

> Our members pay now twenty-five per cent. of the pastoral support, and would pay more if they were not so heavily taxed to the support of the State Church. All our members, and pastors, too, are by law obliged to pay of their income yearly to the expenses of the State Church; but we hope our God, that has released us from the dominion of personal sin, will in due time also release us from this evil.[124]

Even when militant opposition had subsided, the Methodists had to content themselves with a position of relative isolation from other Christian forces in Sweden since no cooperation with other Churches either established or free was possible.

In order to offset the grip of the Established Church upon the children and youth of the nation, the Conference early emphasized the need for Sunday schools. In 1881 a full-time worker was employed to advance the Sunday-school program throughout the land. J. P. Larsson of the Karlskrona District reported that a contribution from the Sunday School Fund in America had made possible "the salary of a traveling agent of our Sunday-schools." Wherever possible, youth groups were also formed.[125]

Twelve years after Conference organization the Swedish field was composed of four Districts, and missionary outreach to Finland* represented a fifth District, which in itself claimed the labors of seven pastors and five Local Preachers. The Stockholm District had twenty-six Circuits and Stations. The Karlskrona District had twenty-two; Gothenburg District, twenty-four, and Gotland District, seven. Membership totaled (including Finland) over 12,000, with 3,453 probationers, and another 8,870 adherents. There were sixty-three ministers, fully ordained, and forty-one other preachers, not counting the assistance of 117 Local Preachers and other helpers. The theological school, however, had only thirteen students, and was operating at minimum capacity, having only two instructors. There were no day schools. On the other hand, some two hundred Sunday schools were being conducted, with a count of 14,417 children.

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* See p. 978.

It was obvious that Sweden presented no serious difficulties to the Missionary Secretaries. In fact, the Board's *Annual Report* for 1888 was almost exuberant:

> The work in Sweden is a constant joy to the Church. The warm-hearted, enthusiastic temperament of the Swedes falls into easy harmony with Methodist ways and usages. Under many difficulties our brethren are waging the battle with confidence and hope, and frequently the shout of victory goes up from the camp. . . . There is a healthy increase in membership at most of the stations . . . . They lose many members by emigration, but their loss from that cause is almost always our gain in the United States. And these genuinely Methodistic Swedes are in the very front rank of desirable immigrants here.[126]

The successful prosecution of the Swedish mission was reported during the remaining years covered by this volume. In Stockholm, alone, there were three Societies in 1889, and four years later another was added. In the city of Gävle, more than a thousand members were reported in 1890. The Society there was not only self-supporting but a large contributor as well to the Conference missionary society. In some areas of work the Methodist Church found itself competing with other Protestant dissenting bodies in presenting the evangelical faith. Concerning this, J. M. Ericson, reporting on the Stockholm District in 1891, had this to say:

> There is much competition with other denominations, but we find time after time that our special doctrines of the work of the Holy Spirit in witnessing with the believer and sanctifying him to love God and man with a perfect heart are gaining ground. Our church government is also esteemed by other Churches, and our usages and the manner in which we work are adopted by them in many details. The very State Church is no exception to this.[127]

The Stockholm District included 8,500 square miles. Just before it was split into the Gävle District in 1892 the Stockholm District had

> 29 stations, of which 13 . . . [were] in cities (including 4 in Stockholm), 11 in places where there . . . [were] large factories, iron-works, or saw-mills, and the remaining 5 in country places. To visit them . . . [the Presiding Elder had] to travel more than fifteen hundred English miles every quarter. The regular preaching places . . . [were] seventy-nine. During the year eight hundred and thirty-three . . . joined on probation, and four hundred and seventy-two probationers . . . [had] been received into full connection . . . .[128]

The new Gävle District included the most northerly appointments in Sweden. Its thirteen Stations were under the superintendence of K. Lundgren.

In 1890 the Karlskrona District changed its name to Malmö. This District, covering the southern tip of Sweden, included some of the oldest centers but still contended with poverty. C. P. Carlsson, the Presiding Elder, stated as late as 1891, "Our poor members are bravely struggling on, numbers of them having a 'week of self-denial' all the year round in order to have something to lay on the altar of the Lord." As everywhere in the Sweden Conference, this District was burdened with heavy debts incurred by chapel building.[129]

The Gotland District inaugurated a special newspaper, *Gotlands Sändebud,* in 1891. This was intended to unite the Methodists on the island since for a good part of the year they were cut off from Methodism on the mainland because of weather conditions. The people here were poor, the land not being suitable for agriculture—their only means of livelihood—but in spirituality they were rich. Typifying the zeal of these islanders was William Anderson, pastor for a number of years at one of the outposts, who became Presiding Elder in 1892. Unaffectedly and simply he stated: "I love my people and my work, and by the grace of God I will be wholly consecrated to my dear Saviour and my people." [130]

K. A. Wik, Presiding Elder the next year, described the financial struggle of Gotland:

> Our people are poor and our preachers have no more than $250, and a few $350, as salary for the year, and from this they are obliged to pay house rent and sustain their families, and when we visit the poor and sick we must give money to them of the little we have.

But they were not without hope. He added: "God will help us, and we trust in him for this world and the world to come." [131]

The Gothenburg District, which contained some of the first points of entry for Methodism, reported the religious state to be "generally good." The Gothenburg Society in 1889 had a membership between five hundred and six hundred, and nearby were two places where the Church had found an interested audience. At Örebro, also, there was a congregation of the same size, but the members came from eighteen parishes and two towns. In a number of places revivals took place, and it was not unusual for each pastor to report annually an increase of membership, and a number of conversions. Sunday schools served as a great adjunct for the Church. The Gothenburg Church alone cared for seven hundred children; at Örebro some three hundred and fifty were taught. There were in 1889 twenty-eight chapels in the District, and four more were then under construction.[132] C. L. Ljunggren, the Presiding Elder in 1891, credited the success of the District to the attention given by preachers to prayer meetings and Class meetings.[133]

In 1895 the Conference held its twentieth session, meeting at Gävle. Since organization it had been held yearly under the presidency of a visiting Bishop. On this occasion Bishop J. N. FitzGerald was present. Ericson, who served as secretary through all the years, saw the occasion as a measuring rod:

> Fourteen years ago the Conference also met in Gefle [Gävle], and in the very same church. It was then presided over by Bishop Jesse T. Peck, and among other visitors was the esteemed Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, Dr. J. M. Reid. . . . There were then (1881) 52 ministers in the Conference including probationers; now the number is 103. The number of church members, including probationers, was 8,205; now it is 16,397. We had then 52 church buildings; now, 110; then, 129 Sunday schools; now, 213; then 6,473 Sunday school scholars; now, 16,984; the missionary collection in 1881 was 7,314 crowns; now, 14,987; the money raised for self-support was then 10,078 crowns; now, 72,328. What we call current expenses in 1881 amounted to 39,527 crowns; this year the sum is 88,739 crowns. Surely we have all reason to say, 'Praise God, from whom all blessings flow!' [134]

Undoubtedly the Sweden Mission was one of the most successful of the Methodist Church. No one reason can account for this. It might well be imagined, though, that because Sweden was already a Protestant, Christian nation an open door and a responsive hearing were found. Added to this was the fact that the Methodist missionaries here did not long hold the title of "missionary" but soon became pastor. Being Swedish converts they had no difficulty finding acceptance among their own people, beginning often with relatives and friends. Methodism did not have to labor under the label of a foreign movement and therefore have to justify her ways in introducing alien customs. Methodism was truly indigenous; even the forms of propagation were already familiar and were merely utilized by the Methodists to their purpose.

The Church also closely applied its rigors of discipline. Strength was felt in its stoutness of conviction. It quickly overcame internal hazards. There are evidences that in a few instances ministers failed to meet the rigid and high standards. Bishop I. W. Wiley reported in 1879 that of a class of five only two met the qualifications and were admitted to full connection. One man was dropped completely and the other two continued on trial—this in spite of the desperate need for preachers.[135]

The Church was particularly well organized, and ready to recognize the threats from the outside, also. Apart from the Sunday schools, the youth were being kept in the Church through the introduction of young people's groups, particularly—in the 1890's—the Epworth League, which met with general acceptance. Within a year or two the number of leagues had leapt to fifty-nine. The leagues were described as conducing "energetically to the salvation of sinners and [giving] help [to] the sick and poor." The members displayed great zeal "in their labor for the spiritual and temporal welfare of sinners." [136]

The concern for a sufficiency of literature was never diminished, with the result that the distribution of books, tracts, and periodicals remained large. It was spurred in part by the competition offered by other Churches, and also as an antidote to the religious indifference which was becoming evident in Sweden at the end of the century. The "avowed infidels" were a serious concern as well as a challenge to the Church.

As part of the close integration of Methodism, meetings were arranged in several places. Such conferences on the Gothenburg District, it was reported, were well attended by the membership and "proved a great benefit, especially to the preachers." [137]

Perhaps the simplicity of the preaching and the plain presentation of the Gospel in contrast to the formalism of the Established Church in itself was a contributing factor. Almost every year revivals were reported, and frequent references were made to the teaching of the basic tenets of the evangelical message. The fact that the majority of followers were found among the poor people and times were hard in Sweden may have been another reason for the welcome the Church was given.

As in all mission fields, there was a shortage of men. This was about the only serious problem the Conference faced other than shortage of funds. The first situation became more acute with the superannuation or death of a number of the older valuable members during the 1890's. The seminary was not producing trained men at the rate it was hoped, the chief reason doubtless being that pastors could not be spared to develop this project. To help this situation, the Missionary Society arranged, in 1893, to provide for two regular teachers, and a third instructor was hired by the District in which the school was located. The Board also continued appropriations for Sweden to ease the Conference in its plight.

It will be noted that no separate work seemed necessary among the women.* This was probably because Churchwomen were already accustomed to organizing their own groups. In Methodism the women formed sewing societies, using the income from selling their wares to meet pressing needs within their own church or for contributions to the Conference missionary society. Day schools and boarding schools were not called for, since the king and government were tolerant and advanced enough to legislate wisely and make room for other denominations to promulgate the Christian faith among their people, including the children in the state schools. There is no question that the cooperation received from these quarters eased Methodism's acceptance and growth.

FINLAND AND ST. PETERSBURG MISSION

Methodism reached Finland in almost the same manner it had entered Sweden. Seamen converted on the Bethel Ship returned to their homeland;

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* Two women were employed on the Karlskrona District in 1883. One was Mrs. Nilsen from Norway who for twenty-five years had been associated with the theater. When she preached in Norrköping the crowds were so great that admission had to be by ticket. The other woman, Mrs. Nelly Woll, had been a teacher in a Lutheran college.—*Sixty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1883), p. 101.

other Finnish Methodists came back to their native land to live. Some Swedish converts resettled there. And while Finland, like many other northern European countries, was officially opposed to the introduction of new religious movements, a number of Protestant groups—the Baptists, the Russian Orthodox, and some Swedish sects—had already made some inroads, thus preparing the way for evangelical preaching.

A converted Finn, Gustaf Lervik, who returned from America in 1859, was the first to set about telling what God had done for his soul. He met with opposition; his books and tracts were burned; and he became discouraged. Nothing came of his endeavors. In 1866 Wilhelm and Gustaf Barnlund were converted in New York, and three years later also returned to their native land and established a small Methodist work.[138]

Years passed, and, officially, nothing was undertaken. However, the missionary spirit of converts continued to spread Methodism. In 1879 a Local Preacher in Sweden, C. Martinsen, moved from Stockholm to Statka, Finland. Before long, he had entered into labors. To his former Presiding Elder, B. A. Carlsson, he wrote:

> I have hired a large hall, where I have preached, without being disturbed or interrupted, every Sunday twice to a house full of attentive hearers. Still more, as its seems, the people are susceptible to the preaching of the word of God every-where, and the word is working mightily on the hearts of the people.[139]

At the same time another Local Preacher, K. Lindborg, had also gone to Finland. He, too, continued to serve the Church, and was encouraged by finding willing listeners and a welcome everywhere. Lindborg toured the countryside around Kristinestad (Kristiinankaupunki), where he had settled. On his itinerations he met a number of Swedish-speaking Methodists who had been converted in America. A Society could easily be organized, he reported, and he communicated the wish of the people to have a preacher sent to them by the Missionary Society. Apart from these two men, others were, at different places, introducing the Methodist Way. At Abo (Turku), a Mr. Lundmark, a student and Local Preacher from Upsala, began preaching.[140]

The next year a group of Methodists assembled by Lindborg in Vaasa wrote to the Presiding Elder of the Stockholm District, asking for someone to come to them to "hold the Lord's Supper." But Carlsson stated, "we have not had time, and I wished to get an advice of the brethren and our Bishop, before such a work is commenced in Finland." Despite the lack of response, Lindborg continued in his good works and the numbers grew. At the end of 1883 he submitted a report to the Stockholm District telling of the many places he had made converts. In Gamlakarleby (Kokkola), he had had particular success; but interest had been maintained at Vaasa and Kristiinankaupunki, also. Two Sunday schools had been formed.[141] In 1884 the

Kokkola Society bought a lot for a chapel, although there were only thirty-eight members in full connection.[142]

The Sweden Conference now took cognizance of this field and included it in the Stockholm District. Such spontaneous development year by year could no longer be treated casually. In 1884 the Conference decided to give Finland full-time attention, and proceeded to organize the whole country as a new District. Carlsson, Presiding Elder of the Stockholm District, who had been to date most closely identified with the Finnish field, was then appointed Presiding Elder.

At the end of the year Carlsson related in his report what he himself had accomplished at Helsingfors (Helsinki), the capital.

> Almost the whole winter I have had to hold five or six meetings a week (class and prayer meetings included), with a goodly number of hearers, and among them not a few persons of rank, and some of the nobility. Among others, the late minister of affairs of Finland at St. Petersburg has made us a visit; and on Sunday, January 18, we had his sister, Mrs. Karamsin, formerly married to a Russian prince, among the hearers at our little hall . . . . Since then the noble lady has given us 200 Finnish marks to aid us in getting a new organ.[143]

Other denominations had previously instituted missions in the capital and consequently the people were sympathetic to hearing new doctrine preached. Four students from the university cooperated with Carlsson in holding services, although they were not Methodists. Legally he had no permission to undertake the mission, but he had visited the officials who "listened to his explanations and permitted him to carry on." He added that the Finnish Parliament had in mind to change the laws in the near future.[144]

Carlsson's hearers were of the most impoverished social group, but he found the people so warmhearted and sincere that though he was lonely at first, and a little discouraged, he felt this to be his call. At Christmas he was particularly touched when among other gifts his people gave him a big bearskin to keep his feet warm in the terribly cold weather.[145]

Three years later (1887) the Finland District had two ordained preachers and six Local Preachers. Seven appointments were being filled,* and many of these had outstations. Once the first enthusiasts had been garnered into the Church, the progress became more difficult; and as Methodism appeared a threat to the State Church city by city raised objections through Church Councils of priests. Turku, one of the most aristocratic cities, was an example. Carlsson wrote:

> When I came to preach the first time, I had scarcely arrived when I was placed before the police-master in the city, and was forbidden to preach. As the prohibition came at the order of the priests we fixed another time for the service, and invited them to come and hear, and the dean himself came. After this I visited

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* *Helsinki*, A. F. Petterson; *Ekenäs*, P. Jeppson; *Turku*, K. E. Schildt; *Björneborg* (*Pori*), K. Lindborg; *Kristiinankaupunki*, A. G. Edlund; *Nikolaistad* (*Vaasa*), L. Lindroth; *Kokkola*, G. A. Hiden.—*Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1887), pp. 147 f.

> him and was permitted to relate to him about the work of our Church and the purpose of our mission . . . . He listened, . . . showed me a great kindness and promised no more to hinder us in our work if we do not hold our services at the same time as their services . . . .[146]

In Helsinki satisfactory progress was being made. A society of young men was working for temperance and morality. Two Sunday schools, one in Finnish and one in Swedish, were teaching more than two hundred children. Even a preachers' school—the rudiments of a seminary—had been opened, which was receiving amazing cooperation from educated persons.[147]

A well-ordered program was getting under way. The year before a periodical, *Nya Budboraren* (*The New Messenger*) had been issued and was taking hold. In Kristiinankaupunki, a home for orphans was instituted.

> Every year in this community about a hundred poor people are sold to the lowest bidder because they cannot support themselves, and among these there are many children. Two of our sisters—who had long entertained a desire to be able to . . . help, have now, through much self-denial and fervent prayer to God, devoted themselves to this generous work. This . . . home exists through free gifts . . . .

The first meeting of the preachers in Finland was held at Vaasa November 16-18, 1887, for the sole purpose of common edification, and the mapping out of a program.[148]

At the same time that Finland had been entered word had come from St. Petersburg (Leningrad) that a congregation could be formed in that city if only a preacher could be sent. But the call could not be answered. Again in 1888, a high officer in the city asked the Presiding Elder of the Finland District to come personally or at least send someone in his place, adding: "Now is the proper time for you to commence a mission here." [149]

Bishop Fowler, on his tour of Scandinavia the following year, determined upon a mission in Russia, because a petition of many signatures had since come to the Swedish Conference reinforcing earlier requests. To this new appointment Carlsson was sent with two assistants. Carlsson found it difficult to fill this responsibility along with his other duties, but managed to visit the Russian capital about once a month. Later he reported:

> At the opening of last August I went there with Bishop Fowler, in order to commence the work . . . . I hired a little plain preaching hall for 30 rubles a month, in which we since have had many blessed meetings. It will not hold many people, but God has been in the midst of us every time we have been gathered together in his name. Some have been converted by the preaching of the word and brought to Christ. The first Sunday in November we formed a little Methodist class and received the first members on trial, the number of whom was 7, to whom 3 have been added since. The same day we celebrated the Lord's Supper for the first time; 8 persons united with us in this memorable feast. The newly formed little society numbers at present 3 persons in full connection and 8 on trial. There are already 2 brethren who are helping us in the work for God.[150]

Among the chief deterrents to advancement in Finland was the lack of skill of the Swedish preachers in speaking the Finnish tongue. Up to this time their work had been primarily among the Swedish-speaking residents, but as the Church became known others became interested. The congregation at Pori was entirely Finnish-speaking, and had to resort to using an elderly lady as interpreter. Also, the continuing enmity of the State Church posed problems, particularly in work with children.

In 1888 the law of the Russian Empire restricting religious freedom for dissenters' groups was altered so that Church members outside of the Establishment were allowed to separate from the State Church, and form new congregations of their own denominational choice under condition that the pastor be a Finnish subject. Further legislation in 1891 granted the Methodist Church the legal right to organize and hold property.[151]

When Bishop I. W. Joyce held the Sweden Conference in 1892, he judged the time had come to put the Finnish and Russian work into a separate mission, the Finland and St. Petersburg Mission. Johannes Roth was given the superintendency. The membership then stood at 458 with 134 probationers, and another 825 as adherents. One missionary and an assistant filled each of the following places: Turku, Pori, Ekenäs, Kokkola, Helsinki, Kristiinankaupunki and Narpes, Vaasa, Viborg (Viipuri), and Leningrad.[152] Three of the preachers were Finnish.

Converts were not made too easily, the Superintendent explaining that "a Finn requires time before deciding to take such an important step." "After having viewed Methodism on all sides they usually express a desire to join us; the church then receives into her charge those who, once becoming members, are true and faithful Methodists for life." [153]

The pattern of Methodism was beginning to be established, first through a strong emphasis on the Sunday-school program, and the inaugural of youth groups akin to the Epworth League, and then through the development of literature in the chief language of the country. In 1893 the first issue of *Rauhan Sanoma* (*The Messenger of Peace*), a monthly paper in Finnish, appeared. Through grants from the Sunday School Union and the Tract Society other literature in Finnish, including the *Discipline* and *Hymnal,* was prepared for distribution.[154]

The mission was in poor financial condition. In this nation, too, the State Church collected taxes for its maintenance, which meant double giving for Methodists. Furthermore, the membership was primarily of people from the lowest income group, and two years of famine following failure of crops had reduced their resources to nothing. It was impossible, therefore, to build or to do much educationally. Benefactors on occasion came forward with gifts, and the Missionary Society made a yearly appropriation.

N. J. Rosen was named Superintendent in 1894, and at the same time the mission was divided into two Districts.* The arrangement was made in order to supply new places, especially among the Finnish people.

Germany and Switzerland Missions

On November 9, 1849, Ludwig S. Jacoby, accompanied by his wife, arrived in Bremen, under appointment of Bishop Thomas A. Morris, as missionary to Germany.

This was the consummation of interest in Germany as a mission field on the part of American Methodists which had been growing over the years. German immigrants, writing to relatives and friends in the fatherland, pictured life in America in glowing terms. They also described the happiness and peace which they experienced as a result of their conversion in Methodist meetings. The Missionary Society began to receive inquiries from Germany about Methodism and requests for Methodist preachers. In 1844 Bishop Soule presented to General Conference a request from William Nast that he be allowed "to visit Germany, with a view to more extended usefulness among his brethren of the German nation." The Committee on Missions recommended that permission be granted. The visit was made but Nast decided that the State Church was so strongly entrenched and the laws restricting religious freedom so formidable that any immediate attempt to establish a mission was inadvisable.[155]

For four years no further move was made. In the meantime, with German immigration at flood tide the German missions in the United States increased to eighty-four and church membership tripled. As one result correspondence between immigrants and their kinsfolk and friends in the homeland grew apace, quickening their interest in evangelical religion. With the establishment of a liberal national government in 1848 the rulers of the German states† were forced to grant a larger degree of religious freedom.[156] Both William Nast and Ludwig S. Jacoby were delegates to the General Conference of 1848, and both were members of the Committee on Missions. They called the attention of the Conference to the favorable political changes in Germany and petitioned for a missionary to be sent. No action on the petition was taken. However, the Conference adopted an amendment to the constitution of the Missionary Society which provided that "in the intervals between the meetings of the General Missionary Committee, the Board of Managers [of the Society], with the concurrence of a majority of the bishops, may adopt a new missionary field." Thus empowered, the Board, on May 3, 1849, "determined to establish a mission in Germany," and recommended the appointment of two missionaries. The Board also appropriated $1,800. for the purpose.

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* *North District: Pori,* Hjalmar Bergqvist; *Kokkola,* S. A. Huttqvist; *Kristiinankaupunki* and *Narpes,* Karl Selin; *Vaasa,* Anders Gronblad. *South District: Turku,* Erland Bjornberg; *Ekenäs,* Herman Rabe; *Helsinki,* N. J. Rosen; *Helsinki Circuit,* G. A. Hiden; *Lovisa* and *Kotka,* K. Lindborg; *Tammerfors* (*Tampere*), L. K. Ahlgren; *Viipuri* and *Leningrad,* August Ek, Aaron Blomqvist, K. U. Strandroos; *Viipuri Circuit,* O. E. Fagerbund.—*Seventy-sixth Ann. Rep. M.S.* (1894), p. 107.

† Until the nineteenth century Germany did not exist as a unified nation, but as a collection of states which for a thousand years, since the days of Charlemagne, had had their own rulers and government. Napoleon Bonaparte had at the beginning of the nineteenth century consolidated the more than three hundred states into thirty-nine, thus actually promoting German national unity; and at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 a Germanic Confederation was formed, a Confederation which was dominated by Austria. During the succeeding decades agitation for constitutional government and reforms constantly threatened the conservative rule of the princes and the reactionary Hapsburg dynasty of Austria. The aspirations of the people became concerted under the leadership of Prussia, a northern and Protestant state which had gradually evolved during the previous century and a half into a major power and Austria's only rival contender for power among the Germanic states. Finally, after a series of insurrections as revolution spread from France to Germany, a provisional national government was organized in 1848-49. The new national Parliament quickly disintegrated, however, under the warring factions, and the old order was re-established in 1850. The reforms and freedom granted in 1848-49 were revoked. Austria and Prussia continued to vie for control.

In June, a month later, Bishop Morris appointed L. S. Jacoby.* He was not in rugged health and for this, or other reasons, did not welcome the appointment but made no protest and on October 20, his thirty-sixth birthday, sailed from New York.

GERMANY MISSION FOUNDED

The choice of Bremen as headquarters was a natural one. It was one of the few "free cities"; its new constitution (of April 18, 1849) guaranteed "full liberty of faith and conscience," the "right to hold social worship in private and public," and to form "new religious societies." While this was also true of Hamburg, the alternate choice cited by the Board, Bremen was the chief place of embarkation. In 1849 nearly 60,000 emigrants had departed for America from that point alone. It was in closer touch with America, and offered a chance of directing emigrants toward Methodism.[158]

Jacoby was well received upon his arrival by several influential persons to whom he had letters of introduction. He lost no time: two days after his arrival he wrote to Nast, relating his activities. He had made a visit to a printer and, finding that he could have tracts printed at the rate of 1,500 pages for sixty cents, he had ordered copies of a dozen different tracts. The establishment of a semi-monthly Methodist paper in Germany seemed immediately essential to him for the double purpose of counteracting misrepresentations of Methodism and of aiding emigrants with reliable information about their new homeland. He estimated that with $500. he could pay for its publication and distribution for one year. The Board responded readily and on January 30, 1850, authorized the publication with the condition that $500. be subscribed in America "for that specific object," and paid into the treasury, to cover the cost of the experiment.[159] This marked the beginning of the Bremen Book Concern.

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* Ludwig Sigismund Jacoby (1813-74) was born in Alt-Strelitz, Mecklenburg, Germany, of Jewish parents, but when a young man (1835) was baptized a Lutheran. He emigrated to the United States in the fall of 1839, and during the following Christmas season he was converted under William Nast. Three months later he felt the call to preach and for a year he served as a Local Preacher. In 1841 he was received on probation in the Missouri Conference, and was sent to St. Louis where he opened a German mission. He was received into full connection in 1843. In 1848, prior to his appointment to Germany, he was Presiding Elder of the Quincy District in the Illinois Conference. His remarkably able administration of the German-Swiss work in Europe continued until 1872 when he withdrew. He was delegate to the General Conference in 1872, and then as a member of the Southwest German Conference became pastor of the 8th Street German Church in St. Louis, Mo. (1872-73), and Presiding Elder of St. Louis District (1873-74). He married Amalia Nuelsen, the sister of Heinrich Nuelsen, in 1839 or 1840. On June 10, 1874, he died of cancer after a lingering illness, leaving his wife and eight children.—Official Biographical Files; *Gen'l Minutes*, 1841, pp. 201, 202; *ibid.*, 1843, p. 404; *ibid.*, 1848, p. 282; *ibid.*, 1874, p. 88.

The next step—finding a preaching place—was difficult. He finally rented a dancing saloon in the Kramer-amt-Haus (Grocers' Hall) which would seat about five hundred persons and here preached his first public sermon on Sunday evening, December 23, 1849, to about four hundred hearers. Reminiscing about it ten years later, he wrote:

> . . . I trembled before I commenced to preach as I was used to do when I had the chills and fever. I was a poor plain home-made preacher, and in this city there were great celebrated preachers; but there was one thing that encouraged me: I had not sent myself; I was fully convinced the Lord had sent me to Germany.[160]

The crowds attending his services soon caused Jacoby to rent a larger saloon in the Kramer-amt-Haus. On February 26, 1850, less than four months after he had begun the work, he wrote to the Missionary Society proposing the erection of "the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Germany." In the same letter he described his weekly schedule: on Sunday nights he preached in the Kramer-amt-Haus to about five hundred; Monday evenings were spent with prayer meetings at the house of an adherent; on Tuesday evenings he preached in a dancing saloon in a suburb to about three hundred; Thursday evenings he lectured on the doctrines of Methodism at the Kramer-amt-Haus; while on Friday evenings Class meeting was held with the fourteen members he had received on trial. In addition he was busied with tract distribution. To assist him in beginning the work with the emigrants at Bremerhaven (the port of Bremen, about thirty-five miles distant) he employed, the first week of March, one of the members (E. C. Poppe) as a colporteur.[161]

People gathered from all parts of Bremen, sometimes coming from ten to fourteen miles away, to hear Methodist preaching. On Easter Day, 1850, Jacoby admitted twenty-one persons to the Society and administered the Lord's Supper to them, and on the next evening they participated in a Love Feast. On May 21 the Church held its first Quarterly Conference.[162]

On June 16, 1850, Jacoby opened a Sunday school in the Kramer-amt-Haus with about eighty children, the first Sunday school in Germany modeled on those in the United States. It was instantly popular and within two months attendance had grown to between two and three hundred. In the course of the next few months Sunday schools were also opened in Bremerhaven, Hastedt, and Buntenthor, in conjunction with the regular work, and in his report of March 1, 1851, Jacoby indicated an average total attendance of 750. So alarming to the State Church was this extension of Methodist influence over the children that the Lutherans adopted the institution and began opening schools of their own.[163]

During February, 1850, members of the Board conferred with Bishop

Morris and "officially offered an appointment" to Charles H. Doering[*] as missionary to Germany. On May 6 he was commissioned. In the meantime the Sunday school of Morris Chapel, Cincinnati, had pledged the support of an unmarried missionary to Germany. Thus enabled to provide the field with a third man, on March 20, 1850, Bishop Morris appointed Lewis Nippert[†] of the Ohio Conference as assistant missionary. On June 7 Doering and Nippert arrived at Bremen, together with Dr. John McClintock who inspected and reported favorably upon the infant mission.[164]

The urgent appeal for a church building also received attention. At a meeting held on April 15, 1850, the Board of Managers resolved to make a special effort to raise a fund of $5,000., to build in Bremen the first Methodist Episcopal church in Germany, but it was not until 1855 that the church was built. However, in 1852 Jacoby reported that "we have since the last year changed the saloon [in the Kramer-amt-Haus] into a nice chapel, after the American fashion." [165]

Following the arrival of Doering and Nippert, the mission expanded rapidly. While Jacoby retained pastoral care of the work in Bremen, his coworkers formed the Bremen Circuit[‡] with fifteen preaching points. At the time of Jacoby's annual report, March 1, 1851, the Bremen Society had a membership of twenty-eight in full connection and twenty-three on trial, while the appointments on Bremen Circuit had a total of thirty-six probationers. In addition to his regular services at the Kramer-amt-Haus, Jacoby preached biweekly to 125 persons in a house in Grosslinger-Deich, a suburb. The work in Bremerhaven was not as successful as anticipated. The emigrants were too preoccupied with "visionary plans" for their lives in America to listen to spiritual counsel, and the preaching place was too inconveniently located to attract them.[166]

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[*] Charles H. Doering (1811-97) was born in Springe, Hannover, Germany. He worked as a merchant in Bremen and in 1835 emigrated to the United States. While rooming with a Methodist family in Wheeling, W. Va., he was converted. He studied at Allegheny College, supporting himself by giving German and French lessons, and while in college was licensed to exhort. Received on trial in the Pittsburgh Conference in 1841, he was immediately transferred to New York Conference; and received into full connection in 1843 in the Pittsburgh Conference. He served in New York and Pittsburgh, founding "German Methodism east of the Allegheny Mountains," before his appointment to Germany. In Germany he served as pastor, Presiding Elder, and teacher in Martin Mission Institute. In 1871 he succeeded Jacoby as Agent of the Bremen Book Concern, continuing until 1883 when, following the death of his wife (Nancy McLaughlin) he was superannuated. He lived with his son in Berea, Ohio, until death.—Official Biographical Files; *Gospel in All Lands,* April, 1898, p. 147; *Christian Advocate,* LXXII (1897), 36 (Sept. 9), 592; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1843, p. 370; *ibid.,* 1883, p. 73.

[†] Lewis Nippert (1825-94) was born in Gorsdorf, Alsace, and at five years of age emigrated with his parents to the United States. The family settled near Wheeling, [W.] Va. Converted at the age of fifteen, he was admitted on trial in the Ohio Conference in 1846. His first appointment was in Louisville, Ky. He also served in Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, and Columbus before going to Germany. In 1868 he was elected superintendent of Martin Mission Institute, where he remained until 1886 when he returned to the U.S. He transferred to the Central German Conference and was appointed to Pittsburgh. He also served in Columbus, and in Cincinnati where he died. He was married to Mela Durtze, 1851; to Adelaide Lindemann, 1859; and to Countess Ida Eleanor Uxekull Gyllenband, 1870.—Official Biographical Files; *Gospel in All Lands,* April, 1898, p. 148; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1846, pp. 69, 73; *ibid.,* Spring, 1886, p. 77; *ibid.,* Fall, 1886, pp. 252, 253; *ibid.,* Fall, 1894, p. 412.

[‡] Of the fifteen Bremen Circuit appointments ten were within the state of Bremen, including Bremerhaven, Vegesack, Hastedt, and Buntenthor, while two (Dwobeck and Hasbergen) were in the grand duchy of Oldenburg, one (Baden) in Hannover, and two others (Witzew and Thedinghausen) in Brunswick.

A Society was also established in Waltersdorf, situated in a part of the grand duchy of Weimar surrounded by Saxony. Ehrhardt Wunderlich, converted in Dayton, Ohio, had been compelled to return to his home in Saxony for military reasons. He began preaching, selling Bibles, and distributing tracts as an unpaid helper. During a visit to Waltersdorf in February, 1851, Jacoby found that Wunderlich had organized a Class of twenty-six persons. So successful was his work that in August, 1851, the Board appropriated $100. to sustain it.[167]

The missionary personnel was supplemented in 1851 by the arrival of Heinrich Nuelsen,* on April 15, and Engelhardt Riemenschneider,† in June. Two paid colporteurs, E. C. Poppe and C. Nahrman, were employed and, in addition to Wunderlich, two other unpaid helpers.[168]

With Nuelsen to replace him in Bremen, Doering began a mission in Hamburg in July, 1851. Nahrman had previously spent nearly two months there as colporteur, and returned to assist Doering. A preaching place was soon rented, with preaching three times a week, and a Sunday school opened. Riemenschneider was assigned to open work in Frankfort-on-the-Main where he arrived July 3, 1851. He had to wait nearly two months for government permission to hold meetings. He preached in many places in the surrounding country, but was threatened with imprisonment, and on one occasion, having held a meeting in Erdhausen in the duchy of Hesse, he was put in jail overnight and conducted to the frontier of the duchy the next morning. In Frankfort as well as in the other communities he found it difficult to rent a room for preaching, and in some villages impossible. Nippert arrived in Heilbronn, in Wurttemberg, September 8, 1851. After obtaining legal permission to remain, he rented a house, fitting up one of the rooms for meetings. His congregation soon spread into an adjoining room, and still being too crowded, he rented an outside place. His Methodist preaching soon gained a following. The difficulty of finding preaching places made it necessary in many cities and villages to utilize dance halls, saloons, and private homes. In Grosslinger-Deich, a suburb of Bremen, the preaching had to be suspended for want of a room but by June, 1852, a chapel was finally readied.[169]

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* Heinrich Nuelsen (1826-1912) was born in Norten, near Gottingen, Germany, of liberal Catholic parents. In 1839 he was converted and the next year emigrated with his parents to Cincinnati. In 1844 he was received into the Missouri Conference, and transferred to the Illinois Conference. He was received into full connection in 1847. Previous to his appointment to Germany in 1851, he served in Weston, Mo., Beardstown, Ill., Galena, Ill., and Burlington, Iowa. He succeeded Doering as Book Agent in Bremen, 1883, which post he held until 1889, when he returned to the U.S. In 1890 he was listed as a superannuated member of the Switzerland Conference, of which he had been a member since its organization. He was married to Magdalena Reuter, who died in 1863, and later to Rosalie Mueller. He was the father of Bishop John L. Nuelsen.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1846, p. 78; *ibid.,* 1847, p. 179; *ibid.,* 1883, p. 73; *ibid.,* Fall, 1889, p. 259; *ibid.,* Fall, 1890, p. 272; *Gospel in All Lands,* April, 1898, pp. 148 f.; Official Biographical Files.

† Engelhardt Riemenschneider (1815-99) was born in Eubach, Hesse, Germany, and raised a Lutheran. In 1835 he emigrated to the United States. Three years later he was converted and in 1840 he was received on trial in the Pittsburgh Conference. He was received into full connection in the Northern Ohio Conference in 1842. In Europe he served in Frankfort, Bremen, Bremerhaven, and Basel. He was superannuated because of ill health in 1870 and a few years later returned to the U.S. His name appeared in the 1878 *Minutes* as a superannuated member of the Central German Conference, which relationship he apparently retained until his death in Chicago. He was married to Catharine Nuhfer, who died in 1865.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1840, pp. 12, 77; *ibid.,* 1842, p. 288; *ibid.,* 1869, p. 153; *ibid.,* 1870, p. 154; *ibid.,* 1878, p. 11; *ibid.,* Fall, 1899, p. 298; *Gospel in All Lands,* April, 1898, p. 149; Official Biographical Files.

The first annual meeting of the Germany Mission was held in Bremen, March 11-17, 1852. The five missionaries (Jacoby as Superintendent, Riemenschneider, Nippert, Nuelsen, and Doering) and several native assistants attended. Among the latter was Ehrhardt Wunderlich who was recommended for admission on trial in an Annual Conference in order to become a member of the mission. In addition to forming a Germany Missionary Society, a Tract Society was organized.[170]

Jacoby's health had been precarious before he left the United States and in 1852, after he had been advised repeatedly by the Board to conserve his strength, Jacoby put Riemenschneider in charge of Bremen Station, thus freeing himself from many of his duties. The Bremen Station by then had three preaching places: the Kramer-amt-Haus, Steffensweg, and Buntenthor. The two latter places were in the suburbs and in 1852 a small chapel and parsonage, worth $4,000., was built and dedicated in Steffensweg. Bremen Circuit, under Nuelsen, had thirteen preaching places, with thirty-six full members. In May, 1854, Bremen Station and Bremen Circuit were united as one mission and put in the charge of Doering. Included in the mission were Baden, Uelzen, and Morsum (all in Hannover Kingdom) where one of the helpers, Ernst Peters, had labored for six months. Upon receiving in October, 1853, the ultimatum to leave the country or give up his work, Peters was appointed to Brake, located on the Weser in the duchy of Oldenburg. This village of two to three thousand people had no church; Peters rented a small room and soon attained some success. In addition he visited the city of Oldenburg regularly. Riemenschneider was in charge of Bremerhaven, where he had a congregation of between eighty and one hundred and fifty persons.[171]

In 1855 Bremen Station and the Circuit were once again separate, under the direction of Doering and Nippert respectively. In his annual report Nippert felt forced to acknowledge a lack of success "in the last years" in the area around Bremen. Most of the appointments on the Circuit were given up in order to concentrate upon the more promising ones. Hastedt and Vegesack showed little fruit; other places had lost almost entire Classes through emigration. Especially was this true in Hannover, where the members had suffered some persecution; many later joined Methodist Societies in Cincinnati.[172]

The work in the city of Bremen received an impetus through the dedication, April 1, 1855, of a chapel, so long desired by Jacoby. The edifice, three stories high, included not only a chapel large enough to accommodate four hundred, but also the office of the Superintendent, a large bookstore, and the living quarters of the preacher-in-charge. Located on the broad and lovely George Street, it was known as the Tract House or as the George-street Chapel. The whole property cost about $20,000., of which $11,000. was still due at the time of dedication.[173]

Nippert, whose headquarters were in Heilbronn, quickly reached out to ten nearby villages and cities, including Neuenstadt, Weinsberg, and Gruppenbach. He also occasionally visited the kingdom of Wurttemberg, but the Methodists, not wishing to compete with the Wesleyan Society* there, restrained for a few years their desire to occupy it. With Riemenschneider's assignment to Bremen Station in 1852, Frankfort-on-the-Main was added to Nippert's work. The Frankfort Mission included Friedrichsdorf (which in 1853 had a Society of twenty-two members) and Offenbach (with eight members) as well as Frankfort (with a Class of ten). Assisting Nippert in this large field were S. Kurtz, and Louis Wallon, Sr., who later became a prominent member of the East German Conference in the United States. In 1854 Nippert reported that the work was flourishing in Frankfort and Heilbronn, but preaching was not now permitted in Friedrichsdorf, and persecution had hindered progress in Neuenstadt, Wahlheim, and other places. In addition, emigration had cut into the membership: the whole Class from Offenbach had removed to the United States, as had members of some other communities. On the brighter side, he reported that Ernst Mann, a young painter who had been converted in Bremen, had returned to his home town, Pirmasens, in the Bavarian Palatinate, and had begun to hold meetings there. He soon had twenty-five converts. Mann was received into the mission as a helper. The entire Circuit now totaled 135 members. The next year, 1855, Mann not only held services in the Palatinate, but also in Bischwiller, Alsace. Although opposition seemed slight at first, he was soon banished from Alsace, which was Roman Catholic and at that time a part of France. In 1855 Frankfort and Wurttemberg were again separated, with Nuelsen appointed to the former, and Louis Wallon, Sr., to the latter. Nippert, who had spent over four years in South Germany, was appointed to Bremen Circuit.[174]

The work in Hamburg was discouragingly slow. At the end of 1853 Doering and his helper, Adrian Van Andel,* were able to report only six full members and four on trial. In November of that year a new appointment in the seamen's chapel in St. Pauli, a section of Hamburg, was opened. Faced with strong legal interference, Doering, with the support of the consul, appealed successfully to the United States' treaties with the free cities, giving him the rights of their own citizens. The appointment within the city reached many emigrants, for the trustees of the English Reformed Church at the harbor had given Doering the use of their building. At the end of 1854 the membership had apparently not grown, but each appointment had a congregation of fifteen to forty persons and a Sunday school of sixty to ninety children. During this year Van Andel was received as a missionary and the following year was left in charge of the Hamburg Mission. While the work in the city remained static, he began preaching in three nearby villages. However, Jacoby became dissatisfied with him as a missionary, and described him as unsuited for the work in Germany. Only the work among the emigrants in Hamburg deterred Jacoby from giving up this "great Sodom." The following year Ernst Peters was in charge and the mission finally began to yield fruit with larger congregations and several conversions.[175]

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* The Wesleyans had begun work in Wurttemberg previous to 1845 but their missionary, C. G. Mueller (or Miller), was now aged and the work, the missionaries feared, was slipping from him. Feeling that unless his mission took immediate steps to occupy the field, the Albright brethren would take it over, Jacoby had decided in the fall of 1851 to send Nippert to work in an area of Wurttemberg not reached by Mueller and also to assist Mueller. The Board of Managers, in June, 1852, advised Jacoby to travel to London ostensibly for his health, but gave him unofficial instructions to sound out the Wesleyans without arousing their suspicion of any attempt to supplant them. Jacoby reported to Durbin in May, 1853, that his "journey was not in vain." The Wesleyans were willing to give their work over to the American Methodists, but on the condition that the latter support Brother Mueller. This Jacoby felt was impossible: it would be necessary to wait until Mueller's work had ended. Heilbronn remained the center of Methodist work in Wurttemberg, under Lewis Nippert; Louis Wallon, Sr., a helper, visited Wurttemberg occasionally.—L. S. Jacoby to J. P. Durbin, letters, Oct. 17, 1851, May 29, 1853, Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions; J. P. Durbin to L. S. Jacoby, letter, June 18, 1852, pp. 510 f.; Bishop Waugh to L. S. Jacoby, letter, July 14, 1852, p. 520; both in "Letters from the Board of Missions, Germany, Sept. 25, 1849-Nov. 15, 1866," in files, Division of World Missions, hereafter referred to as "Germany Letter Book." *Thirty-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1851-52), pp. 123 f.; *ibid., 36th* (1854), pp. 22 f.; F. H. Otto Melle, Ed., *Das Walten Gottes im deutschen Methodismus,* pp. 182 ff.

The Saxony Mission included Reussdorf, Waltersdorf, Triebes, and Dortendorf, and "several small dominions on its borders"—the grand duchy of Weimar, the principality of Reuss Schleiz, and the duchy of Altenburg. In the last two principalities the Methodists were relatively free to carry on their work. In 1852 Ehrhardt Wunderlich formed nine Classes with a total of thirty full members and eighty-nine probationers. The following year, after Ehrhardt Wunderlich's departure for America, Friedrich Wunderlich † was so successful in carrying forward his brother's work that Jacoby wrote of him in September, 1855:

> He has been a very useful man for the last three years and will make a good travelling preacher. I have visited Saxony and asked the Helpers if Br. Wunderlich could not now be spared and go into an other field of labor, but all agreed . . . that it would be a great injury to the work in Saxony if he would be taken away. So I left him there to continue to superintend the work.[176]

By the end of 1855 there were eighteen missionaries and assistants in nine stations or centers. Members in full connection numbered 596 and probationers forty-four. The twenty-six Sunday schools had an enrollment of 1,512 scholars. Heartened by such success, Jacoby suggested "that the time is at hand, probably, when we should become a mission conference." [177] There were adversities, but, discouraging as they were, they did not dim the enthusiasm and optimism for the mission which had been expressed by the Board at the end of its first year. For in the spring of 1855 Bishop Morris wrote to the missionaries in Germany that hope for success in Germany now seemed as reasonable as it did "in England in 1739 or in America in 1769. Opposition . . . is not more extensive or violent in Germany now than it was at first in England and America." At the request of the Bishop, Jacoby attended the General Conference session at Indianapolis in May, 1856, to present the case for a Mission Conference. After consideration of the proposal the General Conference resolved

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* Adrian Van Andel, a Dutchman fluent in German and English, had been converted among Methodists in Hamburg several years previous to Doering's arrival there. He began working with a Dr. Craigh, an Irish missionary, but upon the arrival of Doering he chose to unite with the Methodist mission. With the consent of Dr. Craigh, who was unable to provide funds for the mission, Van Andel brought part of his work with him to the Methodists.—L. S. Jacoby to J. P. Durbin, letter, May 29, 1853, Correspondence Files, Division of World Missions.

† Friedrich Wunderlich (older brother of Ehrhardt Wunderlich) and Carl Dietrich were converted under Ehrhardt's preaching and assisted him in Saxony. In 1852 they were given Exhorter's licenses. Both were admitted on trial to the Germany Mission Conference in 1856. Dietrich was admitted into full connection in 1858; Friedrich Wunderlich, in 1859. Friedrich Wunderlich suffered poor health, however, and located in 1860. In 1879 it was reported that at Waltersdorf, the cradle of Methodism in Saxony, "Brother Wunderlich, the old pioneer, still helps, working as much as his time and strength permit."—*Thirty-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1851-52), pp. 117, 124; *ibid., 34th and 35th* (1852-53), pp. 96 f.; *ibid., 38th* (1856), pp. 35, 41; *ibid., 39th* (1857), pp. 54 f.; *ibid., 43rd* (1861), p. 52; *ibid., 61st* (1879), p. 73; *Gen'l Minutes*, 1856, p. 187; *ibid.*, 1858, p. 341; *ibid.*, 1859, p. 357; *ibid.*, 1860, p. 368; *Gospel in All Lands*, April, 1898, p. 150; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, II, 297.

> That the German Missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Germany, and in that part of France and Switzerland where the German language is spoken, be organized as a Mission Annual Conference.[178]

GERMANY MISSION CONFERENCE, 1856-68

The five missionaries met in Bremen September 10-15, 1856, to organize their Mission Conference. No Bishop was present. Jacoby presided and Doering was elected secretary. Four men were added to the personnel: three admitted on trial, Friedrich Wunderlich, Carl Dietrich, and Ernst Mann; the fourth was a probationer who had just arrived following transfer from the Cincinnati Conference, Hermann zur Jacobsmuhlen.* The Conference members were aided by eleven helpers and assistants. The membership totaled 535: persons in full connection 426, and on probation 109, a drop of 101 from the previous year. Jacoby was fully convinced of the value of the itinerancy, and to this end the work was organized in ten appointments,† six of which were Circuits. Included were three notable new appointments: Berlin, which remained to be supplied until 1858 when Nippert was appointed; and Lausanne and Zurich, marking the beginning of Methodist work in Switzerland.[179]

The second Annual Conference (1857) was memorable for its guests.

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* Hermann zur Jacobsmuhlen (1830-62) was born in Holdorf, grand duchy of Brunswick, Germany. Having been converted to Methodism after studying "Hofacker's Sermons," he emigrated to the United States to escape religious persecution. He was admitted on trial in the Cincinnati Conference in 1855 and appointed to Allegheny, in the North Ohio German Mission District. On July 1, 1856, Bishop Morris transferred him to the Germany Mission Conference where he was appointed to Zurich. The following year he was admitted into full connection. He later served in Bremen (1860-62) and Pforzheim in the grand duchy of Baden (June, 1862-December, 1862). On Dec. 11, 1862, he died of typhoid fever, leaving a wife (he had married Emma Bruner, 1859) and two small sons.—Official Biographical Files; Bishop Morris to Jacobsmuhlen, letters, May 27, June 6, 1856, "Germany Letter Book," pp. 52 f.; *Gen'l Minutes*, 1855, pp. 635, 639; *ibid.*, 1856, p. 151; *ibid.*, 1857, p. 532; *ibid.*, 1860, p. 368; *ibid.*, 1863, pp. 128 f.; *Gospel in All Lands*, April, 1898, p. 151.

† The appointments were: Bremen: George-street Chapel and Bremen Circuit; Steffensweg Chapel and Farge English appointment. Oldenburg Circuit; Bremerhaven and Brake; Hamburg; South Germany; Saxony Circuit; Lausanne Circuit; Zurich Circuit; Berlin.—*Thirty-eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1856), p. 35; *Gen'l Minutes*, 1856, p. 187.

Bishop Matthew Simpson, making the first episcopal visit to the mission, presided, and the Conference was also attended by Dr. John McClintock (an old friend of the Germany Mission), Dr. Nast (who was also attending a convention of the Evangelical Alliance to be held later in Berlin), and Joseph A. Wright, American minister to Prussia. Adolf Leuring and Ernst Peters were admitted on trial. There were few changes in the appointments. Berlin again remained "to be supplied." Although Jacoby reported the year as prosperous, with "an increase of two hundred and thirty-five members," making a total of 774, the membership in full connection (558) at the end of 1857 was still smaller than two years previously. The growth of the Germany Mission was seriously retarded by emigration to the United States.[180]

The year 1858 was an eventful one: a large accession of converts brought the total membership well above a thousand. E. Mann began holding meetings in Geneva, and Nippert was appointed to open work in Berlin, although he had not yet begun to preach by mid-December for want of a suitable preaching place. Wilhelm Schwarz,* the last missionary sent from the United States, arrived July 27, 1858. None was admitted on trial, but Carl Dietrich and Ernst Mann were admitted into full connection. The work of the Conference was organized for the first time into Districts†: Bremen, Oldenburg, South Germany, and Switzerland.[181]

On February 19, 1858, Nippert began instructing a group of young men who gave promise for the ministry. They decided to form an institute for Biblical instruction, and this grew into the well-known Martin Mission Institute. The need for such a program was described by Jacoby:

> The young men of the mechanics and workmen have a very limited education; they, *in general,* neither speak nor write correctly, and know little of the word of God. From the commencement I saw the great difficulty of finding useful men for our ministry, if they were not educated for this work; and though I earnestly prayed to the Lord to open our way, I waited with patience till he should grant us the necessary help. The time was nearer than we believed.[182]

By fall of the year six students had been received. Most of them were Local Preachers who studied four days a week and traveled a Circuit the remainder of the time. On December 10, 1860, William F. Warren was transferred by Bishop T. A. Morris to the Germany Mission Conference from the New England Conference, and appointed "First Teacher in the Mission Institute at Bremen," although he did not arrive in Germany until June, 1861. At the Conference session of 1860 Jacoby, who had been "acting director" of the institute, was officially elected to that post, and moved into the newly completed institute building. At the same session three students from the institute were admitted on trial into Conference membership, Ernst Gebhardt, August Rodemeyer, and Arnold Sulzberger. In 1866 Warren returned to the United States and J. F. Hurst arrived to replace him as theological professor. In 1866 a centennial gift of $25,000. from John T. Martin of Brooklyn was received for the erection of a new building. The following year it was decided to remove the institute from Bremen to Frankfort-on-the-Main, and rename it "Martin Mission Institute." [183]

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* Wilhelm Schwarz (1826-75) was born in Oberachern, in the duchy of Baden, and reared in a Roman Catholic family. He left his studies for the priesthood at the University of Frieberg, feeling himself unsuitable, and emigrated to New York in 1845. The following year he was converted, and entered the Ohio Conference. In March, 1848, he was received into the New York Conference and served in Newark, New York City, and Albany. Transferred by Bishop Ames to the Germany Mission Conference in May, 1858, Schwarz worked in Bremen for two years, then replaced Nippert in Berlin. He later served in Basel and opened the German Mission in Paris.—Paul F. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism . . . ,* pp. 124 f.; J. P. Durbin to Bishop Morris, letter, May 19, 1858, "Germany Letter Book," p. [94].

† The organization of the Districts and the list of Stations were given in the annual report for 1859: *Bremen District,* L. S. Jacoby, P. E.; *Bremen, Vegesack, Hastedt,* W. Schwarz; *Bremen Circuit,* C. Achard; *Berlin,* L. Nippert; *Saxony,* F. Wunderlich; *Hamburg,* to be supplied. *Oldenburg District,* C. H. Doering, P. E.; *Oldenburg,* C. H. Doering; *Varel,* C. Dietrich; *Edewecht,* to be supplied; *Brake,* to be supplied; *Bremerhaven,* A. Leuring; *Neerstedt,* to be supplied; *Delmenhorst,* to be supplied. *South Germany District,* H. Nuelsen, P. E.; *Ludwigsburg,* H. Nuelsen; *Heilbronn, Ulm, Bonlanden, Sulzbach, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Pirmasens, Kreuznach, Alsace,* all to be supplied. *Switzerland District,* E. Riemenschneider, P. E.; *Zurich,* Riemenschneider and H. zur Jacobsmuhlen; "a new Mission" [*Biel* and *Neighborhood*], to be supplied; *Thun,* E. Mann; and *Lausanne,* to be supplied.—*Forty-first Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1859), p. 26.

In 1862 an incident occurred which threatened to be Jacoby's undoing. Although he had been well schooled in modern and ancient languages, he desired as a young man to go into business in Vienna, and to do so he borrowed money. Instead of carrying through his business venture and repaying the money, he went to England and then to America. A shipwreck en route caused him to spend nine weeks on a fishing boat where he found several books on medicine. Having studied these, he posed as a physician upon his arrival in the United States. During the Christmas season, 1839, he went to services in Cincinnati at which William Nast was preaching, intending to take notes and ridicule the group; instead, he felt convicted of his sins and was "powerfully converted." Through the years his debts weighed heavily upon his conscience but he had not the means to regulate his affairs. Eventually, in 1862, the Board requested him to travel from Germany to Bulgaria, accompanied by W. F. Warren, to examine the mission there. Although Jacoby saw the danger in attempting to leave Germany with unpaid debts, he felt compelled to go. Upon crossing the Austrian frontier the German police caught up with him. Jacoby engaged a lawyer and immediately requested Bishop Janes to recall him. A man of proud heart, Jacoby had been disturbed throughout his ministry that he had not felt perfect love and charity. He had constantly beseeched God to grant him humility. Now, the exposure and confession of his guilt brought him through humiliation an "inward peace." Describing his past fully in a letter to Dr. Durbin, June 30, 1862, from Vienna, he humbly wrote, "I praise the Lord that He has brought me down into the dust . . . ." Dr. Durbin and Bishop Janes kept the matter a secret. Even Bishop Morris, who had episcopal charge of the Germany Mission Conference, was not informed of it. Instead, Dr. Durbin and Bishop Janes simply forwarded Jacoby's request for recall to Bishop Morris without assigning any reasons, and advising him to refuse to do so. Meanwhile, Jacoby withdrew his request for recall. Satisfied by both

Brothers Jacoby and Warren that the case was justly settled, Durbin and Janes let the matter rest, and Jacoby continued his able administration another ten years.[184]

The Districts underwent frequent reorganization* as more and more places were entered. Bremen District, the scene of nearly twenty years of labor, showed little advance by 1868. Although at this time each of the centers in the District had a chapel, with a total of seven for the District, the people remained indifferent and the prospects poor. The toll of emigration was also severe.

Although Oldenburg District had the benefit of religious freedom, the work was retarded by public indifference. New missions were undertaken in Varel around 1861; in Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, in 1866; and in Aurich in 1867. The older stations, Oldenburg, Hamburg, Edewecht, and Brake, were maintained. In 1868 the District had an even smaller membership than Bremen District, and had only three chapels, one in Oldenburg, one in Edewecht, and one in Westerstede on the Edewecht Circuit.

East District included sections of Prussia, Saxony, and Pomerania. Efforts to build strong Societies in Prussia (chiefly in Berlin) were rather fruitless, but the work in Saxony grew rapidly despite persecution, largely on account of the indefatigable labor of Friedrich Wunderlich. In 1865 there were twenty-seven preaching places in Saxony and three years later it was divided into three Circuits: Reussdorf (which included Waltersdorf), Dortendorf, and Gossnitz. The last included the hopeful new stations, Planitz and Leubnitz. Other new stations were Gransee and Neu Ruppin, about forty miles from Berlin. In Pomerania, in North Germany, work was begun in 1862, with six or so appointments, and met with much success. The principal places were Greifenberg and Kolberg, where thirty years earlier two thousand people had left the State Church. Some of these now began to attend Methodist services. Within three years Pomerania, under the care of Johannes Staiger and Bernhard Schroeder, had thirteen preaching places and several Sunday schools; during succeeding years it continued to show a steady growth. In 1868 the East District had thirty-nine preaching places, but only two chapels—one in Berlin and one in Dortendorf. The following year it was renamed the Berlin District.[185]

The South District included the kingdom of Wurttemberg (its principal field), the duchy of Nassau, the grand duchy of Baden, and parts of Prussia and Bavaria. Parts of the District did not have religious freedom. Yet it became the largest of the German Districts. Ludwigsburg and Heilbronn remained the key centers within Wurttemberg. Several cities in the grand duchy of Baden quickly assumed importance, following the proclamation of religious freedom in 1861. In 1862 a mission was opened in Pforzheim, a center for jewelry manufacturing, and in 1864 a Society was formed. The following year preaching was begun in Karlsruhe, the residence of the grand duke of Baden. At about the same time a mission was begun in Mannheim; and in 1865 work was reported in Lahr, also in Baden. A Local Preacher, P. Schaaf, sustained the work in Pirmasens, in Bavaria, where there was still no religious freedom in 1863. Still other major centers, in Prussia and Nassau, were opened during these years. Frankfort-on-the-Main, which had "seemed to be entirely in darkness," and was left to be supplied in 1859, began in 1862 "to give great promise." In about 1862 the surrounding principalities of Nassau and Hesse-Darmstadt were opened by their extension of liberty. Other new centers were Dillenburg, Heidelberg, Marbach, Beilstein, Vaihingen, Calw, and Herrenberg.

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* In 1860 Bremen and Oldenburg Districts were realigned and renamed. Taken from the old Bremen District, Berlin, Hamburg, Saxony, and the Mission Institute formed the new East District. The bulk of the work in the state of Bremen was combined with that of the grand duchy of Oldenburg and parts of Hannover in the new North District. Two years later North District was divided and Bremen and Oldenburg Districts were re-created.—*Forty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1860), pp. 54-56; *ibid., 44th* (1862), p. 26; *ibid., 45th* (1863), pp. 31 f., 42; *ibid., 46th* (1864), p. 44.

South District, the largest of the Mission Conference,* had before its division in 1868 nine Circuits with approximately 127 preaching places, and nine chapels. At the Conference session of 1868 the District was divided, forming Frankfort and Wurttemberg Districts. Frankfort District included the Circuits in Baden, Bavaria, Nassau, and Prussia. Wurttemberg District, the larger of the two, included the entire kingdom of Wurttemberg. Inasmuch as the Wesleyans occupied the eastern part of Wurttemberg, and the Roman Catholics the southern part, the Methodist Circuits were mostly in the northern and western sections. The District was renamed Heilbronn in 1869.[186]

ANOMALOUS STATUS OF METHODIST CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

The history of the Germany Mission Conference is a record of constant frustration, with the missionaries baffled in their efforts by the ever-varying restrictions and opposition they continued to encounter. While Prussia and Oldenburg extended religious freedom, it was severely curbed in other states—especially in Hannover, Saxony, and Bavaria. Jacoby complained in 1865 that Americans could not understand the difficulties posed by the

> many small states . . . , every one with its own government and different laws, and *most* of them trying to hinder the progress of our work as much as the laws permit them; and they are especially encouraged to do so by the State Church clergy, so that we often are forced to give up a field that promised a great harvest.[187]

The severe restrictions had caused Jacoby in January, 1851, to pose to the Board the problem of whether the missionaries should form Societies within the

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* District membership in 1868 was: Bremen District—362 in full connection, 33 on probation; Oldenburg District—286 and 36; East District—471 and 177; South District—1,712 and 709, respectively.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1868, p. 146.

State Church in those areas where they could not by law organize independent churches. Bishop Morris, then in charge of foreign missions, and the Board were not blind to the serious implications of such a policy. The Bishop wrote Jacoby that he was afraid of the experiment but concluded that it would be far better to preach and to form "mere Societies" than "to leave the people in their sins." After giving the matter thorough consideration the Board decided on March 19 that the missionaries should be free to form Societies within the State Churches where the Methodist Church could not be formally organized. Missionaries and native preachers for years proceeded in accordance with this policy. It soon became apparent, however, that the practice placed converts received into membership in Methodist Societies within the State Church in an anomalous relation. They were ostensibly members of the Methodist Episcopal Church but under the law their membership was in the State Church. They were accepted as members in accordance with the *Discipline,* believed themselves to be in every respect Methodists, and were ministered to as such by their pastors and in case of a misdemeanor brought to trial in Disciplinary form and expelled, yet in reality they had not been members. Even those received into Annual Conference membership were sometimes still legally members of the State Church.* The choice open to the mission of continuing consistently to follow the plan which it had chosen, remaining as a reform group within the State Church, or bringing about a complete rupture with the State Church thereby exposing its entire membership to "the civil disabilities of dissenters" was an impossible one. It was finally resolved by Prussia's victory† over Austria in 1866. As William F. Warren declared:

> Either horn (of the dilemma) demanding a substantial abandonment of the whole work, it is not surprising that our missionary authorities hesitated, doubted, procrastinated, hoping and praying for a providential solution.

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* Ernst Gebhardt was admitted on trial in 1860 and two years later was taken into full connection. In 1865 Jacoby reported that Gebhardt, who was serving in Heilbronn (in the kingdom of Wurttemberg), had been forced to leave the State Church by the State clergy, and that by government order he was permitted to administer the sacraments only to those persons who withdrew from the State Church. Following Gebhardt's expulsion, over 120 Methodist members declared their withdrawal from the State Church.—*Forty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1860), p. 52; *ibid., 44th* (1862), p. 25; *ibid., 47th* (1865), p. 81.

† The Hohenzollern ruler, William I of Prussia, and his chief minister, Bismarck, fought and defeated Austria in the Seven Weeks' War. Provocation for the struggle had been their rivalry in the joint occupation of Schleswig and Holstein. Austria once and for all was forced out of the Germanic body by the Peace of Prague, August, 1866. Schleswig-Holstein, Hannover, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort were incorporated with Prussia as the North German Confederation, and a constitution was framed; separate treaties were made with Baden, Bavaria, the grand duchy of Hesse, Saxony, and Wurttemberg. Bismarck and Prussia next aspired to complete German unity by adding the states in the south, and to establish German influence in European affairs. All this was achieved by 1871 with the climax of the Franco-Prussian War. All the southern states entered the new empire and King William was proclaimed German emperor. France was defeated and Germany received Alsace and the German-speaking portion of Lorraine.

The Reich, or Empire, included twenty-six states. Twenty-two were monarchial (four kingdoms, six grand duchies, five duchies, and seven principalities); three were free city republics (Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck); the twenty-sixth, Alsace-Lorraine, was made a *Reichsland*, a conquered province with an imperial governor. The new constitution (April 16, 1871) provided a federal, representative system of government while retaining monarchic features. Some states, *e.g.*, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Baden, received special privileges as inducements for entering the union. Prussia was the most favored: to Prussia went the presidency, the chancellorship, the chairmanship of all but one of the standing committees, and a representation of seventeen out of a total of fifty-eight in the Bundesrat. Many areas of government, however, were left to the states under constitutional guarantees.

> At length the providential solution came, came as it so often has, in the upheavals of civil war. The first report of Prussia's needle guns was the signal of our deliverance. The reconstruction of all North Germany under Prussian influence since the war, and the constant liberalization of the South German and Swiss and Scandinavian governments, have rendered the longer continuance of our former relations to the State Churches . . . absolutely inexcusable.[188]

The ascendancy of Prussia was received with quiet enthusiasm by the Methodist personnel. The states, or duchies, in the northern, central, and northeastern portions of Germany had been Protestant (Lutheran and Calvinist) since the Reformation, while those in the west, south, and southeast had remained mostly Roman Catholic. This demarcation remained basically unchanged until very recent times, but the emergence of Prussian leadership meant the strengthening of Protestantism and the extension of constitutional reforms and national unity. Furthermore, the breach between Protestantism and Catholicism widened during the 1870's with Bismarck's *Kulturkampf,* a struggle with the Roman Catholic Church, prompted most likely by the political fear of coalitions between the Catholic Center party and Austria or France.[189]

Although the members of the mission had suffered from the war's interruption of commerce and industry, Jacoby reported in 1866 that by their annexation to Prussia, countries where Methodists were not previously permitted were now open to them. The Methodists were also freed from their insoluble dilemma.

The liberalizing effect of the Prussian victory of 1866 was followed by the action of the General Conference in May, 1868, establishing the Mission Conference as a regular Annual Conference. This action was viewed by Warren as the establishment of *bona fide* Methodism,

> the *right* settlement of the relation of our foreign converts and their societies to the Church. By that action our church, before restricted to the limits of this republic, was rendered ecumenical, catholic, universal.[190]

METHODISM IN SWITZERLAND

Methodism was introduced in Switzerland in 1777 when John Fletcher, associated with John Wesley in England, returned to Nyon, his birthplace. For four years Fletcher held meetings and organized Sunday schools in the French-speaking cantons. In 1839 English Wesleyans sent two preachers to Switzerland in appreciation of Fletcher's contribution to Methodism in England. Through their work a Methodist Society was formed at Lausanne in 1841.[191]

The initial efforts of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Switzerland occurred fifteen years later, when Ernst Mann of the Germany Mission preached in Lausanne in February, 1856. In the summer of that year Jacoby visited Switzerland and chose Zurich as the best place for beginning a mission "for the German Cantons . . . because rationalism was there the master of the State Church; and, as I understood, [there was] only one pietist among the preachers." The Lausanne and Zurich Circuits were immediately organized and included as appointments of the newly created Germany Mission Conference in 1856. Mann was appointed to Lausanne, and H. zur Jacobsmuhlen was assigned to the work at Zurich. Within three months Jacobsmuhlen reported three preaching places, Zurich and two nearby towns. The following year Lausanne Mission Circuit reported twenty members, and Zurich Mission Circuit, no members, but forty probationers. The numbers in Jacobsmuhlen's congregations reached four hundred at the end of his first year. Ernst Mann remained in charge of the Lausanne Circuit in 1857, but E. Riemenschneider was appointed "missionary in charge" of the Zurich Circuit, with Jacobsmuhlen as a second missionary. "German Switzerland," Jacoby wrote, "may yet yield an abundant harvest." [192]

The mission did not proceed without some troubles, however, for in the same year (1857) Jacobsmuhlen was refused residence in Zurich by the city's *stadthalter*. Jacoby enlisted the aid of Theodore Fay, United States minister at Bern. Through his influence permission of residence and continuance of his work was procured. In 1858 the Board of Managers granted $5,000. for a church in Zurich. With the additional help of German and American friends, the mission was enabled in 1858 to purchase "a large house," actually a hotel called the "Peacock." The Peacock was converted into a chapel, accommodating six to eight hundred persons, and a Book Depot, both of which were opened the following year.[193]

The work in Zurich and its environs grew rapidly. In 1859 Societies were formed in nearby Horgen and Winterthur. Two years later the Zurich Circuit had seven appointments in three cantons, although the mission force was limited to two preachers and one helper. In 1863 meetings were held in St. Gallen and Schaffhausen, both of which became separate Circuits within two years. The conversion of about forty persons from Thalwil during a revival at Horgen in 1863, led the missionaries to plan for a chapel there, and the following year one was completed.* As for Zurich, L. Nippert, who became Presiding Elder of Switzerland District in 1863, reported that year:

> we preach twice on Sunday to from five hundred to seven hundred hearers. . . . Our fifteen classes are held both on Sunday and on week nights . . . . Our Sabbath-school is in a prosperous condition . . . .[194]

Although Zurich remained the stronghold of Methodism in Switzerland the work spread into other important centers. In 1858 meetings were begun in Geneva, and the following year (1859) in Biel. Basel was entered about 1859 and a new and attractive chapel building seating five hundred was dedicated there October 12, 1862. The same year a chapel was rented in Liestal, and plans were soon under way for building. Four years later (1866) it was reported that Liestal had a "new neat village church very much in debt." La Chaux-de-Fonds, a French town in the canton Neuchatel, which had also a few thousand Germans, was reported as a station in 1864 in conjunction with the mission in nearby Biel. Neuchatel, a city of fifteen to twenty thousand people, most of whom spoke French, was opened in 1865 by W. Schwarz as an appointment on the Biel and La Chaux-de-Fonds Circuit. Despite the protests of the State Church, the city government granted permission for meetings in a "large and even elegant hall." Although the mission had an active Sunday school, it had no Sunday preaching, nor did La Chaux-de-Fonds. Preaching was begun in Bern probably late in 1865, and the following year it was an appointment on the Emmenthal Circuit, although no Classes were formed. Included among the appointments of the Lausanne Circuit were Nyon, Fletcher's birthplace, and Morges, a town adjoining Nyon in the midst of the French population.[195]

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* The early and middle sixties were noteworthy for the amount of property acquired and for churches built. In Horgen a house was bought and converted into a commodious chapel and parsonage by 1866. In Uster a large, third-floor hall was rented in 1863 and a preacher stationed there to care for the five Classes which had been organized. Three years later (1866) a new stone chapel large enough to seat 500 costing $2,500. was opened in Uster, which by that time had 160 members in full connection.

Also included as an adjunct of the Swiss work was a mission in Paris. In the summer of 1866 Secretary Durbin accompanied W. Schwarz to Paris to take preliminary steps for the founding of a mission to a portion of the seventy or eighty thousand Germans scattered through the city. The two Methodists arranged with French Wesleyan brethren to work in the western part of Paris, which was not occupied by the Lutherans. The French Wesleyans granted them the use of their two preaching places (and later, upon completion, the chapels) once each Sunday, and on September 1, 1866, Schwarz began to preach, in German. The following year he reported fifty members and such a large congregation that he was given permission to hold meetings in the large Wesleyan chapel.

In 1858 when the Germany Mission Conference was organized into four Districts, the Zurich and Lausanne Circuits were included in a single Switzerland District.* In 1860 the Mission Conference held its annual meeting in Zurich, the first time outside of Germany. Three years later (1863) the Switzerland District included five Circuits: Zurich, Winterthur, Biel, Basel, and Lausanne. Zurich Circuit was much the largest, with twenty weekly appointments, thirty-one Classes, about three thousand hearers, 313 members in full connection, with another 170 on trial, and nine Sunday schools with about six hundred scholars. In fact, the Zurich Circuit already had the largest membership of the entire Germany Mission Conference, and was second only to Ludwigsburg Circuit in South Germany District in the number of preaching places.

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* In 1859 Riemenschneider was listed as Presiding Elder of the Switzerland District. In 1863 he was succeeded by Lewis Nippert, who also was in charge of Zurich Circuit.—*Forty-first Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1859), p. 27; *ibid., 45th* (1863), p. 36.

So rapidly did the mission in Switzerland grow that the work which had been started in two communities eight years previously was divided in 1864 into two extensive Districts, East Switzerland and West Switzerland,* with a total of 1,151 members in full connection plus another 453 on trial.[196]

The success of Methodism in Switzerland during the first dozen years was at least partly attributable to the greater freedom offered by that country. Upon the formation of the Swiss Confederacy by the twenty-two cantons in 1848, a liberal constitution had been adopted securing to all (except Jews and Jesuits) "freedom of the press, of worship, of association and of settlement and equality before the law." Although these guarantees were at times narrowly interpreted in some cantons, the country presented far fewer problems to the Methodist mission than were encountered in Germany. During the 1860's and 1870's direct popular control over the government was extended, and Jews were admitted to "full civic rights."[197]

Concomitant with the above changes were modifications in the policies of the State Church. In many of the cantons pastors of the State Church were at complete liberty doctrinally, and rationalism seemed to be in the ascendancy. Methodist missionaries at times were prompted by this circumstance to refer to some State pastors as "infidel" ministers, and hoped to attract the orthodox faction to their own folds. This had been Jacoby's expressed purpose in choosing Zurich Canton, the stronghold of rationalism in Switzerland, to be the center of Methodist operations in that country. Despite the dissatisfaction felt by the orthodox members of the State Church, their prejudices against "sects" were too strong to allow for much success among them.

Yet the mission had the assets of sound organization, a devoted, hard-working ministry, and attachment to Methodist doctrines and usages. In 1868 the total Swiss membership (1,985 in full connection and 563 on probation) was already two-thirds as large as the membership in Germany.[198]

Germany and Switzerland Conference, 1868-86

In accordance with the action of the 1868 General Conference† the members of the former Mission Conference were convened in Bremen on July 2, 1868, as a regularly constituted Annual Conference. The Conference had seven Districts—Bremen, Oldenburg, Frankfort, Wurttemberg, Zurich, Basel, and East.* Ten of the forty-four appointments were "left to be supplied." There were forty-two preachers, including John F. Hurst and F. Paulus of Martin Mission Institute. Members in full connection totaled 4,816; probationers 1,518. The Conference had only twenty-seven churches and one parsonage. Sunday schools numbered 148, with 6,350 pupils. Changes in name and organization of Districts were frequent.†

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* *East Switzerland District* had L. Nippert as Presiding Elder, and contained three large Circuits attended by seven missionaries: *Zurich* and *Horgen,* L. Nippert, H. Gisler, E. Diem, J. Schneebeli; *Uster,* H. Gerdes; *Winterthur* and *St. Gallen,* G. Bruns, J. Messmer. The Circuits had a total of thirty-eight preaching places. In 1867 Nippert became Presiding Elder of South District and was replaced by H. Nuelsen. In 1868 East Switzerland District was renamed Zurich District. (*Forty-ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* [1867], p. 59; *ibid., 50th* [1868], p. 107.) *West Switzerland District* was under the presiding eldership of H. Nuelsen, and contained five Circuits with as many missionaries: *Basel,* W. Schwarz; *Liestal,* H. Nuelsen; *Biel* and *La Chaux-de-Fonds,* A. Sulzberger; *Emmenthal,* I. Salenbach; *Lausanne,* E. Mann. Paris, France, was added to this District in 1866. In 1865 W. Schwarz became Presiding Elder. He was succeeded by Riemenschneider in 1867. The District was renamed Basel District in 1868.—*Ibid., 46th* (1864), pp. 49 f., 52; *ibid., 48th* (1866), p. 54; *ibid., 50th* (1868), p. 106.

† The General Conference of 1868 repealed the former acts restricting the powers of Mission Conferences, as has been previously stated (p. 168). All Mission Conferences at that time became regular Annual Conferences.

The Wurttemberg District grew rapidly, becoming the largest within Germany. By 1877 it had seventeen Circuits with 212 preaching places. To meet the needs of such a vast field there were only seventeen preachers and three helpers, every one of whom conducted "from eight to ten meetings a week, not including the Sunday-school and class work." With the help of Local Preachers and Exhorters, "nearly each of these two hundred and twelve places has its Sunday preaching." The State Church in Wurttemberg continued to be strong and active in opposition. The District suffered also from drops in membership, occasionally, because of heavy emigration. Yet in 1882 the year's labor was declared more satisfactory than for many years: from five to six hundred were converted, and church attendance was improved. Efforts toward self-support and clearance of chapel debts also showed favorable results.[199]

In the 1870's the financial situation worsened; labor was scarce while taxes and cost of living were high. American lard, ham, and bacon were sought by even the most productive farming regions of Wurttemberg. American Methodists sent help to their German brethren. Although there was peace, Bismarck believed it necessary to build up the country's military strength, increasing the economic demands upon the people. The stringent financial condition was blamed upon the Jews by many Christians. F. Cramer, Presiding Elder of the Frankfort-on-the-Main District, reported in 1881 that the situation had called forth an "Anti-Semite" party of which the court preacher, Stoecker, of Berlin, was the father, although he would not concede it.

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* Appointments of the seven Districts in 1868 were: *Bremen District,* E. Gebhardt, Presiding Elder; *Bremen* and *Buntenthor,* E. Gebhardt, C. Girtanner; *Bremen Circuit* and *Vegesack,* to be supplied; *Delmenhorst* and *Neerstedt,* E. Pucklitsch; *Bremerhaven,* J. Von Oehsen. *Oldenburg District,* L. S. Jacoby, Presiding Elder; *Oldenburg, Varel,* and *Brake,* H. Gerdes; *Edewecht* and *Westerstede,* G. Goess; *Aurich,* F. Klusner; *Hamburg,* to be supplied; *Flensburg,* J. Spille. *East District,* C. Achard, Presiding Elder; *Berlin,* C. Achard; *Gransee,* to be supplied; *Kolberg* and *Greifenberg,* A. Leuring and A. Prante; *Gossnitz,* B. Schroeder, two to be supplied; *Reussdorf,* to be supplied; *Dortendorf,* J. Locher. *Frankfort District,* L. Nippert, Presiding Elder; *Frankfort,* L. Nippert and F. Paulus; *Homburg,* to be supplied; *Dillenburg,* to be supplied; *Heidelberg,* A. Sulzberger; *Karlsruhe* and *Pirmasens,* E. Diem; *Pforzheim,* J. Schneebeli; *Lahr* and *Alsace,* C. Weiss. *Wurttemberg District,* C. H. Doering, Presiding Elder; *Heilbronn,* C. H. Doering, J. Breiter, one to be supplied; *Marbach,* F. Haerle; *Beilstein,* to be supplied; *Ludwigsburg,* A. Rodemeyer; *Bietigheim,* A. Baedecker; *Vaihingen,* to be supplied; *Calw,* H. Mann; *Herrenberg,* H. Schlaphof. *Zurich District,* H. Nuelsen, Presiding Elder; *Zurich* and *Bulach,* H. Nuelsen, F. Deppeler; *Aarau,* two to be supplied; *Uster,* J. Staiger; *Horgen,* G. Bruns; *Schaffhausen,* C. Dietrich; *Winterthur,* C. Raith; *St. Gallen* and *Tockenburg,* H. Gisler; *Chur,* one to be supplied. *Basel District,* E. Riemenschneider, Presiding Elder; *Basel,* E. Riemenschneider; *Liestal,* F. Koechli; *Biel,* G. Hausser; *Bern,* J. Messmer; *Lausanne* and *Geneva,* K. Glaettli; *Paris,* W. Schwarz.—*Gen'l Minutes,* 1868, pp. 146 f.

† In 1870 a part of the Oldenburg District was added to the Bremen District and for two years (1872-73) the Bremen District was incorporated in the East District (renamed Berlin District in 1869). In 1885 Bremen District was divided and Ostfriesland District was created from six of its Circuits, with Franz Klusner as Presiding Elder, but in 1886 the District was discontinued. In 1881 Oldenburg District was incorporated in the Bremen District. In 1871 Karlsruhe District was organized by taking four Circuits from the Frankfort District. After three years it was reincorporated in Frankfort District. In 1869 Wurttemberg was renamed Heilbronn District; in 1870 the name reverted to Wurttemberg; for two years (1871-73) it was known as Ludwigsburg, and after 1891 it was changed to Stuttgart District. Switzerland's District organization remained unchanged until 1872, when Zurich District was divided and a third, Horgen District, was formed. In 1874 the three Districts were united under the name Schweiz District which continued until the organization of the Switzerland Conference.

In 1879 the Conference reported its first decrease in membership. Bishop Wiley, who had presided at the Conference session that year, accounted for it through deaths, heavy emigration, and increased opposition from the State preachers, but "above all, for want of means to push and develop their work." Yet between 1870 and 1880 the average contribution per member was doubled.

On the other hand, the political scene seemed brighter and the Methodists profited by the extension of religious freedom. They were now free to hold meetings in Nassau and Hannover, and molesters were brought to court and punished. In the state of Saxony the Methodists were incorporated as a religious body in 1872. In Oldenburg the Presiding Elder reported in 1872 that although the Methodists were not yet incorporated, they were on an equal basis with other benevolent institutions, exempt from government taxes on bequests, etcetera. Complete freedom was granted in Alsace. In Wurttemberg, however, the Methodists applied for the right to incorporate their church property (there were already twelve chapels in the District in 1872), but were refused on the ground that the work was directed by foreign authorities.[200]

Much of the opposition encountered by the Methodists following the creation of the empire in 1871 was prompted by the authorities of the State Churches. In Karlsruhe, Frankfort, and Wurttemberg the Presiding Elders complained of the activities of the State Church leaders. They categorized all Protestant groups other than the State Church as "sects" and repeatedly warned their people against them. Many times they brought legal action to bear. In Wurttemberg the State Church seemed especially bigoted. Presiding Elder F. Cramer reported in 1880:

> In February of this year the Church authorities sent a circular to all the ministers of the land, in which they pretended to justly draw the line between the State Church and the Methodists, but by which, in reality, they sought to obstruct our work. . . . the pastors of Stuttgart prepared a written address to their parishioners, which was read simultaneously from all the pulpits, then given out at the church doors to each person, and finally circulated through their religious papers . . . in thousands of copies. The three Methodist societies, the "Evangelical Association," the "Wesleyans," and ourselves, united in a "Reply," which, to the number of 30,000 or 40,000 copies, was circulated in Stuttgart and through the whole land. Since then, several diocesan synods have framed and circulated addresses against us. . . . We have not yet seen much harm produced. . . . On the other hand,

> many of the attendants upon our assemblies in other places [than Stuttgart] are very careful that the [State Church] pastor should not know that they come to our services.[201]

A somewhat different situation prevailed in the Palatinate, under the rule of the Bavarian king. The government's proclamation of religious freedom in the spring of 1872 was not the "green light" the Methodists took it to be. In 1874 Gustav Hausser, Presiding Elder of the Frankfort-on-the-Main District, reported difficulties hindering the work in the Palatinate:

> Our minister was, some months back, informed *that the singing and praying in the meetings must be suspended till our Society is recognized by the Government.* We have, consequently, addressed a petition, signed by nearly four hundred of our members and friends, to the King of Bavaria, but have not as yet received an answer.

Ten years passed before the Bavarian king decreed that the Methodist Church be recognized as a "Private State Church in Bavaria." By this act the Methodists were finally free to pray, sing, and pronounce the benediction; furthermore, they were *required* to give religious instruction to the children of their members.[202]

It was in Saxony, however, that the Methodists encountered the most confounding network of restrictive measures. True, Saxony had been among the first to incorporate the Methodist Episcopal Church. But the Methodists found themselves "hamstrung" in many ways. Only in half a dozen or so designated cities (Zwickau, Schwarzenberg, and others) were they allowed to hold public services. In other cities or villages where there were Methodist members, "devotional exercises" for members were permitted, but only by ministers authorized to do so by the State. Fines were imposed for administering to nonmembers. In other places where the Methodists as yet had no members, they could only "deliver discourses, without singing or prayer." Members could not be admitted into full connection until they had withdrawn from the State Church, a step which was difficult and expensive. The effect of this was usually the existence of a larger number of probationers than full members on the Berlin District, in Saxony. Young people whose parents were not Methodists could not withdraw until they had reached the age of twenty-one. Fines were also imposed for admitting children of the State Church to Methodist Sunday schools. In Berlin, in 1884, a Methodist brother "was fined 100 marks and 60 marks cost because he met with members on Sunday, at unauthorized hours, in order to sing spiritual songs." In some places near Berlin in 1895 the police forbade people to rent their rooms for Methodist meetings. By 1895 the Methodists still had not succeeded in obtaining a relaxation of the prohibitions curbing their work.[203]

The years from 1868 until the organization of a separate Switzerland Conference in 1886 were a period of unspectacular but steady growth. The extension of religious freedom by the cantons in the 1860's and 1870's effected an important change in the status of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In his annual report for 1872, Presiding Elder Clement Achard described the significance of government recognition in the Zurich District:

> Last winter we separated from the State Church and sent our resolutions to the government. The government . . . recognized us in its session of the 13th of January, 1872, as the Zurich District of the M. E. Church in Germany and Switzerland. Now by this we have been entitled to secure property in the name of each community. . . . . . . the religious education of the children of our members is wholly under our control, while formerly they were obliged to receive their religious instruction from the ministers of the State Church, most of whom are infidels. Besides this our members are now made free from the taxes which they till now had to pay to the State Church.[204]

Opposition was still encountered in Switzerland, and occasionally an overt act of violence, but usually it was the work of rowdies from nearby taverns. A few incidents were reported, such as an attempt by a mob to prevent members from assembling at night on one of the appointments in 1869, and the stoning of the preacher "in open daytime." Government officials, however, were usually ready to safeguard Methodist groups.

In the city of Zurich a congregation of six or seven hundred crowded into the chapel in the Peacock for Sunday services. The size of the congregation, one of the largest in the entire Conference, was an indication, Presiding Elder Nuelsen believed, of dissatisfaction with the rationalistic preaching in other pulpits of the city. The Peacock, now too small, was sold in 1872, and the following year a newly built church seating eight hundred was dedicated. Through the next decade, although the work went on apace, the membership grew slowly, reaching 483 (full) in 1885.

Horgen Circuit was next to Zurich in size. Forced to sell its property in the city of Horgen to a railroad company in 1874, the mission bought a good building which it converted into a parsonage and chapel. In 1885 the Horgen Circuit had 406 members and thirty-two probationers, and was the only Circuit to have three chapels, the other two being in Thalwil and Adliswil. The latter was built in 1872 and within one year was considered too small.

On Biel Circuit, third in size, most of the members were employed in watchmaking factories where they received better than average wages and consequently the Circuit made better than average progress toward self-support. In 1875 a chapel was built in Biel. Sunday schools existed at almost every point on the Circuit. The Schaffhausen Society was also flourishing. In 1874 a large house was bought and arranged to include a parsonage, a large hall, and a small one. The 1874 Annual Conference was held here with Bishop Harris presiding. The mission at Lausanne, reaching a mostly transient German population in a French-speaking area, was a small but surprisingly successful one. The Society had seemed more promising than most to Durbin during his tour of 1866, and he commented on it favorably. In 1872 it was reported that the Lausanne mission had "supplied nearly a dozen candidates for our work." Two years later the Presiding Elder of the Schweiz District, Carl Dietrich, stated: "The congregation in Lausanne is the pride of our work. The members are a shining light . . . . They show great liberality, although the most of them are servants."[205] The Circuit remained a small one, with only seventy-three members in full connection in 1885, and still without a chapel. Geneva was continued as an appointment on the Lausanne Circuit.

The Bern Circuit, with sixty members in 1868, was slow to grow, partly because of the great difficulty in finding a suitable preaching place. In 1875 the hall which had been used was relinquished because of high rent; the minister finally "found a room over a horse stable, where the entrance . . . [was] not very inviting" but for which the rent was understandably cheap. Ten years later the Circuit membership had grown to 177, but Bern was still without a chapel. Niederutzwil was a prosperous factory town in the canton St. Gallen. A Mr. Rickli, owner of several factories, felt dissatisfaction with the rationalism pervading the State Church, and after making a "close examination of the different Christian denominations" in Switzerland, chose the Methodist Discipline "as the right one." Upon the arrival of a new preacher "noted for his infidelity," Mr. Rickli and forty others publicly withdrew from the State Church and, after consideration, asked for a Methodist preacher. Brother J. Harle was supplied, and Bishop Andrews, during his visit for the Conference session, "gave his consent" for the organization of a Methodist Society. Mr. Rickli continued to be the patron of the church and in subsequent years furnished it with chapel and parsonage gratis. In 1885 the Niederutzwil Circuit had 112 members in full connection and twenty-one on trial.[206]

The young Paris Mission seemed firmly established with a membership of seventy-seven in 1869, but the following year it was broken up by the Franco-Prussian War. On August 28, 1870, Schwarz held the last service, for on that Sunday the French government ordered all Germans to leave the city within three days. Schwarz and his family left for Switzerland. Finding it impossible to take anything but necessary clothing, he left both private and mission property under the protection of the American embassy. During the next two years Schwarz found encouragement in letters from the scattered members who had joined Methodist Societies in Germany, England, and Switzerland. Two had become ministers in America. By 1872, with the war over, many had returned to Paris. These pressed Schwarz for a preacher and renewal of services. In February of that year he visited Paris to spend two weeks among them and encouraged a young Exhorter to resume services in the French Wesleyan chapel, which was again offered. Against Schwarz' persuasion, the Annual Conference of 1872 decided not to resume the Paris Mission. Schwarz tried to find private means for retaining the young Exhorter there in the hope that the succeeding Conference might favor resumption of the mission, but it did not.[207]

Within the period 1868-86 the Methodist Deaconess Movement* within Germany was originated. The Mission Conference of 1864 expressed a need for such a society but the first attempts at organization were ineffective. Finally a number of preachers, after conferring together, proceeded to organize an independent Bethany Society (*Bethanien Verein*) to which the Annual Conference of 1874 gave endorsement. Within fifteen years the society had ninety-nine sisters, owned five large houses as centers of work, and a clinical hospital.

An extensive youth movement developed in Germany and Switzerland during these years. Several youth groups were formed in the 1870's. Youth organizations, popular in the United States, gave impetus to the movement. Growth was rapid, particularly in the North Germany Conference where on November 20, 1895, young people from thirty-three youth associations of the Conference met at Zwickau and formed a Youth Federation. The societies of the South Germany Conference took similar action the next year.

By 1886 the Germany and Switzerland Conference had more than doubled the membership of 1868, with 11,134 in full connection and 3,033 probationers. Marked progress had also been made in building, with eighty-five chapels in 1886 as against twenty-seven in 1868, and twenty-three parsonages compared with only one. There were also 417 Sunday schools with 22,509 scholars.

Authorization for Germany and Switzerland to divide into two Conferences within the next quadrennium was given by the General Conference in 1884. The 1885 session was divided as to the wisdom of such a move, but in 1886 partition was approved.[208]

GERMANY CONFERENCES, 1886-95

At its session in Zurich, beginning on June 24, 1886, the Germany and Switzerland Conference was divided. The Germany Conference began its separate existence with 6,697 members in full connection and 2,134 probationers. The Conference had fifty-nine native ordained preachers, and only one foreign missionary, Heinrich Nuelsen. Churches or chapels totaled sixty-three, and rented halls 243. There were four Districts†: Bremen (with fifteen Circuits), Berlin (twelve Circuits), Frankfort-on-the-Main (eleven Circuits), and Wurttemberg (with twenty-nine Circuits).

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* For a fuller account of the Deaconess Movement see Vol. IV.

† In 1888 a fifth District, Karlsruhe, was organized with Circuits taken from Wurttemberg and Frankfort Districts. Three years later the Karlsruhe District was disbanded, and its area was reabsorbed by the Wurttemberg and Frankfort Districts. Wurttemberg was at this time (1891) renamed the Stuttgart District.—*Seventieth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1888), p. 118; *ibid., 73rd* (1891), pp. 128, 131.

The next several years showed marked growth in almost all areas of the Germany Conference. Many revivals were held with over a thousand conversions yearly and many accessions, but increases in membership did not reflect the extent of success, for heavy inroads were made by emigration, deaths, and expulsions. A number of new missions were added. In 1886 a "successful start" was made in the royal city Wilhelmshaven, in the Bremen District. Work in Leipzig (in Berlin District) was begun during 1890-91 and at the 1891 Conference session it was included in the list of appointments. Here the mission reached some university students from America, Russia, and other countries. Another important city within the Berlin District was opened in 1894, Stettin, the capital of Pomerania. Danzig was also reopened that year. On the Frankfort District work was initiated in Hanau and in Marburg, a university town, in 1889. A year later Heidelberg was reported as a renewed station in the Karlsruhe District. In Pomerania, Bavaria, and even in Saxony, gains were made and new places entered. The membership in full connection in 1892 reached 8,327, plus 2,598 probationers.* In that year alone nearly fifteen hundred became probationary members, and over seven hundred were received into full connection.

The General Conference of 1892 passed an enabling act for the division of the Germany Conference, and when the Conference met in Bremen, June 21, 1893, with Bishop Vincent presiding, the division was made, thus creating a North Germany Conference and a South Germany Conference.[209]

NORTH GERMANY CONFERENCE

The newly organized Conference included four Districts, Bremen, Oldenburg, Berlin, and Leipzig, with forty appointments. Its first session was held at Plauen, July 11-16, 1894. The next year there were thirty-nine German preachers in full connection and ten on trial.

In 1893 the Bremen District, P. G. Junker, Presiding Elder, had six appointments with 1,453 full members and 274 probationers.† In the city of Bremen the work had never shown much gain. As early as 1873 C. A. Doering had reported that Bremen

> during the twenty-three years we have been laboring here, has been constantly increasing in size and in the number of its inhabitants, but the mission itself has not kept pace with this increase. One reason is the constant emigration . . . . Perhaps one hundred . . . [members] have left here for . . . [America]. Another reason is the multiplied efforts of the State Church . . . to counteract our own

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* Berlin District had proportionately an unusually large number of probationers (1,252), because in Saxony the Methodists did not have the right to receive anyone into full membership until he had fully withdrawn from the State Church; furthermore, no one under twenty-one years of age was allowed to leave the State Church.—*Thirty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1890), pp. 106 f.

† The six appointments of the Bremen District were: *Bremen,* Jacob Neuhart; *Bremerhaven,* Hermann Meyer; *Flensburg* and *Aabenraa* (*Apenrade*), August Hillner, one to be supplied; *Hamburg* and *Wandsbek,* Ernst Pucklitsch, one to be supplied; *Kiel,* to be supplied; *Vegesack,* Johannes Von Oehsen.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1893, p. 286.

influence. But yet our influence is not on the decrease. Many prejudices prevailing against us have disappeared.[210]

Bremerhaven presented much the same picture. For many years it had remained stationary but later showed some growth. By 1895 it had a membership of 111, including twenty-two probationers.

Hamburg seemed to suffer more acutely for a lack of a suitable preaching place than almost any other city. In his annual report for 1885 Presiding Elder Nuelsen had written:

> We commenced Hamburg Mission in 1851, thirty-five years ago, but as we had not a place of our own, we were driven from quarter to quarter, and the work kept pace with our meeting places—instable. Now, we have bought a house, with a garden along-side large enough to permit a nice chapel to be built. . . . [It] will be finished by February next. It will seat nearly 600 people. . . . The question with Hamburg Mission was either to buy and build, or to lose thirty-five years' labor, and turn from a city of about a half million in number who so much are needing our workers.[211]

Over a period of years the members had saved until they accumulated about a fourth of the total cost to enable them to build. Following the completion of its chapel in 1886, the Society had begun to grow rapidly, nearly doubling its membership in the succeeding decade. In 1895 the Hamburg Circuit had 223 members including probationers.

The membership of the Flensburg Circuit, in Schleswig-Holstein, fluctuated over a long period. A preacher had been sent there in 1866 and thirty-seven members were soon reported. Legal permission to carry on the work had been received in 1868, and five preaching places were reported by the preacher, J. Spille. So large was the Circuit that he was compelled to travel on horseback, in the Methodist itinerant tradition. By 1880 its area reached from the East Sea to the North Sea and to the borders of Denmark, with eight preaching places and sixty-five members. At the close of 1885, Flensburg Circuit had nearly doubled, with 117 members, but during the next decade it dropped to a membership of ninety-three, including fourteen probationers.

The Oldenburg District in 1893, with Frederick Eilers as Presiding Elder, had eleven charges.* The Society in Oldenburg had been without a chapel until 1865. Following the acquisition of a building conditions improved and in 1866 seventy-three full members and twenty on probation were reported. Growth had been in spurts, but in the 1880's a steady increase had begun. By the end of 1895 the city and its outlying area had a membership of 151 plus twenty-two probationers. The Delmenhorst-Neerstedt Circuit had been the center of some of the earliest Methodist work and by 1895 was the largest in the Oldenburg District, with 176 members in full connection and twenty-nine on probation.

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* The appointments of the Oldenburg District for 1893 were: *Aurich,* to be supplied; *Bielefeld,* Heinrich Eberle; *Brake,* to be supplied; *Delmenhorst* and *Neerstedt,* Hans Mader, one to be supplied; *Dornum* and *Esens,* Adolf Leuring, one to be supplied; *Edewecht,* Franz Jacob; *Leer* and *Rhauderfehn,* Heinrich Willinghofer, two to be supplied; *Neuschoo,* I. H. Barklage; *Oldenburg,* Franz Klusner; *Osnabruck* and *Metten,* Ernst Schutten; *Wilhelmshaven,* Oscar Lindner.—*Ibid.*

Edewecht was another Oldenburg District center where successful work was done under difficult circumstances. A blacksmith's shop had been used for years as a chapel. A church had been finally built but crop failures and emigration interfered with normal growth. Despite all hindrances 121 full members were reported in 1895. In a suburb of Munich meetings had been held for years in a "miserable" room scarcely large enough for twenty to thirty persons but finally in 1877 the Society had been able to purchase a lot in the city and erect a chapel.

Aurich and Neuschoo were located near the North Sea, in Ostfriesland. Aurich had been opened in 1867, and the following year it was said that meetings here attracted a congregation of five hundred. Neuschoo had been opened about the end of 1868 and within a year had a large Society and a chapel with a parsonage. In 1870 Neuschoo had been separated from Aurich and was "so largely extended by powerful revivals" that a student from the Mission Institute had been sent to assist at both Neuschoo and Ackummersiel, a small nearby port. The following year Ackummersiel became a separate Circuit, while Neuschoo Circuit, then with two chapels, became one of the most promising fields in the Bremen District, where it had been temporarily placed. Neuschoo continued to be a successful field, and in 1885 it was the largest Circuit, with a Society of 139 members in full connection, which it maintained, more or less, to 1895. Aurich, despite a new chapel and parsonage in 1878, turned out to be a difficult station. It had been able to report only forty-seven members at the close of 1885, and again in 1895.

Bielefeld, in Westphalia, also had an interesting history. The work had been begun in 1869 when a young man converted in Bremen returned to his home in Bielefeld and initiated meetings on his own. Ernst Pucklitsch was transferred from Bremen District to take charge of the new opening. The mission had the protection of the Prussian government and the following year Pucklitsch reported a large Circuit including Osnabruck, a city of 26,000. The field was hard to cultivate, however, until the 1880's. At the close of 1885 the Bielefeld Circuit claimed 122 members and twenty-seven probationers. Osnabruck and Metten became a separate Circuit and in 1895 reported seventy-one members, including eighteen on probation. Bielefeld Circuit in the same year had a Society of 123 including nineteen probationers.

The Berlin District, in the charge of Karl Schell as Presiding Elder in 1893, had seven appointments* of which three were in the city of Berlin. From the beginning of the mission a strong Society in Berlin, the capital of Prussia, had been considered especially important. The work had suffered for years for lack of a suitable preaching place. Within a brief period five moves were made in an effort to find a satisfactory location. Finally in 1866 the General Missionary Committee appropriated $15,000. for the construction of a church, lecture room, and parsonage with the hope that adequate facilities might usher in a new era. Joseph A. Wright, United States minister to Berlin, and his wife became patrons of the enterprise. The commodious Salem Church (evaluated at about $32,000.) was dedicated November 4, 1867. But attendance at the new church had been small and the Society showed little sign of growth. For some years Berlin had been attached to a Circuit while the membership remained static. Finally, during the 1880's rapid growth began and in 1888 Berlin had been divided into three Circuits: Salem Church on Yunker Street; Emanuel Church on Rugener Street; and Elim Church on Weidenweg. A chapel was built for the Elim Society in 1894 and in 1895 it was reported that Emanuel also owned church property. A Society was organized on Steinmetz Street in 1894, but had no chapel. In 1895 Berlin had four Stations with three churches, 565 members in full connection and another 157 on trial, making Berlin the major center of Methodism in Germany.

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* The seven appointments of the Berlin District were: *Berlin,* Elim Church, Heinrich Burkhardt; *Emanuel Church,* Diedrich Rohr; *Salem Church,* Karl Schell, one to be supplied; *Kolberg* and *Greifenberg,* Oscar Kohler; *Koslin* and *Belgard,* Hugo Gunther; *Neu Ruppin,* Ernst Schmidt; *Stettin,* to be supplied.—*Ibid.*

Of the dozen or so appointments in Pomerania, a Prussian province of North Germany, the principal centers were Kolberg, Greifenberg, and Belgard. A new chapel had been dedicated in Kolberg in August, 1870. The field had been laborious, but sufficiently promising so that two years after the opening of the new chapel it was declared too small. The Circuit at that time reported 155 members. In 1874 success had been reported in Belgard, and the need for a church expressed. The following year Danzig had been entered, and supplied from Kolberg. Although the work continued on a sound footing for the next ten years, at the end of 1885 the Methodists had only one church in all of Pomerania—the one in Kolberg. In 1895 the Kolberg Circuit reported ninety-six members including thirteen on trial. Danzig, a separate Circuit in 1895, had a Society of about the same size as Kolberg.

The Leipzig District,* Gustav Hempel, Presiding Elder, had sixteen appointments in 1893, the largest number of any District in the North Germany Conference. It was a new District, made up principally of thirteen Circuits taken from the former Berlin District. As a university center Leipzig offered access to a great number of students from many parts of Germany and also from foreign countries, many of whom—Jacoby reported—"experienced a work of grace in their hearts." [212]

Most of the appointments of the Leipzig District were within the state of Saxony where restrictions on evangelical work created special difficulties.

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* The sixteen appointments of the Leipzig District were: *Kassel,* P. J. Grunewald; *Chemnitz,* Philipp Lutz; *Gottingen,* Arnold Sulzberger, Jr.; *Greiz* and *Gera,* August Prante; *Langenwetzendorf,* C. I. Bendixen; *Leipzig,* E. C. Anner; *Marburg,* Christian Raith; *Plauen* and *Reichenbach,* Karl Schaarschmidt, one to be supplied; *Saalfeld,* Emil Zimmer; *Schleiz,* R. R. Neupert; *Schneeberg* and *Eibenstock,* G. A. Schilde, one to be supplied; *Schwarzenberg* and *Annaberg,* Engelbert Wunderlich, Dietrich Bargmann; *Werdau,* Paul Pritzlaff; *Zeitz,* Ferdinand Schmidt; *Zschopau* and *Dittersdorf,* Hermann Bottger, one to be supplied; *Zwickau,* Wilhelm Schutz, Heinrich Bank.—*Ibid.*

Nevertheless, success attended Methodist efforts in Saxony, as was evidenced by the fact that it was necessary to build seven new chapels from 1890 to 1893, with two more under construction for the next year. On the Zwickau Circuit the young people's societies were reported to be very active, and a valuable factor in promoting the work. Despite the fact that Zwickau was an important center of Methodist work in Saxony, the Society had not been able to build a church until 1884. In 1893 full members numbered 250; probationers 260.

At Plauen and Reichenbach "a forward movement" was reported to be under way, with forty-eight probationers having united with the Church during 1893. Plauen had first appeared in the records as a preaching place in 1870. In 1874 considerable mission property was said to be owned, "the first in the Kingdom [of Saxony]." Legal restrictions had retarded growth through the years, opposition being so severe that in some country areas members "were even forbidden to pray." In 1893 the Circuit reported 154 full members and 121 probationers.[213]

SOUTH GERMANY CONFERENCE

South Germany Conference was organized, together with North Germany, at Bremen, June 21, 1893. Its first regular session was held at Strassburg, July 4-9, 1894. It had three Districts: Frankfort, Karlsruhe, and Stuttgart, and forty-two appointments. Ordained preachers numbered 31; unordained, 5; and "other helpers," 125. In 1895 there were forty-nine churches. Sunday schools numbered 196, with 7,813 pupils.

The Frankfort District, Heinrich Mann, Presiding Elder, had nine appointments.* The Frankfort Circuit in 1894 had a membership of 275 in full connection and eighty-three on probation. The growth over the years had been gradual. In 1864 the pastor had preached regularly to about three hundred hearers. By 1866 there were 213 members and probationers in the city and vicinity who met for services in a small hall on the third floor of a private house: "grave, plain people of the working class, among them a few mechanics and a tradesman or two." They had already begun to accumulate a fund for the building of a church. After 1868 the Circuit benefited from the assistance of students of the Martin Mission Institute who visited the appointments, preached on Sundays, and distributed tracts. By 1885 the Circuit had 286 in full connection and fifty-one probationers. On July 18, 1889, a church seating six hundred had been dedicated.

On the Dillenburg Circuit the members had a severe struggle year after year with poverty. Many of them worked for ten hours a day in the iron mines for a daily wage of forty-five cents. None earned as much as a dollar a day yet they contributed five dollars a year per member to the Church.[214]

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* The nine appointments of the Frankfort District in 1893 were: *Bonn* and *Cologne,* Hermann Schmeisser; *Dillenburg,* Christian Schwarz; *Frankfort* and *Darmstadt,* Adolph Theis, one to be supplied; *Friedrichsdorf,* Wilhelm Kuder; *Hanau,* Emil Schilling; *Kreuznach* and *Kirn,* Wilhelm Seiz, one to be supplied; *Simmern,* F. G. Notzold; *Wetzlar* and *Giessen,* to be supplied; *Wiesbaden,* Jacob Kaufman.—*Ibid.*

The Karlsruhe District, Ernst Gebhardt, Presiding Elder, had fourteen appointments.* One of the strong centers of the District was Pforzheim—opened in 1862—in the grand duchy of Baden, with a membership in 1894 of 339, including probationers. In 1869 a beautiful chapel and parsonage had been built and the following year the Circuit reported 270 members and ten preaching places. The Mannheim Circuit, opened in 1864 and with a membership of 112 in 1895, was also in Baden. Because of the suppression of religious freedom in Bavaria until the spring of 1872, making it impossible for a missionary to be assigned there, Pirmasens in the Bavarian Palatinate had been attached to the Mannheim Circuit for a number of years. Pirmasens was "the mother church of our circuits in the Palatinate," the homeland of Philip Embury and Barbara Heck. In 1871 the Conference appointed F. Koechli to Pirmasens, and six years later a chapel was built there. Kaiserslautern, about thirty miles from the ancestral village of the Heck family, soon thereafter became a major center in the Palatinate, and was chosen as the location for the long-projected Barbara Heck Memorial Chapel, which was dedicated in July, 1885. In 1895 Kaiserslautern reported a total membership of 200; Pirmasens, 248.

Two very important centers in the District were Calw, with a membership in 1894 of 217, and Freudenstadt with 224 full members and sixty-two probationers, second only in the Karlsruhe District to Pforzheim. The Society in Karlsruhe had struggled for years to save enough money for a chapel, and finally managed in 1884 to buy a house and convert it into a chapel. Karlsruhe Circuit in 1895 had a total membership of 187.[215]

The Stuttgart District, of which Carl Dietrich was Presiding Elder, had nineteen appointments.† Under his leadership the revival spirit was prevalent throughout the District with many conversions and numerous probationers received into membership.

The Heilbronn Society was considered to be the mother church of Methodism in Wurttemberg. In 1895 its Circuit was the largest in the District, with four chapels and 349 members including fifty probationers. The Heilbronn Society had built in 1864 a large, beautiful chapel and parsonage at a cost of about $18,000. It was considered to be one of the finest in the Conference. On the Circuit in 1867, 250 people had professed conversion and the record of successful work had been maintained during all the years since. The second largest Circuit in the Stuttgart District in 1895 was Heimsheim, with a membership (281) only slightly below that of Heilbronn.

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* The appointments of Karlsruhe District in 1893 were: *Altensteig*, Christian Soll; *Bischwiller*, to be supplied; *Calw*, Wilhelm Lauderberger; *Freudenstadt*, Gottfried Surer; *Heidelberg* and *Hockenheim*, Ludwig Mann; *Kaiserslautern*, Christofer Jeulter, one to be supplied; *Karlsruhe*, Samuel Gebhardt; *Knittlingen*, Konrad Walz; *Lahr*, Hermann Schilpp; *Nagold*, to be supplied; *Pforzheim* and *Neuenberg*, Jakob Harle, one to be supplied; *Pirmasens* and *Zweibrucken*, Karl Burkhardt, one to be supplied; *Speyer*, *Mannheim*, and *Ludwigshafen*, Johannes Walz, Heinrich Dorn; *Strassburg*, Johannes Spille, one to be supplied.—*Ibid.*

† The nineteen appointments of the Stuttgart District in 1893 were: *Ansbach*, Karl Konig; *Bayreuth*, Christian Steinmetz; *Beilstein*, to be supplied; *Bietigheim*, Ludwig Schnell; *Ebingen*, Emil Rhoner; *Heilbronn*, Johannes Renner, Jacob Diener; *Heimsheim* and *Leonberg*, Heinrich Ricker, one to be supplied; *Herrenberg*, to be supplied; *Ludwigsburg*, Adolf Sharpff; *Marbach*, August Kunz; *Nuremberg* and *Weissenburg*, R. A. F. Wobith; *Ohringen* and *Neuhutten*, Wilhelm Kleinknecht, one to be supplied; *Ottmarsheim*, Friedrich Brandle; *Schweinfurt* and *Bamberg*, to be supplied; *Sindelfingen*, Jacob Conzelmann; *Sinsheim*, August Gommel; *Stuttgart*, A. G. Bruns; *Vaihingen*, Edward Baumann; *Weinsberg*, William Steinbrenner.—*Ibid.*

In Stuttgart, the capital of Wurttemberg, a large and beautiful city, the Methodist Society had no church. From the beginning of its work in 1874 it had been much hindered by lack of a chapel and by frequent moves from one rented hall to another. Though it numbered more than a hundred faithful members in 1894 they still were without funds for building. Ludwigsburg, also in Wurttemberg, was a key center, although the Circuit in 1895 had only 143 members, including probationers. In 1866—with Bietigheim as one of its preaching points—it had reported 533 full members and 135 probationers. The decrease could doubtless be accounted for in large part by preaching points being taken over from year to year by new Circuits. In Nuremberg, one of the very old celebrated cities of Germany, the Society was compelled in 1892 to leave its rented hall and was unable to find any place for its meetings other than an old storehouse, uncomfortable and much too small. This was a calamity which threatened the future of the Society. However, by great exertion, it was able by incurring a debt of $27,466. to build within the next two years a commodious chapel. In 1895 Dietrich reported that the services were well attended and the influence of the Church was greatly increased.[216]

SWITZERLAND CONFERENCE, 1886-95

When separately organized on June 24, 1886, the Switzerland Annual Conference had about forty per cent of the total membership of the former Germany and Switzerland Conference. It included the entire area of the Swiss republic and neighboring parts of France where the German language was spoken. There were twenty-five preachers in full connection, one on trial, and seven "assistants." There were two Districts: Zurich District * with eighteen appointments, H. Jakob Breiter, Presiding Elder, and Biel District † with six appointments, Leonhardt Peter, Presiding Elder. In all, there were 192 preaching places.

Zurich was the stronger of the two Districts when the Conference was

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* The eighteen appointments of the Zurich District were: *Affoltern,* Heinrich Huber; *Basel,* August Rodemeyer; *Bern,* Kaspar Glaettli; *Bulach,* Ferdinand Schmidt; *Chur,* Friedrich Deppeler; *Horgen,* H. Geerdess Odinga; *Langnau,* Ernst K. Schmidtmann; *Lenzburg* and *Aarau,* Jakob Geering, one to be supplied; *Liestal,* Adolf Sharpff; *Niederutzwil* and *Neu Toggenburg,* Johann Harle, one to be supplied; *Rheineck,* Johann Schneebeli; *St. Gallen* and *Herisau,* Andreas Rappanner, one to be supplied; *Schaffhausen* and *Hallen,* Bernhard Schroeder, two to be supplied; *Thalwil,* Gottfried Bar; *Turbenthal,* Heinrich Brunner; *Uster,* Heinrich Kienast; *Winterthur* and *Frauenfeld,* Jakob Sporri, one to be supplied; *Zurich* and *Aussersihl,* Gerhardt Bruns, one to be supplied.—*Ibid.,* Spring, 1886, p. 78.

† The six appointments of the Biel District were: *Biel,* Leonhardt Peter, one to be supplied; *Geneva,* Ludwig Brandle; *La Chaux-de-Fonds,* Gottlieb Sporri; *Lausanne,* Edmund Diem; *Lyss,* Johann Wettstein; *Neuchatel,* Gottfried Krauss.—*Ibid.*

separated and continued to hold the lead, despite transfer of Circuits to Biel (later renamed Bern) District and heavy emigration. Several chapels were built, including one in Aussersihl and one in Wetzikon in 1890. In 1892 the Rorbas chapel became too small and the congregation was permitted to hold "song" services in a State church. In several places larger congregations required additions to the chapels or new buildings. By 1895 the District had a membership, including probationers, of 3,559, on its fourteen Circuits, and fifteen chapels. Sunday schools numbered 113, with 8,526 pupils. The Zurich Society was the largest in all Switzerland and Germany, while Basel was the third largest.

Half of the Biel District was within French-speaking Switzerland and the German children attended French schools and spoke French, which made it necessary for some of the Sunday-school teachers to use French in teaching. The growth of the Bern Society had been retarded for years by lack of a chapel but in 1887 a fine building valued at about $18,000. was acquired. On the St. Imier Circuit the pastor built a chapel at his own expense in 1887 but the next year decided to emigrate and faced the members with the alternative of buying the building or seeing it taken over by the Salvation Army. For a long time the members of the Rupperswil Society on the Lenzburg Circuit were forced to hold services in a mechanic's sooty workshop but in 1889 succeeded in building a chapel. Lausanne had only a transient German population, but despite continuous emigration—one-third of the Methodists moving away in a single year—the Society there doubled in size between 1886 and 1895. Despite the many handicaps, in 1895 the District reported seventy-seven preaching places with 1,898 full members and 397 probationers on fourteen Circuits.

In 1892 a third District, St. Gallen, was formed from five Circuits* of the Zurich District. Jakob Sporri was appointed Presiding Elder. During the first few months the membership of the District diminished, because of the decline in the embroidery industry which caused many to move elsewhere for jobs. Each year many members were gained, but the losses from removals kept the size of the District static. The dominance of the Catholic Church in this region added to the difficulties. Still there was encouragement. Two chapels were given free of debt by individual members, one in Weinfelden, on the Frauenfeld Circuit, and one in Niederutzwil. In Rheineck it was necessary to build a gallery in the chapel to make it sufficiently large. Teufen and Chur were the only Circuits still without chapels in 1895. The Society in Chur held its services "in a hidden corner of the town," to which it was difficult to attract people. At the end of 1895 the membership was

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* The five Circuits were subdivided into nine: Chur, Frauenfeld, Niederutzwil, Rheineck, Schaffhausen, Ober-Hallau, St. Gallen, Herisau, and Teufen. At the end of 1892 the St. Gallen District reported 1,064 members in full connection; 139 probationers; and six churches, including new ones in Herisau and Frauenfeld.

1,122 plus 208 probationers, showing an increase of only fifty-eight members and sixty-nine probationers in three years.[217]

Sunday schools were popular among Swiss Methodists. Sunday-school attendance was usually double or triple that of adults at regular Sunday services. The *Sunday School Magazine* was published, continuing until 1907. Sunday-school conventions were held, which deepened the interest and increased the influence of the Sunday schools. By 1895 the number of schools had reached 222, with an attendance of 16,900.

A branch of the Bremen Book Concern was founded in Zurich in 1890, with the small capital of about $1,400. A small store was rented. Having made a considerable net profit at the end of its first fiscal year, the Concern became independent in 1891 under the name "Christiche Vereins Buchhandlung." In January, 1894, the publication of two weekly papers, the *Evangelist* and the *Kinderfreund,* was undertaken.[218]

In time the attitudes of pastors of the State Church underwent considerable change. Compelled to acknowledge the influence of Methodist revivals, Class meetings, prayer meetings, and Sunday schools upon other Christian groups in the country, some of the State pastors heeded the advice of one, that "the best method against Methodism is to do the same as it is doing." Some Methodist practices were adopted by other Church groups. The more favorable disposition toward Methodism was well demonstrated when at the Annual Conference session of 1890 Methodists

> rejoiced that the pastors of the State Church in Bern had passed a resolution that the functions of a Methodist preacher in baptism and the other rites, should be acknowledged as legal.[219]

However, there were many who had been converted to Methodist beliefs, but who were still bound by many ties to the State Church, and therefore did not become members. There were, in all, fifty preachers in Conference membership in 1895, serving a membership of over seven thousand.

Forty-six Years of Methodism in Germany and Switzerland

In 1895 the mission begun by Ludwig Jacoby in 1849 had grown into three Annual Conferences, with 144 German and Swiss preachers, and almost 20,000 lay members (including probationers) in Methodist Societies. Attendance at religious services far exceeded this number. More than 31,000 children and youth were receiving Christian teaching in 548 Sunday schools. Most of the Societies were small, but two—Berlin and Zurich—had a membership in excess of seven hundred each while ten others had a membership of above three hundred each.

A significant fact in the history of Methodism in Germany and Switzerland is that the movement very early became self-sufficient. During forty-six years only seven missionaries had been sent from the United States, all arriving within the first nine years. By 1883, thirty-four years after the founding of the mission, leadership was very largely in the hands of preachers who had been raised up in Germany and Switzerland and by the close of 1886—with the exception of one man, who was the Publishing Agent—entirely so. The length of the missionaries' service on the field was greater than in any other mission of Methodism, a factor which undoubtedly contributed to the development of the Church. The average tenure was twenty-five years. It is also significant that all seven missionaries were native sons, with no language barrier, and therefore enjoyed readier acceptance by the people to whom they preached than did American missionaries to Italy and the Orient.

The ministry was of humble origin. Their fathers, in the great majority of cases, were workingmen, who could offer their children few advantages and no luxuries. They were sons of poverty, inured to hardship. They had little formal education and their sermons—frequently almost an hour in length—were chiefly exhortations, including many quotations from the Bible. The common people heard them gladly, for they spoke from their hearts with deep earnestness and their words had a reality born of their own experience. Before many years had passed, however, Jacoby had begun to emphasize the importance of a "theological institute." "If a man gets up in Germany to make an address to a congregation," he wrote, "it is at least expected that he shall speak his mother tongue correctly and know how to express himself well." In due time a theological school (Martin Mission Institute) was established, which became of inestimable value in training the preachers. At the 1886 Conference session 104 of the 112 ministers who received appointments had been trained in the institute. Durbin credited the mission with having a more adequately trained ministry than the early preachers of the Methodist Church in the United States.

Preachers and lay people were stedfast in their loyalty to Methodist forms and practices. Weekly prayer meetings were held and were largely attended. Private prayer in the homes and grace at meals were habitual. Every member was required to attend Class and offer a personal testimony. Members who neglected attendance were excluded from membership. H. Nuelsen, when Presiding Elder of the Basel District, stated that at least three-fourths of the members were present at Class every week. From the beginning of the mission no State Church preacher or Roman Catholic priest was employed by the mission as a minister.

In the theological vernacular of the time the Methodists were called "pietists"—sometimes in derision, more often in contradistinction to the extreme rationalism widely prevalent in State Church circles among both ministers and laymen. Methodist emphasis on faith, assurance, and personal religious experience was welcomed by many who felt a need for a sustaining force in their bleak lives. The informality of Methodist meetings was also in contrast to the formalism of State Church services and the warmth and sense of fellowship which pervaded them appealed strongly to the common people.

In accordance with Methodist tradition the Movement met its most ready response among the impoverished. "Methodism has to begin," Jacoby observed, "with the poor." The indigent working classes were most in need of the spiritual sustenance freely offered by the missionaries and the native pastors. As one secular Bremen newspaper commented in May, 1851,

> The happy influence of the blessed labour of the Methodist missionaries, upon the most neglected part of the working population with us in Bremen, is well known to every citizen in Bremen who takes any interest at all in the affairs of his father city.[220]

Secretary Durbin on his visit to the mission in 1866 observed that the members were universally working people, with scarcely "a half-dozen proprietors in the entire Conference." The Presiding Elder of the Berlin District thus characterized the membership of the Berlin Society in 1893:

> High dignitaries, members of the aristocracy, men of letters and world-wide fame do not belong to this congregation, but many workingmen, artisans, servant girls, and many others, not welcome in fine society, yet monuments of the divine power of the Gospel . . . leading a pious life and good example for others.[221]

A like situation prevailed in Switzerland. In general, but not universally, members were from the servant and laboring classes. Following a meeting with the Society at St. Gallen Durbin described the composition of the group:

> the small company came together in their small hall in a second story, the access to which was literally through the dark. About forty persons were present, of whom four-fifths were servant girls. Five men were present, one of whom was the only male member in the mission.[222]

Durbin was disturbed by the disproportion between women and men.

In Germany and Switzerland Methodism was not active in the area of social reform. Although Jacoby and his fellow preachers advocated temperance, the Church in Germany in general did not take a strong, undeviating stand on the use of alcoholic liquors. Considering the inadequate diet of farmers and laborers, Jacoby wrote to the Missionary Secretary, wine was important as an industry and as nourishment. The Board advised that the mission could "waive the application of the Rule" of the *Discipline* with regard to the use of wine in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper inasmuch as wine was used in Germany "as a pabulum" rather than as a beverage. However, wine of intoxicating strength should not be used. Methodists shared to a considerable extent in Germany's liquor traffic since many of the members were growers of vines and hops, principal sources of alcoholic beverages. Sunday labor and the purchase and sale of state lottery tickets were permitted by civil statutes and were tolerated by Methodists without general or strong protest.

Missionary progress in Germany during the 1850's and 1860's had been hindered by legal proscription. With the collapse of the national Parliament in 1849 the rulers of certain German states had branded all religious groups other than the state-recognized Churches as "sects" and imposed upon them severe restriction. Only in the state of Bremen, the duchy of Brunswick, the grand duchy of Oldenberg, and in Prussia was religious freedom continued. Persecution became an increasingly frequent occurrence. Legal permission to preach was often denied. Preachers were threatened, sometimes imprisoned, and occasionally subjected to mob violence. In Saxony, where in 1738 John Wesley was "dragged from one magistrate to another for more than two hours" before he was permitted to stay overnight in Dresden, a particularly deep-seated aversion to Methodists seemed to prevail. In 1869 in Dortendorf Methodist services were temporarily closed by the police and all attendants were fined because "they had attended a religious service" without the special permission of the State Church preacher. In 1880 at another place the Methodist chapel was closed and the key was taken over by the police. In different states fines were imposed for preaching and even for attending services. Although the amounts were small they became in the aggregate a financial problem, so much so that in 1854 the Board authorized Jacoby to pay the fines imposed by the police authorities and charge them to the incidental expenses of the mission. After the unification of the German states and the gradual liberalization of their laws, opposition naturally lessened.

While legal proscription did not exist in Switzerland prejudice and open opposition were more or less prevalent. Occasional acts of persecution occurred as late as the 1880's and 1890's. In 1886 in St. Imier a band of men tried to destroy the chapel and the home of a Local Preacher but at the last moment were prevented by the police. Revivals frequently precipitated threats and petty persecution. The attitude of the State Churches of Switzerland and Germany was not one of out-and-out antagonism. As Durbin stated, they were willing to recognize the missionaries as auxiliary helpers but when the missions "began to exercise the functions of a Church, and in church hours, they became exceedingly opposed" and would "persecute if it was practicable."

From the beginning the growth of the Church was seriously retarded by the poverty of its members, most of whom earned not more than fifty cents to a dollar a day. In 1873 Nuelsen reported that within the Basel District, Switzerland, the majority earned a mere $2.00 a week. The high cost of living, in some towns higher than in America, prohibited meat in their diet which consisted mainly of potatoes and coffee. Those who were able to accumulate sufficient funds emigrated, thereby strengthening German Methodism in America but leaving the churches in Germany in sorely straitened circumstances.

The imperative need for chapels for worship and for preaching services early became apparent to the missionaries. Only a few homes of members were available or suitable, while rented halls were difficult to procure because of prejudices against renting to Methodists and because of the exorbitant rental charged. Entrance to such halls as could be had was frequently through deserted streets and alleys and dark hallways. In Switzerland, in Biel, Bern, and Lausanne the halls were remotely located on the third floor. Some halls were in saloons or even, in a few cases, over cow stables. To many of the places which were used only the poorest and most desolate were willing to come. To provide decent and commodious places of worship for the members and to broaden the appeal to the public there was no alternative other than to build. Beginning at an early date chapels were constructed at a gradually increasing rate until by 1895 few Circuits were without chapels while a few had two or three. This involved the accumulation of a staggering debt. While the Missionary Society encouraged building, the debts were the obligation of the local Societies, although the Board aided in annual interest payments. The heavy indebtedness understandably hindered the expansion of the churches so that finally the Missionary Society altered its policy and began to assist in debt liquidation although as early as 1880 two-thirds of the entire expenditure of the mission was paid by the churches. By 1895 the Methodist Church in Switzerland was almost completely free of debt; in Germany, however, the property debt was still considerable. The heroic efforts of the Methodists inspired many. The State Church had no extensive church-building program although whole regions were without churches "while Methodism, poor and weak," as J. M. Reid observed, "had sprinkled the land with chapels and institutions of religion" with little foreign aid. "The practice of contributing at every religious meeting," Reid stated, was more systematic and prevalent than I have known in any part of our Church in America." [223] The annual giving of the people averaged nearly five dollars per member. As this did not meet the aggregate financial requirements of the mission the Germany and Switzerland Conference in 1885 voted to cut the salaries of the preachers ten per cent. The pastors were unanimous in the feeling that it was unfair to ask or expect the people to give more than they were giving. This reduction brought the minimum annual salary of a single man to $120., and the maximum for a preacher with a large family to $760. Although many could afford meat on their tables only once or twice a week, the ministers readily supported an additional four per cent cut the following year.

The traditional Circuit system as used in the United States was adopted in Germany and Switzerland and worked well. A Circuit was usually formed of one town with six to sixteen appointments in the surrounding country villages. Rapid urbanization toward the end of the century changed the pattern somewhat, resulting in greater concentration in the cities where the work was usually more productive.

Bulgaria Mission

At the May 20, 1857, meeting of the Board John P. Durbin, Corresponding Secretary, announced that Wesley Prettyman of the Ohio Conference and Albert L. Long of the Pittsburgh Conference had been appointed by Bishop Matthew Simpson to establish a Bulgaria Mission. This action of the Bishop had not been taken precipitately. Back of it lay almost five years of consideration of its advisability, correspondence with officials of the Turkish government * and with officers of the American Board,† and a search for suitable candidates.

As early as November 8, 1852, at a meeting of the General Missionary Committee, the question of the Methodist Church "taking a part in resuscitating the old Oriental Churches within the Turkish empire" had been taken up, with Bulgaria particularly in mind.

> These people are of the Greek Church, though not of the Greek nation, and are fallen into as deep superstition and darkness as any of the Oriental Churches; and yet they are not so bigoted, but are of a mild, inquiring, religious disposition, and exceedingly athirst for the word of God. It was believed to be our duty to send a mission to these people at as early a day as practicable.[224]

At this same meeting the Bishop was authorized "to institute a mission in Bulgaria," and $5,000. was appropriated for the purpose. No candidates were found during the next two years and like action was taken by the Board in 1855 and by the General Missionary Committee in 1856. Finally, in 1857, Bishop Simpson made the appointments as stated and on July 20 Corresponding Secretary Durbin wrote a general letter of instruction concerning objectives of the mission.

> Its chief object is to awaken in the Bulgarian Church, which is of the Greek rite, a desire for evangelical religion, and lead her people to seek for the same. It will be necessary for you to use all kindness and skill in approaching the people privately and publicly; and you should be well acquainted with the doctrines and customs of the Greek Church, as well as of our own Church, not for the purpose of assailing them in controversy, but, as the occasion offers, to show that they are not agreeable to Scripture.[225]

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* The Bulgarians, a Slavic people, have been in the Balkan Peninsula since the seventh century. For hundreds of years their kingdom embraced practically the whole peninsula but in 1396 they were completely subjugated by the Turks, whose domination lasted for almost five hundred years. During the period of which we write Bulgaria was bounded on the north by the Danube River, on the south by Turkey, Macedonia, and Thrace (now Greece), on the west by Serbia (now Yugoslavia) and on the east by the Black Sea. Bulgaria is about the size of Virginia.

† The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had maintained a mission in Istanbul (Constantinople) for years and many Bulgarians had urged the Board to extend their mission over the mountains to them. The American Board could not at that time spare the men or the money for this extension and informally asked the Methodist Board to enter the field.—*Thirty-ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1857), p. 24.

Durbin further advised the institution of schools as soon as possible, the distribution of Bibles and tracts, and free and open consultation with the American Board missionaries on methods and locations. The Board expected to send out with the two young missionaries a minister "of more age and experience" as Superintendent, but a man of the qualifications desired had not been available. Durbin instructed the appointees to settle in one place, on an equal footing, and to do nothing except with concurrent judgment and consent of both. The missionaries, accompanied by their wives, arrived at Istanbul (Constantinople)—the capital of the Turkish empire—in September, 1857, and were kindly received by the American Board missionaries, by Turkish authorities, and Protestant business people. They made a tour of exploration and selected not one but two locations* in Bulgaria, Varna to be Prettyman's headquarters and Shumen, a city of about 40,000 population of whom about 8,000 were Bulgarians, as Long's residence.† Correspondence with the Missionary Society, and further consideration, led them to agree on one central location and Shumen was chosen. Prettyman's medical knowledge opened many doors for him and increased his influence among the people. Some of the Bulgarian priests called upon him and invited him to accompany them on visits to the sick.[226]

On November 12, 1858, Bishop E. S. Janes appointed Frederick W. Flocken‡ of the New York Conference to Bulgaria. Information had been received that in Tulcea, a town in the extreme eastern section of Bulgaria (now in Rumania), a group of Russians and Germans exiled from Russia because of disagreement with the Greek Church were asking for evangelical Protestant religious services. As Flocken knew both Russian and German he was instructed to locate in the town, provide religious services for these people, and at the same time learn the Bulgarian language to minister to the Bulgarians in the area. Flocken visited Tulcea, then went on to Shumen for consultation with Prettyman and Long. Together it was decided that he should remain with them,§ their reason apparently being that the mission was primarily Bulgarian and great need existed for increasing their ministry to that people.[227]

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* Two cities for missionary operation were chosen, contrary to instructions of the Board, because Prettyman and Long agreed that they could not work together in a spirit of mutual understanding and cordial cooperation. This was a source of regret to the two families and forbearance was exercised but there continued to be reserve and open disagreements between the two missionaries as long as they both remained in the field.

† Varna and Shumen were chosen as locations for the mission on the advice of E. E. Bliss and Cyrus Hamlin, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.—William Webster Hall, Jr., *Puritans in the Balkans: The American Board Mission in Bulgaria, 1878-1918; A Study in Purpose and Procedure,* pp. 19 f.

‡ Frederick William Flocken (1831-93) was born in Odessa, Russia, and came to the United States in 1849. He joined the New York Conference in 1853 and was appointed to Shumen, Bulgaria, in 1858, arriving in 1859, and remained there until he was directed in April, 1860, to go to Tulcea. During 1870-71 he served in Ruschuk and in 1871 returned to the U.S. He went again to Bulgaria in March, 1873, as Superintendent of the mission, continuing until his return to the U.S. at the end of 1878. As a member of the East German Conference he was appointed to Boston and did not return to Bulgaria.—Official Biographical Files.

§ This decision clearly was not to Durbin's liking but since the action was a *fait accompli* he decided to make the best of the situation by writing that he would authorize Flocken to remain at Shumla until the Bishops, with whom "the right of decision belongs," could be consulted and send out "specific instructions, if they shall think proper to send any instructions."—John P. Durbin to Prettyman, Long, and Flocken, letter, Aug. 31, 1859, "Letters from the Board of Missions: The East—Bulgaria, Mar. 20, 1854-Nov. 14, 1866," in files, Division of World Missions; hereafter referred to as "Bulgaria Letter Book."

Letters from prominent Bulgarians in Tirnovo, about seventy miles west of Shumen, indicated a promising missionary opportunity. On September 17, 1859, the move was made. On December 24 in his new home Long began holding public religious services in the Bulgarian language. About fifteen persons were present at the first service. Attendance increased to the point where it became necessary by 1861 to rent a hall and have it fitted up for worship services.[228]

In April, 1860, Flocken removed from Shumen to Tulcea. Durbin and the Bishops had expressed their disappointment in December, 1859, that he had not begun a mission there on his arrival in Bulgaria and advised him, if the circumstances were still favorable, to do so. A religious group, the Molokans,* invited him to stay. He revisited the city and while there prayed that God would direct him to the right conclusion with regard to the move.

> I left the city with the conviction that, with great care and patience, by the assistance of God, these people [the Molokans] could be brought into a Church organization, schools be established among them, and through them pure Gospel truths be brought into Russia proper. I cannot get rid of the conviction that we should occupy this field.[229]

Some two hundred Molokan families lived in and about Tulcea, having fled from Russia to that area because of the persecution they had suffered. On May 15, 1860, Flocken opened a school in his study which by the end of the month had an enrollment of fifty-two children, most of whom attended a Sunday school he had started. Soon the Molokans provided a house for the school. In 1862 he reported having received into church membership two full members and two probationers, and the organization of two Sunday schools, with an average of forty-five to fifty, and two day schools—one for boys and one for girls. He had four Bulgarian assistants—three men and one woman. He carried on a correspondence in Russian with Molokans in Russia, and preached weekly to the Germans in Tulcea and in neighboring villages among whom he contemplated organizing a Methodist Society.[230]

During the first few years Prettyman was principally occupied with the study of the Bulgarian languages. Long exhibited greater facility in the acquirement of languages. Prettyman had a hall fitted up in Shumen for preaching services. The greatest achievement in 1861 was the enlistment of native Bulgarian assistants in the work of the mission. In each station, the Lord had "raised up at least one ardent and zealous man to be a coworker."

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* The Molokans (Molokani), a dissident sect of the Eastern Orthodox Church, received their name from their custom of continuing to drink milk (moloko) during fasts. They resembled the Quakers in their insistence on the spiritual interpretation of the Bible, their rejection of the sacraments, and their indifference to outward forms. They had no hierarchy or paid clergy. They rejected the authority of civil government and were pacifists, refusing to participate in military service.—Julius F. Hecker, *Religion and Communism, A Study of Religion and Atheism in Soviet Russia*, pp. 69-71. For a fuller statement see Edward Thomson, *Our Oriental Missions*, II, *China and Bulgaria*, 106 ff.

In Shumen there was Milanovich, a talented and enthusiastic young teacher; at Tulcea Ivan Ivanoff, "a man of lovely temper and disposition, and of great influence among his Molokan brethren." Gabriel Elieff, faithful and earnest colporteur, formerly with the British and Foreign Bible Society, had worked under Long's supervision for two years and had grown in grace and acquitted himself remarkably well. Long asked that he be made a member of the mission, continue as a colporteur, placed on the salary list, and allowed a commission on books sold with the understanding that any deficit would be made up from the appropriation for mission support. This evidently was agreed to by the Board.

Serious political disturbances in 1862 created widespread fear among the people and threatened to disrupt the operations of the mission in Tirnovo. For two nights Long's house was filled with Bulgarian families who took refuge in it from fright. Long was tempted to yield to discouragement. Attendance upon the preaching services had diminished instead of increasing. Some whom he had thought were convinced of the truth had failed to commit themselves. Most serious of all, the Bulgarian people had become disheartened by longtime defeat in ecclesiastical controversy with the Greeks* and had yielded to apathy.[231]

From year to year Prettyman renewed his plea for missionary reinforcements, particularly for the sending out of a Superintendent. The missionaries' hands had been tied, he asserted, by the instruction "not to make any arrangements which could not be easily altered by the Superintendent." † Their efficiency had been undermined by their inability to make definite plans; a more aggressive policy had to be instituted if they were to carry out their commission. To do this would require an enlarged missionary force, facilities for printing, the establishment of schools, and all the varied instrumentalities of successful missions.[232]

Evidence reached the Board from one source or another in 1862 that the internal affairs of the Bulgaria Mission were not satisfactory. Changes were made concerning various aspects of mission administration. L. S. Jacoby and W. F. Warren were in Germany at the time and Bishops Morris and Janes commissioned them to proceed to Bulgaria and "examine the internal and external conditions of the mission minutely and carefully" in all of its aspects, including financial affairs and records, and to make a joint report of their findings. They were directed to interview each missionary separately and then to arrange a joint meeting for consultation. They were instructed also to advise the Board as to the future organization, administration, location, and program of the mission.[233]

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* Since the ninth century the Bulgarian churches had been under the direction of the Greek patriarchate which had imposed the Eastern rite and the Greek language against the will of the people. Greek priests were brought into the churches, Greek became the language of the upper-class people and the Bulgarian language was written in Greek characters.

†Durbin acknowledged that Prettyman's complaint was justified and a year earlier in the *Annual Report* (1860) he had appealed to the Church for increased funds for Bulgaria. Our "Bulgarian mission cannot accomplish its work . . . until it is organized and consolidated by the appointment of a superintendent. This is the great want at present." (*Forty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* [1860], p. 51.) He considered the superintendency of the Bulgarian mission the most difficult position the Board had to fill and both he and the Bishops were concerned not to make a mistake. He had suggested two or three men to them as possibilities but they did not consider any one of those named sufficiently well qualified.—John P. Durbin to Prettyman, letter, Aug. 10, 1861, "Bulgaria Letter Book."

The committee made an intensive study of the mission and its operations and presented an extended report. They found no fault with its plans and methods and sympathized with it in its struggles arising from the opposition, both on the part of the ecclesiastics and of the political leaders. They agreed with the missionaries on the necessity of a Superintendent, of establishing a mission press, and of stationing a missionary in Istanbul. They, too, felt the need of schools, on whatever level they could be maintained. Finally, the question was raised of the wisdom of the mission keeping to its original purpose of merely attempting vitalization of the Orthodox Church, believing that in time separate and independent Methodist organization would be preferable. The committee recognized that for the immediate future either course presented great difficulty.[234]

Prettyman and Long were now (1863) in the sixth year of missionary service in Bulgaria and the fruits of their work seemed to them small. Attendance upon the public services continued to diminish. Some gave evidence of theoretical acquaintance with the truths of the Gospel but distressingly few were willing to profess faith in them publicly. There was lack of feeling of individual moral responsibility and absence of a sense of sin. One of the American Board missionaries wrote: "We are laboring in a valley of dry bones." The prevaling feeling of disillusionment led to a conference between the American Board representatives and the Methodists at Nova Zagora, in August, 1863.

> Comparing notes, the two groups found that each had used the same methods with apparently like results. They complained of a want of impressibility on the part of the Bulgarians. 'While some facts of a more or less hopeful nature were reported, the general feeling seemed to be that the Bulgarians were a very different people from what they were supposed to be six or eight years . . . [before].' [235]

It was agreed that formation of separate religious Societies should not be urged but deferred as long as possible. In case the work should be blessed with conversions "it was not thought desirable . . . [that the converts] should be organized into churches but upon satisfactory evidence of piety should be invited to commune with us."

Prettyman's discouragement, particularly, was complete and his appeal to be relieved was accepted by the Board.[236]

Following Prettyman's withdrawal Long* transferred in June, 1863, from

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* Albert L. Long (1832-1901) was born in Washington, Pa. He graduated from Allegheny College (Meadville, Pa.) in 1855 and from the theological seminary in Concord in 1857 (M.A.). He was admitted into the Pittsburgh Conference in 1857 and the same year appointed to Bulgaria. Within two months after his arrival in Shumen, Bulgaria, he began holding services in the Bulgarian

Tirnovo to Istanbul, the center of Turkish influence, with approval of the Board and the Bishops. At the same time he was designated Superintendent. He at once began preaching in his dwelling and soon had a congregation larger and more intelligent than in Tirnovo. He joined with Dr. Elias Riggs of the American Board, and two Bulgarian scholars, in a translation of the Bible into Bulgarian, to be published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. He also was engaged in the preparation, translation, and publication of evangelical books and tracts for popular circulation. In 1864 he began publication of a small monthly periodical, *Zornitza* (*The Day Star*), which met with much popular acclaim among the Bulgarian people.* In 1876 it became a weekly and within five months reached a circulation of one thousand copies. It was prized for its accuracy in reporting news and for the high level of its comment.[237]

By 1864 Long had become fully persuaded of the value of Flocken's ministry in Tulcea. Preaching to German colonists in German and to the Molokans and other Russians in their own language and conducting schools for both boys and girls, he wrote, was a work of "the most promising kind and of the greatest importance in the evangelization of this part of Europe." It was imperative, he felt, that steady assistance should be given to Flocken, even if the Bulgarian work must take second place.[238]

A wholly unexpected interference with Long's activities occurred on July 18, 1864, when the offices, printing establishments, and the Bible depositories of the Protestant missionaries and the Bible societies in Istanbul were forcibly taken possession of and closed by agents of the minister of police. Arrests of a number of Turks on accusation of being Protestants were made at the same time. By intervention of the United States chargé d'affaires the offices were reopened on the third day "but not until a thorough . . . search had been made by the police for prohibited books." [239]

Long continued to preach, in addition to his work of literature translation and Bible revision. His Sunday services were attended by some ten to forty Bulgarians. He also conducted a Bible class preceding the morning worship and made a few calls on Bulgarian acquaintances.

An important event of 1865 was the coming of Bishop Edward Thomson, the first Bishop to visit the Bulgaria Mission. With Long and I. G. Bliss of the American Bible Society he visited Istanbul, Varna, Tulcea, Tirnovo, and

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language. In 1859 he went to Tirnovo and in 1863 to Istanbul as Superintendent of the mission. At the invitation of the American Bible Society he came to New York in 1866 to superintend the stereotyping of the New Testament in the Slavonian and Bulgarian languages, returning to Istanbul after two years. When mission work was temporarily suspended in 1871 Long remained in Istanbul as a professor in Robert College. He resigned his position in Robert College because of ill health and died in Liverpool, England, July 28, 1901, on his way home. His influence over "leading Bulgarians and young men . . . seeking an education . . . was extraordinary." He was not only proficient in languages, but was also a professor of natural science and a gifted archaeologist.—*Christian Advocate*, LXXVI (1901), 34 (Aug. 22), 1327 f.

* For a time, under governmental ban, publication had to be suspended. The action was hard to understand since the periodical carried no political news or discussion. Long was inclined to attribute it to the influence of the Bulgarian censor, a Jesuit. When the case reached the Grand Council the ban was rescinded. Beginning in 1867 and continuing for eleven years T. L. Byington, an American Board missionary, was editor.—*Forty-sixth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1864), p. 89.

Svistov. He considered Tulcea a choice center for missionary operations because of its location, size, and mixed population of Greeks, Russians, Germans, and Bulgarians. He was well impressed by Flocken and by his work. The most promising aspect of the station, in his opinion, were the schools. He saw little prospect of establishing a Protestant church anywhere among the Bulgarians. If one were organized he felt certain it would be persecuted. He felt Istanbul to be a wise choice since Long could "operate more successfully upon not only the Bulgarian population, but the whole country, than he could in any provincial city." [240]

This year (1865) the American Bible Society asked for Long's return to the United States at their expense to superintend the electrotyping of "a parallel edition of the New Testament in the Ancient Slavic and the Bulgarian languages." He left Istanbul in May, 1866, and returned in 1868. While in New York he pressed the Missionary Society to send three new missionaries to Bulgaria—one for Shumen, one for Tirnovo, and one for Vidin or Ruschuk—and asked for the establishment of a girls' school.[241]

The Society in response sent out E. A. Wanless and wife of the Wisconsin Conference in 1868. They remained in Istanbul for language study until late in 1869 before going to their appointment, Ruschuk, an old city of some 30,000 population, on the right bank of the Danube. The year was marked also by a remarkable religious awakening at Tulcea among members of the Lipovan sect. This resulted in the organization of a Methodist Society with two Classes. Class leaders and three stewards were appointed, and an Exhorter licensed. Dimitri Petroff, the Exhorter, a Lipovan, began a course of special study with Flocken. In June, 1870, by direction of the Board, Flocken was moved from Tulcea and placed in charge at Ruschuk with Wanless as his associate, and instructed to restrict his work to Bulgarians. Petroff was left in charge of the seventeen members and two probationers.

Both at Svistov, where Gabriel Elieff had succeeded in organizing a Class of fourteen members, and at Ruschuk, the Methodist activity aroused determined hostility and severe persecution. Members were threatened and scurrilous literature was circulated among the people. At the same time, 1871, for reasons not fully explained,[*] Flocken and Wanless were recalled by the Bishops and the General Missionary Committee. Long, having been called to a professor's chair in Robert College, Istanbul, was permitted to remain and render such aid to the mission as his time permitted.[242]

The Russian and Bulgarian converts, left as sheep without shepherds, protested the Church's action. They could not believe that they would be abandoned and pleaded with the Board to provide them with missionaries.

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[*] J. P. Durbin in letters to Long, Prettyman, Flocken, and Bishops Simpson and Janes, expressed doubts about the wisdom of continuing the work in Bulgaria.—Letters, July 29, Aug. 17, 1863, July 28, 1866, "Bulgaria Letter Book."

Thus appealed to, the General Missionary Committee at their November, 1872, meeting decided to re-enter Bulgaria "with a full force of workers, and prosecute the mission vigorously." Flocken was reappointed to Bulgaria and Henry A. Buchtel * and wife of the Northwest Indiana Conference were also commissioned for the field. The three sailed on February 12, 1873. Long's time was so fully occupied by increased responsibilities in connection with Robert College that time was lacking for supervision of the mission and he sent in his resignation. Flocken was appointed Superintendent. Work was resumed at all of the former stations and Bulgarian assistants visited a number of new places.

In 1872 the Bulgarian Church was declared schismatic by the Greek patriarch of Istanbul. This action resulted in the creation of an autonomous Bulgarian national Church.† As Flocken saw the situation in 1873:

> The great battle which has engaged the mind of every Bulgarian for so many years is over; the separation of the Bulgarians from the Greek Patriarch, to which the whole nation looked as the only means of their salvation, is attained. A Bulgarian Exarch is at the head of the National Church; about 15 Bulgarian bishops are occupying the former Greek dioceses, and over 500 Bulgarian priests are conducting the services of the Church. And so it might be supposed that the long-felt want is now supplied; but the fact, as expressed by the Bulgarians themselves, is, that they now have a hierarchy, which differs from the former only in the language, and in nothing else. And as the long-looked-for and promised reformers are not coming, and the new priesthood does not come up to the expectation of the people, the dissatisfaction is to-day as great as ever . . . .[243]

It is clear that the change brought no new spiritual life to the Bulgarian Church but merely new rules and practices which removed the services further from the comprehension and religious experience of the people. In several dioceses the Bible was not read as before in Greek but in Slavic, which to most Bulgarians was almost an unknown tongue. Under the new regime the Methodist services were regarded with apathy by most and by some with hostility. Hostility occasionally changed to violent persecution.[244]

Despite the lack of missionary assistants Flocken was able to report in 1874 an expansion of the mission program, an increase in the number of native helpers, and a growing number of inquirers attending meetings at various centers, notably at Plevna, Lon Palanka, and Orkhanie. He was encouraged, too, by the action of the W.F.M.S., which previously employed a Bible woman, in engaging the services of a second woman as a Bible reader and colporteur. [245]

Bishop W. L. Harris arrived in May, 1874, and carefully reviewed the field situation. He was convinced of the obligation of the Church to maintain

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* The Buchtels had no more than settled in Ruschuk when "Mrs. Buchtel's health suddenly failed" and she was ordered home by the physician. They arrived in New York in September, 1873.—*Fifty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1873), p. 125.

† The Bulgarian State Church remained a branch of the Holy Eastern Orthodox Church. Its government was hierarchical, with an exarch at its head, and a Holy Synod.

the mission and on his return to New York urged that reinforcements be sent without further delay. Elford F. Lounsbury of the New York Conference arrived in Bulgaria in June, 1875, and with a young Bulgarian assistant was assigned to Svistov, Gabriel Elieff having moved to Plevna in October, 1874. In December, 1875, Dewitt C. Challis and his wife arrived and took up their residence temporarily at Ruschuk for language study. Mrs. Challis was a physician. With these reinforcements, an annual meeting was deemed desirable. It was held in Ruschuk on April 22, 1876, with Flocken, Long, Challis, and Lounsbury in attendance. Missionary work was in progress at Ruschuk, Lovech, Svistov, Tulcea, Plevna, Lon Palanka, and Orkhanie. There were fifty-two full members, ten probationers, three days schools with forty-three pupils, and five Sunday schools with an enrollment of sixty-one pupils.[246]

On October 2, six months after the first annual meeting, Bishop E. G. Andrews met the missionaries, Bulgarian preachers, and three Exhorters at Ruschuk.* Gabriel Elieff was ordained first as deacon and then as elder. Three preachers, Naiden J. Voinoff, Tena Nachoff, and Stefan Getchoff, were recommended for admission on trial in an Annual Conference. Ivan Ivanoff, the Russian helper, was licensed to preach. Later J. I. Economoff, who had graduated at Drew Seminary and had been received on trial in the Newark Conference, arrived. Appointments were made to nine Circuits and Stations.†

In his report to the Board Bishop Andrews observed:

> The political condition of Bulgaria greatly increases the difficulty of our mission work. The minds of men are pre-occupied and agitated. Great changes are either hoped or feared. The people, divided by race and by creed, distrust, fear, and hate one another. . . . A state of apprehension exists in both classes of society. . . . It is not safe to travel away from the great highways, nor to congregate under circumstances capable of misapprehension. Our preachers, therefore, must restrict their movements, must be content with very small congregations, must do their work chiefly by private conversation, and wait for a better day.

The first period of the mission was an apparent failure and after resumption of the work there was but one effective missionary. It should, however, be realized, the Bishop said, that most of those who are enrolled as native preachers were the fruit of mission work during the early period. Far from having been a failure it yielded the instruments by which much larger results could be hoped for.[247]

The W.F.M.S. took a hopeful view of the situation and in 1877 increased their appropriation to provide support for four native Bible women. These women worked under great difficulties and faced heavy persecution again and again.

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* The two meetings were recorded as separate sessions of the first annual meeting of the Bulgaria Mission.

† The appointments were: *Ruschuk,* F. W. Flocken, Gabriel Elieff; *Svistov,* D. C. Challis, Dimitri Matteief; *Tirnovo,* E. F. Lounsbury; *Lovech,* Naiden J. Voinoff; *Orkhanie,* Stefan Getchoff; *Lon Palanka,* Tena Nachoff; *Plevna,* Yordaki Tsvetkoff; *Vidin,* Todor A. Nicoloff; *Tulcea,* Ivan Ivanoff. —*Fifty-eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1876), p. 126.

> At Lone Paleanka [Lon Palanka], where Magdalena Elief is at work, the native preacher has been obliged to leave his work to attend to the war sufferers, but Magdalena keeps bravely at her Bible work . . . . She finds the superstitions of the people sadly in her way,—they believe so fully in enchantment and soothsaying. She has had trouble to find a house to live in, because she would not consent to let the Priest come and sprinkle it with holy water to drive out the evil spirits, as their custom is, the first of each month.
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> The priests have threatened the people to leave them all to the power of the bad spirits, if they do not take their children away from the Protestant schools . . . .[248]

With a hope of reclaiming the remnants of what had been lost by the Crimean War and ostensibly for the deliverance of Greek Christians from Turkish oppression, Russia in 1877 declared war against Turkey. In the course of the Russo-Turkish war the Russian army approached the Danube and threatened several of the cities in which missions were located. The danger of the Russian army overrunning the region became so imminent that the consuls of several nations sent their families out of the country. This peril, and domestic troubles which swept over them like a flood, caused the three missionaries to leave Bulgaria temporarily.* The victorious advance of the Russians to Istanbul was followed by the treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878), and the treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878). After five centuries independence had come to Bulgaria. The treaty of Berlin divided the Bulgarian territory into three parts: an autonomous principality, including northern Bulgaria, practically independent, but tributary to Turkey; an autonomous province, Eastern Rumelia, south of the principality; and Western Rumelia, or Macedonia, under Turkish rule.† All of the Methodist work was within northern Bulgaria.[249]

In Flocken's absence from the field Challis, who had returned early in 1879, was named Acting Superintendent of the mission. (In 1881 his appointment was changed to Superintendent.) In September, 1879, he called together the Bulgarian preachers, colporteurs, and a helper, with Lounsbury—also returned to the field—and himself, in an annual meeting of the mission. A new situation had been created by the war. While the mission had been sadly demoralized the country now had a liberal constitution with freedom of religion ostensibly assured, and liberty of speech and of the press guaranteed. At least four missionaries, it was agreed by the annual meeting, were an indispensable need—one each for Shumen, Svistov, Tirnovo, and Vidin; also two W.F.M.S. missionaries for direction of the work among women.

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* The death of Mrs. Challis from smallpox necessitated his return to the United States with his infant child; Lounsbury also considered his return with his wife to be required and, because of the continued illness of Mrs. Flocken, her husband had to accompany her to America. Challis married Irene L. Shepard and returned with her to Bulgaria in December, 1878.

† In 1885 Eastern Rumelia became a part of the principality. Not until 1908 was a united Bulgaria able to throw off all allegiance to Turkey and become an entirely independent kingdom.

Schools were called for, and more books—particularly the *Discipline,* the *Catechism,* and Binney's *Theological Compend.*[250]

On the whole, the future prospects of the work seemed favorable. Two new stations were listed, Sevlievo, a city of 6,000 with a number of surrounding villages; and Orkhanie, a large village about 150 miles northeast of Svistov, where a small Society had been organized sometime previously. Although its members never had regular pastoral care and had been severely and persistently persecuted, yet they had stood fast. Gabriel Elieff was appointed to Sevlievo, and Dimitri Ivanoff, who had been working as a colporteur in neighboring villages, to Orkhanie as a supply. Plans were also made for regular preaching at Troian, a village eighteen miles from Lovech, which gave promise of being a "fruitful field."

In 1880 two additional missionary couples were sent to the field, Addison R. and Emma K. Jones of the New England Conference and John S. and Rosa D. Ladd of the New York Conference. Appointments for 1881-82 were made to seven charges.* The Superintendent's headquarters were established at Lovech, where nearly all of the members had been slaughtered by the Turks during the war. The most notable event of 1880 was the announcement that the Board had authorized the opening of a girls' school and desired also to establish one for boys. Svistov, as the central station of the mission, seemed to be the logical location for a girls' boarding school but the high cost of property in the city made it impracticable as the site. The second choice was Troian. The Superintendent and Mrs. Challis moved there in October, 1880, and at the end of November opened the Troian Boarding School in an eight-by-sixteen-foot room with nine pupils. The charge for tuition was set at five dollars a year and ten cents a day for board. However, here, also, obstacles were encountered. Intrigues and petty persecution blocked the purchase of property for a permanent location. Failing to obtain land, the Superintendent turned to Lovech where an excellent site was purchased before opposition could be organized. In the fall of 1881 the school was reopened in two buildings—the home of the Bulgarian pastor, and in a rehabilitated old house nearby.

In the winter of 1880-81, a few weeks after the opening of the Girls' School, a school for boys was opened at Tirnovo in rented quarters, by Mrs. Addison R. Jones, with the assistance of J. I. Economoff. They immediately began a search for a suitable site on which to erect a school building. Here again, as at Troian, transfer of the property was blocked, this time by a fanatical ex-priest who was prefect-governor of Tirnovo District. After a year of futile effort the Tirnovo project was abandoned, although the prospect for a successful school was excellent. In 1882 the mission completed the erection of a combined church and parsonage in Svistov. This building offered the possibility of a temporary schoolroom.[251]

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* The seven charges to which appointments were made in 1881 were: *Ruschuk,* E. F. Lounsbury; *Svistov,* S. Thomoff, J. S. Ladd; *Tirnovo,* J. I. Economoff, A. R. Jones; *Sevlievo,* G. Elieff; *Lovech,* S. Getchoff; *Plevna,* supplied by Yordaki Tsvetkoff; *Orkhanie,* supplied by Petko Ivanoff, Exhorter. —*Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1881), p. [192].

Difficulties other than those mentioned hindered the progress of the mission. Public school pupils were prohibited by a civic regulation from attending mission meetings. Persons in public service had to obtain special permission and this was difficult to procure. To the politicians of the country, with few exceptions, all religion was a matter of indifference. Challis analyzed the prevailing situation in these terms:

> This is a critical time in the history of the people. They have tasted the sweets of freedom, but they have not those high moral qualifications that are needed for self government. . . . The educated and wealthy are scrambling for office, and are never scrupulous in choosing the means to secure their ends. But the masses of the toiling peasantry are incapable of speaking for themselves, and rebuking the hypocrisy of the demagogues who control them. Nor are they themselves capable of appreciating the fine moral distinctions that do not involve self-interest. In a word, this new-born nation is without the gospel except as it is supplied by missionaries; and without the gospel they are deprived of that great safeguard of true liberty, a national conscience.[252]

Over against this characterization Challis portrayed the first twenty-five years' history of the mission. During the entire period the number of missionaries had been painfully few and during three intervals the mission had been left without even one man in the field. There had been no established base of operations, not a foot of property was owned, and no permanent church or school established. All preaching and worship services had been "in small, ill-adapted, private rooms, and generally in obscure or unattractive places." The missionaries had been faithful men who had done good work, but with constantly shifting centers much of their influence had been dissipated and lost. A handful of converts had been made and a few very small congregations had been assembled. Without "the presence of the well-manned and successful mission of the American Board" * it would be impossible, the Superintendent felt, to regain prestige among the people. But there were grounds of hope for the future. The most recent occupation of the field had been more adequate. There were four missionaries, with their wives, from America; two well-educated Bulgarian preachers had enlisted in the work; a beginning had been made in the purchase of property and the building of churches and parsonages; and arrangements provided for the boys' school at Svistov and for the girls' school at Lovech.[253]

Before the new policy of enlarged personnel and increased support had a fair chance to produce results the General Missionary Committee in November, 1882, again entertained a proposal to abandon the mission on the ground

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* Preceding independence, William Webster Hall, Jr., declares, the Protestant missionaries had built their work into the life of the Bulgarians. The "foundations of the evangelical work had been laid so firmly that they could not be moved by extreme national feeling, by ecclesiastical opposition, by the prejudice of a superstitious peasantry, by Roman Catholic propaganda, by Russian hostility, or by the influence of atheistic thought emanating from Western Europe."—W. W. Hall, Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 46 f.

that it had "brought no adequate compensation for the expenditure of men and money upon it." After long debate the preponderance of sentiment appeared to be in favor of discontinuance. However, before the final vote was taken a cable was received from Bishop Foster and Corresponding Secretary Reid—on tour—stating that "new plans and a broader policy" had been adopted at the mission's annual meeting and recommended a generous advance in the appropriation. This message determined the issue. Ten thousand dollars was appropriated for support of missionaries and other workers, and four thousand dollars for the purchase of real estate.[254]

The Superintendent was much encouraged by this and other developments. Following the opening of a new Svistov church the congregation increased from an average of ten persons to forty, with sixty sometimes present. The new brick building at Lovech, two stories besides a basement and an attic dormitory, beautifully situated on a large hillside plot, was occupied by the girls' school on November 1, 1882. Also, in November, the boys' school was reopened in the Svistov church as a combined theological and day school, named a little later the Literary and Theological Institute.

The outlook for the schools now seemed promising. But peace proved to be short-lived. In January, 1883, enmity and jealousy on the part of a Bulgarian group caused the minister of education to issue an order closing the boys' school on the charge of "illegal existence." [*] The missionaries contested the right of the officials to do this but the local magistrate proceeded to close the school by force. The Bulgarian teachers, Thomoff and Economoff, were arrested and dragged off to jail. The Americans were grossly insulted and the school door sealed. An appeal to the ministry of education for permission to reopen the school remained unanswered for nearly four months. The reply finally received was to remain closed "for the present." In the meantime, instructions were issued ordering the girls' school at Lovech also to be closed. Under protest this was done. A shift in government changed the official attitude.[†] On September 28, 1883, the English consul telegraphed Challis to inform the ministry of education of intention to reopen the schools. This the Superintendent did. On October 1 the boys' school was again opened, and the girls' school on October 20. While some unpleasant conditions were imposed official permission was granted.[255]

In June, 1883, a mission press was established and by the end of the year had printed 135,000 pages, including the *Discipline* and numerous tracts.

Bishop J. F. Hurst presided at the annual meeting of the mission held at Ruschuk on October 1, 1884. Because of illness A. R. Jones had returned to America and Dimitri Naidenoff, pastor of the Orkhanie Circuit, had died. Despite this loss a hopeful spirit pervaded the session. An encouraging increase in communicant members was recorded. Fifteen boarding pupils had been attending the girls' school during the year and the new year opened with eighteen boarders and five day pupils. The W.F.M.S., in response to Challis' repeated appeals, had taken over the girls' school and had sponsored a primary school at Ruschuk. In November Linna M. Schenck from the Northwestern Branch arrived on the field as principal of the Lovech school.[256]

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[*] According to the law the opening of a new school must be preceded by notice given to the educational authorities. Such notice had been filed, but by oversight or intent no receipt was returned. The school inspector was induced to deny having any official knowledge of the opening of the school. On this ground it was closed.

[†] Government action against the schools, although instigated by reactionary Bulgarians, who were strongly antagonistic to Protestant missionary work, was possible only because an anti-constitutional political regime was temporarily in power. When the anti-constitutional ministers were ousted, the constitution restored, and liberal leaders reinstated, official opposition to missionary schools ceased.

In the absence of a Bishop the 1885 annual meeting was convened by Superintendent Challis at Svistov on July 10. The year was marked by the beginning of work at Varna, where it had been long contemplated, with Trico Constantine of the Minnesota Conference as pastor. He was a Bulgarian who had received his education in the United States. In the beginning he had very few hearers but people were impressed by his earnestness and evident sincerity and within a few months he had an attendance of twenty persons and had received three on probation. The mission was organized into four* Districts.[257]

In various localities the people of the villages were becoming more accessible. Clara Klaia, in the employ of the W.F.M.S., had made many friends among the women of Ruschuk. Peter Tickcheff, appointed to village work, enumerated a dozen families where he was perfectly free to read and explain the Scriptures in their homes. He found the coffee houses everywhere freely open and at any hour he could find an audience, usually ready to give respectful attention to his exhortations. The colporteur in the Upper Danube and Varna Districts reported one hundred persons in twelve different cities and villages who were sympathetic and friendly.[258]

This year (1885) war again threatened to disrupt the mission program. In the continuing struggle to achieve national unity Bulgaria now became engaged in a plot with Eastern Rumelia to unite as one. The balance of power was upset by a coup d'etat and Russia was displeased by the timing of the act. Serbia, seeing a chance to enlarge her borders, attacked Bulgaria from the west. The work of the mission was only slightly interrupted. The Lovech Girls' School was offered temporarily to the Red Cross for a hospital and the students prepared lint and bandages. The building, however, was not required and the school program was soon resumed. All of the congregations were maintained during the brief period of warfare and the year proved to be one of the most successful the mission had known.

Again at the 1886 annual meeting of the General Missionary Committee question was raised concerning continuance of the mission. Earl Cranston, later a Bishop of the Church, was a leader of the opposition:

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* The Districts and appointments were: *Lower Danube District,* E. F. Lounsbury, missionary-in-charge and pastor at *Ruschuk;* village work, P. Tickcheff; *Upper Danube District,* S. Thomoff, missionary-in-charge and pastor at *Svistov;* theological school, J. S. Ladd, acting principal, J. I. Economoff, teacher; *Varna District,* T. Constantine, missionary-in-charge; *Balkan District,* D. C. Challis, missionary-in-charge and pastor at *Lovech; Sevlievo,* G. Elieff; *Orkhanie,* S. Getchoff; *Plevna,* Y. Tsvetkoff; *Lovech* Girls' School, Linna M. Schenck.—*Sixty-seventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1885), p. [187].

> The history of Bulgaria as a mission field cannot but *decrease* the confidence of the public in our missionary management. It does not contain one encouraging chapter. From the very outset it is a record of failure. It is for us to decide whether to continue this costly undertaking—to continue to spend dollars and waste lives in a foothold—or, on the other hand, to withdraw these zealous and godly men from a field where their best efforts fail, and send them where all barriers have been broken down and where hungry souls are eagerly calling for missionaries.

Despite the strength of opposition, once more the committee was not agreed. Among others, Daniel Curry came to the defense of the mission. "I doubt whether there is a mission on earth," he said, "that could stand such a pummeling as our Bulgarian Mission receives at the hands of this Committee once a year. . . . I am ashamed of the treatment this mission receives and do not believe in withdrawing from Bulgaria."[259] The mission this year (1886) reported sixty-five full members and twenty-four probationers, an increase of ten full members. The average attendance at Sunday worship services was 151, an increase of seventeen. Five Sunday schools had a total enrollment of 110.

Such limited progress was explained in part by the fact that the Church had not provided suitable facilities for public services. Of the eight charges in 1886 only one (Svistov) had a chapel as a place for preaching and worship. Constantine described the predicament under which he had to conduct services in Varna:

> the people coming to worship in a Turkish harem, for such used to be the house in which we now live, and being obliged to pass through three doors before they can come to the fourth, which leads into the [meeting] hall. Strangers, even when they wish to come to service, cannot find us, and often they are either afraid or ashamed to make inquiries, or sometimes they are purposely put off the track by their informants . . . .[260]

By 1887, however, the mission was beginning to take on an aspect of permanency. Real estate was now owned in four principal cities. Methodist hymns were frequently heard in the public schools. Bibles distributed by colporteurs were in the homes of almost every reading family in the land. Members of the Protestant churches had come to be regarded as the most trustworthy employees to be had. The Literary and Theological Institute enrolled forty students (1887) in three courses: college preparatory, scientific, and theological. Four young men graduated in 1886 and entered the work of the mission. Four young women who completed their studies also enlisted in general mission work. The girls' school had an enrollment (1887) of fifty-two. Ella E. Fincham, from the Northwestern Branch, came to the field as an assistant to Miss Schenck. All classes of people looked upon the institutions with growing favor. In the churches self-support now showed considerable advance. Members paid this year more than $400. for support of native preachers while the Sunday collections paid most of the incidental expenses. The tuition income of the Svistov school for the year was $792., which practically covered the expense of the boarding department.[261]

In Varna a chapel was formally opened on December 8, 1888, with the mayor and a member of the city council present at the services. On September 30, 1889, the long-contemplated Literary and Theological Institute building, described as the finest structure in Svistov, was dedicated. The cost of the building, including land, was $8,000. These ample facilities gave an added impetus to the work of the school. A chapel was also built in Ruschuk. As churches began to be erected and attendance upon public services increased, public tension and antagonism became more pronounced. Whether by coincidence, or partly or wholly a matter of cause and effect, this same year the exarch issued a circular directing all civil and ecclesiastical authorities to use strict measures to prevent extension "of Protestantism and Romanism" in the country. The effect was immediate.

> The Bishops instructed the priests to be watchful against the free distribution of tracts and to report all attempts at proselytism. The minister of education issued a circular forbidding the employment of non-Bulgarian teachers in private schools. The minister of justice forbade the circulation of the 'Protestant Bible' in the prisons. The minister of war forbade the sale of our books in the army. . . . The minister of finance discovered a new interpretation to the tax law, whereby he ordered the payment of a round income-tax by *all* our teachers *for the past five years!* New books were issued, exposing the evil work of the Missions and showing up the iniquities carried on under Protestant civilization.[262]

Without assigning any reason, the state minister of public worship ordered the pastor at Orkhanie to leave town. An attempt to resume public services was followed by a peremptory order forbidding all Protestant preaching. The Superintendent reported the situation to the British consul who filed a protest with the government. This received immediate attention and the church was given permission to open public services. At Plevna the little group was subjected to vilification and petty persecution. Work was begun in Silistra (now in Rumania) in 1890 with preaching in a private residence. Soon afterward a mob, apparently incited by the local authorities, stoned the house and the owner dispossessed the preacher. At Ruschuk this same year Lounsbury reported disturbances by rowdies, with stones thrown through his windows. In addition to the Lovech school the women's work included primary schools at Ruschuk, Svistov, Orkhanie, and Hotantza. Bible work was maintained at six stations. After six years of effective service ill health required Miss Schenck to retire as preceptress of the girls' school.

The 1891 annual meeting was convened at Ruschuk on April 24 by Bishop Walden. George S. Davis* of the Nebraska Conference had arrived some months earlier under appointment as Superintendent of the mission. In adherence to the "time limit" the Bishop changed the appointments of nine of the preachers. On Sunday of the annual meeting week he dedicated "a beautiful stone church" at Ruschuk. Before the close of the year Davis had traveled 1,400 miles in visiting the charges. In his annual report he was insistent on the need for more churches and more laymen. "But few people can be induced to attend services in private houses," he wrote. "Without churches it is utterly impossible to succeed." He emphasized the need for a school of mechanics in which educated Christian craftsmen would be trained.[263] A chief difficulty encountered in missionary evangelism among the Bulgarians, Davis felt, rooted in the fear of the Orthodox clergy that it would undermine their economic status. He wrote:

> The Italian or Austrian can with perfect liberty exercise his Catholicism, the Turk his Mohammedanism, the Israelite his Judaism, or the German his Lutheran faith; but it is heresy of another order for the Bulgarian not to abide within the pale of the Orthodox Church. While both foreigners and Bulgarians are accorded protection in the constitution for propagandism, the former will meet with fanatical opposition from the ecclesiastical hierarchy; and the Bulgarian espousing either Catholicism or Protestantism must prepare himself to be condemned by public opinion as an apostate—almost a traitor.[264]

Mrs. Walden, the Bishop's wife, had a high estimate of the educational and spiritual value of the girls' school:

> During the ten years nearly a hundred girls have received instruction and twelve have graduated. About thirty have been received into the church: of these four are wives of preachers and five are teachers in this and other schools. The Boarding School is no less educational than the rest, and the cooking and housekeeping is done under the direction of the matron and under the eye of the American teachers who live in the same building. The value of this domestic training can only be appreciated by visiting the homes they make and contrasting them with other Bulgarian homes. The school now contains thirty girls in the five classes and forty children in the Primary Department.[265]

The General Conference in May, 1892, constituted the Bulgaria Mission a Mission Conference. On September 8, 1892, Bishop I. W. Joyce convened the members of the mission in the Svistov church and organized the Conference. Eighteen preachers were transferred from Conferences in the United

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* George Stanley Davis (1857-1922) was born in Picton, Ontario, the oldest of a family of seven children. In 1881 he came with his father, a Local Preacher, to Michigan where both joined the Detroit Conference. In September of that year he married Mary N. Betles. He attended Garrett Biblical Institute for one year (1881-82), spent four years in home mission work, and four years, until 1891, as editor of the Omaha *Christian Advocate*. In 1891 he was appointed by Bishop Mallalieu Superintendent of the Bulgaria Mission and went there with his wife and three children. He served for seven years in Bulgaria. He returned to the U. S. and spent 21 years in the New York Conference in nine appointments. Davis was "an effective minister," his record being one of "faithful, intelligent, efficient, loyal service."—*Minutes, New York Conference,* 1922, p. 247.

States and recognized as charter members.* G. S. Davis was reappointed Conference Superintendent. Three pastors were ordained as elders and four as Local Deacons. Gabriel Elieff, the oldest member of the mission, was superannuated. D. C. Challis, who had completed sixteen years of effective service in Bulgaria, was transferred to the Detroit Conference, and J. S. Ladd, in the mission for twelve years, to the New York Conference. Church members were reported in thirteen places, all comparatively small groups. Miss Fincham reported thirty-four boarding pupils and twenty-five day pupils in the Lovech Girls' High School. The Bishop appointed a committee of five to report to the Board on the advisability of a change of location for the Literary and Theological Institute.† Despite the fact that, other than the Superintendent, only two missionaries—Lounsbury and Constantine—were available, appointments were made to twelve stations and four other points were left to be supplied. Most of the newer places were villages where work had been begun by faithful Bulgarian preachers whose zeal led them to seek new openings for the Gospel.

This year, for the first time, an appointment was made to Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, an action which resulted in long-continued controversy‡ with the American Board mission.[266]

Miss Kate B. Blackburn,§ sent by the Northwestern Branch, left the United States in November, 1892, to become principal of the girls' school. Soon after her arrival Miss Fincham, who was in ill health, left for America. Lydia Diem, daughter of a member of the Switzerland Conference, sponsored by the Northwestern Branch, as teacher of French, music, and drawing, also arrived in 1894. Her sister, Amelia Diem, joined her in 1895.

The Mission Conference was convened in its second session at Varna on August 23, 1893, by Bishop John H. Vincent. Fifteen members, including three probationers, answered the roll call. E. F. Lounsbury had been transferred earlier in the year to the New York East Conference. His transfer left one American missionary on the field. Two missionaries, however, were announced as transferred to the Conference: L. T. Guild from the Nebraska Conference, to be the editor of publications, and Arthur J. Jolly from North Ohio. Superintendent Davis reported that there had been "some forty conversions during the year." Additions to the membership had occurred at several places. A small Society had been formed in the city of Lom. He severely criticized the standards of the Literary and Theological Institute:

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* The preachers—four missionaries and fourteen Bulgarians—transferred into the Conference were: G. S. Davis, G. Elieff, S. Getchoff, M. D. Delcheff, and M. G. Vulcheff, from the Nebraska Conference; D. C. Challis, Z. G. Dimitroff, I. Todoroff, I. Dimitroff, P. Vasileff, B. Todoroff, and K. G. Palamidoff, from the Detroit Conference; E. F. Lounsbury from the New York East Conference; T. Constantine from the Minnesota Conference; J. I. Economoff and S. Thomoff from the Newark Conference; J. S. Ladd from the New York Conference; and P. Tickcheff, from the North India Conference.—*Minutes, Bulgaria Mission Conference,* 1892, p. 6.

† The committee unanimously agreed that the school should be moved from Svistov to Ruschuk. Svistov had proven to be an unhealthy place and was reported to be on the decline.—*Minutes, B.M.,* XIV, 474 f.

‡ Controversy with the American Board mission arose out of the fact that Sofia was definitely within the territory of the American Board and previously had always been so regarded. In 1862 Durbin specifically renounced all claim to Sofia as a field for Methodist missionary effort. The appointment was made by Bishop Joyce on the initiative of Superintendent Davis, neither of whom knew of the previous agreement. When the compact was called to the attention of the authorities the appointment was canceled. But this for several reasons did not satisfy the Bulgarian Methodist mission, particularly as Davis felt that it was necessary to have someone stationed at Sofia to deal firsthand with the government on official matters. Full agreement on the points at issue was not reached until 1907. A detailed account of the entire controversy is given by W. W. Hall, Jr., *op. cit.,* pp. 128-32, 180-82.

§ Kate B. Blackburn (1865-1933) was born near Jacksonville, Ill. She graduated from the Illinois Female College (later, in 1930, MacMurray College) and during 1890-91 attended the Chicago Training School to prepare herself for missionary service. She gave thirty-three years of faithful, efficient service to the Lovech Girls' Boarding School.—Louise Manning Hodgkins, *The Roll Call . . . ,* p. 23.

> It is proposed to remodel our school plans and reduce them to a practical working basis. . . . Since our coming to the Mission forty students have been in our Svistov school, largely at the expense of the Missionary Society. Not one has been considered a theological student, neither has practical, systematic, historical, or exegetical theology been taught. . . . Our yearly examinations will not admit students to the class of the following year in national schools. We are not a theological school, neither up to the requirements or standards of the government institutions surrounding us on every side.[267]

Davis proposed, in addition to the selection of a better site, using the proceeds of the Svistov property for the building of a "theological school and students' home," and the selection of promising young men, to receive theological and literary instruction, together with practical training in mission work. He favored also the admission of non-theological resident students who would pursue their studies in national schools better equipped than the mission school could be.* This plan, Davis said, was adopted by the mission with "surprising unanimity." [268]

The third session of the Conference opened on June 13, 1894, at Ruschuk, Bishop John P. Newman presiding. No preachers were received on trial and none by transfer. Two received by transfer in 1893 were reported as returning to the United States—L. T. Guild to the Nebraska Conference and A. J. Jolly to South Dakota. Superintendent Davis in his report to the Missionary Society noted a church and parsonage built in Tirnovo and a church and parsonage almost ready for dedication in Lovech. He insisted that great injustice was done when "what is being accomplished is measured by the statistical reports from other Missions." He continued:

> In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred a man joining our Church has burned the bridges behind him forever. That which he suffers from his convictions, the persecution he endures, the fears that reports may be true as to the possible withdrawal of our organization from Bulgaria, may cause him to ponder well the cost of severing his connection with the national Church; but when that resolve is taken all is settled. Then . . . these persons examine the new faith so critically, and embrace it so deliberately, that when once admitted they have a very intelligent idea of the doctrines and usages of the Church.

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* Davis' statements were a frank acknowledgment that the mission school had not kept pace with the phenomenal advance in public education from 1880 on. In point of technical competence the Bulgarian public schools had outstripped the Methodist and other mission schools. The Missionary Society had failed to supply teachers having specialized educational training.

Members of the Church, he said, occupy positions of trust and responsibility—some as mayors of towns. "We reach the classes that represent the people."

Miss Blackburn reported a registration of forty-eight pupils in the Lovech Girls' School from ten different cities and villages—twenty-eight boarders and twenty day pupils. In addition to general studies the advanced class had studied the life of Christ, the *Discipline,* the Articles of Religion and the General Rules, and the more important points in the Church economy. By 1895 one pupil had been received into full connection in the church and three as probationers.[269]

Bishop J. N. FitzGerald presided at the fourth meeting of the Conference, held at Ruschuk, May 8-11, 1895. Again G. S. Davis was the only ministerial missionary on the field. Fourteen Bulgarian members of Conference were present. One preacher was received on trial, the first in four years. The Conference was divided into two Districts—the Lovech District, of which T. Constantine was appointed Presiding Elder; and the Ruschuk District, of which G. S. Davis, the Superintendent, was designated Presiding Elder. In all, pastors were appointed to twelve charges, leaving four "to be supplied." [270]

On November 1, 1894, the Missionary Society's Committee on Western Europe recommended the appointment of a commission to confer with the American Board concerning the possible transfer of the Bulgarian work to them. On November 18, 1895, the commission notified the General Missionary Committee that a transfer was not feasible chiefly because of straitened financial conditions of the American Board, and the only hope of overcoming the existing "highly unsatisfactory" conditions was to obtain "large reinforcements of missionaries and missionary property." After much discussion the committee finally voted: "That $15,485. be appropriated to Bulgaria [for 1896] to be administered by the Board and the Presiding Bishop." [271]

Thirty-eight Years of the Bulgaria Mission, 1857-95

After thirty-eight years the Bulgaria Mission reported thirteen stations and Circuits with 177 full members and seventy-three probationers, and an estimated three hundred additional adherents. The Mission Conference had sixteen members, including one probationer. There were: one Local Preacher; three colporteurs; eleven Sunday schools with a total enrollment of 224; six churches; and four parsonages. Of the six church buildings in the Conference, two were halls. There were four schools—the Lovech Girls' School, a theological school, and two primary schools. The largest Methodist Society was at Ruschuk, with thirty-eight full members and thirty-two probationers. The Bulgarian preachers, almost without exception, were well-educated men. One was a graduate of Drew Theological Seminary who had served several years in the pastorate in the United States; two were graduates of Robert College and of the Drew seminary; one was a graduate of Princeton [New Jersey] College, with several years' study in other American institutions; one was a graduate of an American preparatory school and of Drew Seminary; one was an undergraduate of the Samakov School of the A.B.C.F.M.; and five were graduates of the Literary and Theological Institute. One was an ex-priest of the Eastern Orthodox Church.[272]

It should be remembered that in the beginning this mission was not an evangelistic agency in the same sense as the other overseas missions of the Church. Its direction was not to lead people to break the ties which bound them to the State Church but, as Durbin said, "to awaken in the Bulgarian Church . . . a desire for evangelical religion, and lead her people to seek for the same." * To accomplish a purpose so ambitious as this, much more was required in terms of a missionary force than was supplied. Bishop John M. Walden stated this emphatically in 1891.[273]

Five years of fruitless labor convinced the missionaries that the stated purpose of the mission was impracticable. No amount of missionary labor could ever regenerate the Bulgarian Church. This conviction, as the Jacoby and Warren Report suggested, presented a dilemma:

> Should we aim to organize . . . churches *immediately,* or leave the converts in the Greek Church, and merely organize them into societies on the old Wesleyan plan? . . . Great difficulties will beset either policy. If we wish the converts to remain in the old church, then (1) they will be subject to the most arbitrary whims and exactions of their spiritual superiors, without the least chance for appeal. (2) They would in all likelihood be required to give up all intercourse with the Missionary, and then the separation would be forced upon us. (3) If left unmolested in the [Bulgarian] Church, it is doubtful whether a live Christian, especially a young convert, could go to their communion, admit their priest to annually sanctify his home with holy water, and countenance the other superstitions of the Church as far as would be necessary, with a good conscience. . . . On the other hand, if we aim at an independent organization from the outset, we encounter this difficulty: Every man at present a member of the Bulgarian Church, is subject to the Patriarch and his government until by a formal act he passes from the Bulgarian Community to one of the following, (1st) Turkish, (2d) Jewish, (3rd) Armenian, (4th) Roman Catholic, (5th) Protestant. . . . Now as there is no Protestant *Community* in either Shumla or Tirnova, the convert cannot come out from under the Greek Patriarch's jurisdiction.

To establish a Protestant community involved a degree of responsibility which no missionary could undertake. For one thing, any move tending to religious division would be resisted not only on ecclesiastical grounds but also for political reasons. In view of the difficulties Jacoby and Warren concluded that "perhaps it would be best to await the development of events without proclaiming any fixed policy on the subject." [274] This "no policy" recommendation, so far as it influenced the missionaries, undoubtedly hampered their evangelistic activities.

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* See p. 1018.

It was hoped that the separation of the Bulgarian Church from the rule of the Greek patriarch would not only increase the spirituality of the Church but also promote freedom of religion, making possible the organization of Protestant churches without stimulating popular antipathy and persecution. This proved, however, to be a vain hope and under the new order hostility was increased rather than diminished, making evangelization even more difficult than before.

Following an episcopal visit to the mission in 1886 Bishop W. X. Ninde presented a hopeful view of the general situation:

> While in Bulgaria I sought by every means available to get a reliable understanding of the condition and prospect of our work. It is very evident that no considerable number of the inhabitants of the country appreciate our errand or court our presence among them. The masses are grossly ignorant and superstitious, and blindly devoted to the 'orthodox' Church. The more intelligent and educated are rapidly drifting into Agnosticism. They have no respect for the native Church or interest in it, except as it stands for a symbol and prop of national unity; yet motives of policy dispose them to stand by it in contrast with Protestantism. They have no sympathy with an aggressive, spiritual type of Christianity . . . . Our progress in this country must, therefore, be slow, yet the work is not without signs of encouragement. . . . Our schools are doing good work, and promise growing usefulness. Open opposition has ceased, and, indeed, the people generally treat our missionaries with respect and kindness. . . . Indeed, our hope is in gaining a hold on the young Bulgarians who have some education and are not yet enthralled by the current infidel notions. . . . The question of discontinuing the mission ought not to be mooted . . . . We have the secret confidence of the best class of Bulgarians, and we may some day win their open allegiance.[275]

The responsibility for failure of the Bulgaria Mission over a period of almost four decades—if failure it should be called—cannot be charged entirely to the missionaries. The Board and the General Missionary Committee did not have a clearly defined policy to which they consistently adhered. Challis' summary of the record, written in 1887, is pertinent: commenced in 1857; left without a resident missionary in 1864; abandoned in 1871; reoccupied in 1873; broken up in 1877; renewed in 1879. If he had written this in 1895, the account might have been continued in similar terms up to the close of the period. Granted that war and political disturbances over which the Board had no control made the undertaking seem impracticable, it must be said that there were other missions compelled to struggle against equally serious obstacles which the Society supported without wavering.

As for the American missionaries sent to Bulgaria by the Board, it should be said that half of them did not have a fair chance to demonstrate what they were capable of achieving. Of six, one was in Bulgaria less than twelve months, two for approximately a year, one for three years, one for five years, one for a decade. In all six cases the men left the field on account of illness of the missionary or his wife or were recalled by the Board because discontinuance of the mission was contemplated. Obviously service during so limited a tenure was not a test of what might have been accomplished under different conditions. It was unfortunate that the first two missionaries were so incompatible that they could not live and labor together in the same locality. Jacoby and Warren testified that Prettyman was "a good man," but he lacked the temperament and some of the abilities required in a missionary in so difficult a field. Long was well adapted to the work, with exceptional ability as a linguist, and through his long years of service demonstrated sterling character and complete devotion. Challis, Flocken, Lounsbury, and Davis also were able men, capable administrators, and effective missionaries.

ITALY MISSION

In November, 1870, the General Missionary Committee authorized the founding of a mission in Italy and on March 14, 1871, at the St. Louis Conference, Bishop E. R. Ames appointed Leroy M. Vernon[*] as missionary and Superintendent of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Italy.

These actions were the culmination of long-continued agitation for the establishment of an Italian mission. Its most persistent advocate was Charles Elliott who, beginning in 1832 and continuing until his death in 1868, never ceased in conversation, in print, and in public discussion urgent advocacy of the project. While Elliott's views were considered impracticable by many influential leaders of the Church, there were those who seconded his proposal. Among these were E. H. Pilcher, a prominent member of the Michigan Conference, who contended that the warm-hearted and impulsive Italian people, whose religion had been formal and legalistic, needed the "life and love which form the great elements of Methodism," and would prove responsive to the message. Proponents of the undertaking also cited the long and remarkable history of the Waldensians[†] in Italy. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society also successfully established missions among the Italians. In 1861 the Wesleyans sent two missionaries, one of whom—Henry J. Piggott—remained and gained a foothold for Protestantism in numerous places.* However, in the early fifties Italy, more than any other country in Europe, had seemed to be completely closed against any Protestant missionary efforts. Rome, particularly, as the headquarters of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, was closely guarded and "worship within the city other than that of the Roman Catholic Church was strictly prohibited under the severest penalties." [276]

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[*] Leroy M. Vernon (1838-96) was born near Crawfordsville, Ind. In his early youth he emigrated, with his parents, to Iowa where the family home was established near Mt. Pleasant. He entered the Iowa Wesleyan University in September, 1855; was converted in February, 1856; and graduated in June, 1860. He studied in the theological department of the university and was received on trial in the Iowa Conference in September, 1860. In November of the same year he married Fannie B. Elliott, daughter of Charles Elliott, then president of Iowa Wesleyan. His second wife, whom he married in June, 1871, was Emily F. Barker. In 1862 Vernon transferred to the Missouri and Arkansas Conference and was stationed in St. Louis. In March, 1864, he was appointed Presiding Elder of the Springfield District. He was president of St. Charles College, St. Charles, Mo. Following his return from Italy he was for about three years (1893-96) dean of the College of Fine Arts, Syracuse University.—Official Biographical Files; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, III, 276 ff.

[†] See p. *773n.* Also Enrico Sartario, *A Brief History of the Waldensians* (pamphlet), pp. 3-11.

For an understanding of the difficulties and vicissitudes which attended the founding and development of the Methodist Episcopal mission it is necessary to know the political situation preceding and during 1845-95.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Italy was not a unified country, but a group of states passing through the historical crisis which led to national unification. Some were directly under Austrian rule and all the rest, including the Papal States, were dependent on Austria for military support, except for the one national Italian state, the kingdom of Sardinia. Particularly oppressive was the government of the Papal States (Umbria, the Marches, and the patrimony of St. Peter) under Leo XII. Agitation in the various states for constitutional and national government gained momentum after 1815 and a series of insurrections occurred. Charles Albert, who became king of Sardinia in 1831, was known to hold liberal views. As king of the one state in Italy not dependent on foreign bayonets, he was looked upon as the future liberator of a national Italian state. In 1846 Pope Pius IX was elected, the first to be elected without Austrian influence, and initiated a series of reforms in the Papal States. Pius' mild reforms unleashed a storm of national enthusiasm which went far beyond the Pope's intentions. As the revolutions of 1848 swept Italy Pius found himself the center of Italian national aspirations much against his own will. Charles Albert of Sardinia led the military revolt against Austria but, in spite of receiving aid from several of the states of Italy, was defeated in both 1848 and 1849 and abdicated in the latter year in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. Pius in the meantime saw himself driven from Rome by the national movement he had originally espoused. Rome was declared a republic in 1849, and the Pope's temporal power was abolished by the revolutionaries; Pius was only restored to his capital by a French army later in the year. From that year until his death in 1878, Pius IX was a firm enemy of the Italian national cause because it would inevitably deprive him of his temporal power in Rome and central Italy.

Sardinia, under King Victor Emmanuel II and his principal minister, Cavour, remained the refuge of liberalism and nationalism in Italy. In 1859 with the aid of the French emperor, Napoleon III, the northern states freed themselves from Austrian control and were annexed to Sardinia. The following year the famed revolutionist Garibaldi liberated southern Italy. The Sardinian army then entered the Papal States to quell disturbances and join forces with Garibaldi, which resulted by the end of 1860 in the annexation of Sicily and Naples and all the Papal States except the patrimony of St. Peter (Rome and its environs) to the kingdom of Italy, proclaimed in March, 1861.

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* The Wesleyan mission began in Milan and from there moved to Florence, Naples, Padua, and other cities and towns. In 1866 the Wesleyan Society reduced its appropriation in the face of what was considered by competent authorities to be the greatest opportunity ever given to the Methodist Church on the continent of Europe.—G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,* IV, 479-509 f.

The only Italian territories now remaining in foreign hands were Venetia, still controlled by Austria, and Rome, where the Pope was maintained in power by French troops. In 1866 Italy allied herself with Prussia against Austria and although her own forces were defeated, Italy benefited by the Prussian victory and annexed Venetia. In 1870 the urgency of the Franco-Prussian War compelled Napoleon III to withdraw his troops from Rome. Troops of the kingdom of Italy entered Rome September 20, 1870, and although the Pope's minuscule army opposed the Italian forces, Pius was forced to capitulate. The Roman people declared overwhelmingly for union with Italy and on July 2, 1871, Rome became the capital of a united Italy.

The Papacy was indemnified for the loss of its temporal power by the acquisition of certain privileges and immunities and a generous annual income. The Pope, however, refused to be reconciled and considered himself a prisoner in the Vatican.[277]

The Italian people were disaffected by the Vatican's policy of plotting with foreign governments in an attempt to maintain its temporal power and to thwart the passionate popular desire for a unified nation. As a result many had become strongly anti-Church. The Papacy had been dispossessed of much of its material wealth. It had lost many of its hospitals and schools. Most of its political power was gone. Lost also was no small part of the spiritual prestige which was its most important heritage from the past. It had reached the lowest point in centuries. Of all times this was the most opportune for the establishment of a Protestant mission in Italy. On August 16, 1871, Vernon and his family arrived in Genoa.[278]

THE MISSION ESTABLISHED

On March 10, 1872, Vernon sent to the Missionary Society an "able and discriminating report" covering all the fundamental questions to be considered in beginning so important a mission. For its chief seat his first choice was Rome; second, Florence; third, Genoa. However, when the General Missionary Committee met in December, 1872, none of these three cities was accepted. Instead, Bishop Haven, who had been given episcopal supervision of the mission, sent, on December 5, 1872, the following transatlantic cable: "Head-quarters, Bologna: Spencer Coming: Rent Immediately." Three hours after receipt of the cablegram Vernon left Genoa, reaching

Bologna at midnight, whence he reported to New York missionary headquarters. No record is given of why the carefully worked-out conclusions of months of investigation were ignored. Less than two years later the headquarters were transferred to Rome.[279]

Vernon had also reported favorably on the Wesleyan Methodists' proposal to unite their forces with those of the American Methodists in one Italian Methodism. Piggott, the Wesleyan superintendent, had made the suggestion on his first meeting with Vernon, believing it would be sustained by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. However, there seemed to be so many practical difficulties that the proposal was abandoned and the Board advised only cordial fraternal relations.

Early in January, 1873, Frank A. Spencer, of the Ohio Conference, who had been for several years a missionary in India, arrived in Bologna. After many difficulties* a hall for worship was opened, with fifty hearers at the first service, June 22, 1873. The preceding Sunday sixty persons had attended services in Modena, and by the end of June work had been opened in Forli and Ravenna. Although Bologna proved to be a field difficult to cultivate, the work was carried on with "order, regularity, and patience." Forli and Modena became active churches. It became evident very soon that stations and especially pastors had to be chosen with great care. In Brescello† the arrival of the Methodist preacher caused general alarm, followed by threats of violence.

In his first annual report Vernon said that the mission numbered "fifteen actual laborers and about forty additional hopeful believers." To those acquainted with the difficulties encountered, he continued, "even these results appear indeed to be the Lord's doing and marvelous in our eyes." He named seven cities in which missionary work was under way‡ and two other prospective stations. He wrote with enthusiasm of the Rev. Teofilo Gay, descendant of "a long succession of Waldensian pastors," educated at Geneva, who had served as assistant pastor of French churches—one in Holland and one in London—who had been engaged to begin work in Rome.[280] Work begun at three of the seven places named—Bagnacavallo, Pescara, and Rimini—soon failed, their names not appearing again in the reports. Toward the end of 1873 there came into the hands of the Superintendent of the mission "a successful and interesting work among the Italian soldiers in Rome." It had been begun by a young Italian soldier after his discharge from service, on his own responsibility, and supported at his own expense plus contributions from friends. These resources were insufficient, and affiliation with the Methodist work greatly increased and enlarged the project.[281]

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* "We have generally found great difficulty in securing places for public service, never more than in Bologna, where we were betrayed by notaries, worried by a coterie of bargain-breaking priests, and resisted directly by the Cardinal Archbishop himself. . . .

". . . Even after we had with incredible difficulty found a place for worship here, necessary repairs still delayed us. But June 22, all in readiness, we opened a very commodious chapel but a few paces from where the Council of Trent, three centuries ago, formulated a gigantic apostasy. . . . We have since held four public services per week. These . . . have reached a considerable number of people, some of whom have become inquirers . . . and several others professed believers and members of the Church."—*Fifty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1873), pp. 130 f.

† Leroy M. Vernon: "When it was known we . . . were about to commence preaching, there was general alarm. The priests and the faithful, by an address multitudinously signed, appealed to the syndic, or mayor, to forbid the entrance of the Protestants and the erection of a 'pulpit of pestilence.' . . . The Catholic populace threatened to mob the proprietor of our hall, to burn the house and the preacher, and to club all adherents."—In *ibid., 56th* (1874), pp. 127 f.

‡ The seven places named were: (1) Modena; (2) Bologna; (3) Forli; (4) Ravenna; (5) Bagnacavallo; (6) Rimini; (7) Pescara and Chieti. Plans were under way for opening missions in Florence and Rome.—*Ibid., 55th* (1873), pp. 130-34.

Late in September, 1873, a school was begun in Bologna under Spencer's direction. He had had experience in India, and "had a special predilection for teaching, and a decided faith in schools as effective missionary instrumentalities." Apparently the school was a rather reluctant concession to his preferences. There was an initial rush of students, and even after the novelty wore off "the school went forward with fair numbers and usefulness." However, the General Missionary Committee made no further appropriation for its support. It was thereupon closed, and Spencer returned to the United States in 1874. In the light of later developments, it seems that the progress of Methodism was delayed by many years for lack of a consistent, far-seeing plan for educating boys up through elementary school and higher grades until they thoroughly understood the principles of religion and morality. There would then have been a group ready to enter theological school thoroughly grounded in the essentials of character. The reason for this shortsighted policy seems in part due to the attitude of Vernon himself. In a letter to Secretary J. M. Reid, dated January 12, 1874 (six months before Spencer's recall), he asked:

> Do you really need, under existing circumstances, a second Missionary here? If he could preach and conduct a station himself he would indeed be very useful. He would however do the work in some regards better, in others not so well, as an Italian who would live on half his salary. . . . The support necessary for a second Missionary will provide two effective native men of good ability. I believe they can now be had.[282]

He observed that in other missions a second foreigner was usually occupied in educational work, whereas, he felt, theological and other schools already established by other Protestants (Waldensian and Wesleyan) could be used to train young Italians "until we can do better." In this and other ways Vernon followed a policy of using Italian evangelists, pastors, and teachers who had been converted, rather than delaying rapid evangelism until workers could be trained into a thorough understanding of Methodist religious experience, aims, and policies. This had been the practice of the Waldensian and Wesleyan groups which in their beginnings had availed themselves of native converts. The first annual meeting of the mission was held on September 10, 1874, convened by Bishop W. L. Harris. Nine Italian preachers had been received on trial in the Germany and Switzerland Conference on July 2 and of these two had been elected to deacon's and elder's orders.

These two, Enrico Borelli and Luigi Capellini, were ordained by Bishop Harris. An optimistic report of the progress was again made by Superintendent Vernon:

> We now preach the Gospel regularly every week in *fourteen* different places; our working force consists of *twelve* Italian preachers, *five* of whom are ordained, *four* students, *one* colporteur, and the superintendent. Our members and probationers aggregate about *six hundred.* . . . We thank God, take courage, and bid the friends of Italy be of good cheer.[283]

Dr. Vernon's faith in the value of native workers appears in his glowing accounts of conversions among leading intelligentsia. Alceste Lanna, Ph.D., D.D., was a professor in the most popular Catholic college in Rome. Two years before meeting Dr. Vernon he had resigned his chair as professor of philosophy at the Vatican Seminary. He was converted during Vernon's visit to Rome in July, 1874. Shortly thereafter (January, 1875) occurred the conversion, in Milan, of another highly educated Romanist. Professor Enrico Caporali, LL.D., was the son of a Viennese baroness, "a wide-ranging, industrious student . . . already favorably known as an editor and author." In May, 1875, the Rev. Vincenzo Ravi of Rome, formerly president of a Catholic college in Sicily, brought with him the entire congregation of forty which he had organized independently, after studying Protestant theology in Florence and Scotland.[284]

And there were others. These three are mentioned specifically because their influence in the important churches of Rome, Naples, and Milan was to result in radical changes in mission policy in Italy.

By October 1, 1874, the headquarters of the mission were established in Rome, on the instruction of Bishop Harris, where it had always seemed to Vernon that it should be. Superintendent Vernon was authorized to buy a small Catholic church, then believed to be obtainable. That purchase proved impossible, but a very good site was put up at public auction. There was not time for authorization, so (April 5, 1875) he bid it in on his own responsibility—a procedure heartily approved by the Board in New York. They appropriated funds to build a small church and mission residence, on which work was begun on July 15. The efforts of the opposing Catholic clergy were overcome by the municipal architect, and thus St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, on the Via Poli, Rome, finally stood complete. So, "though last to enter Rome, the Methodist Episcopal Mission was the first to build a church for the use of native Protestant Christians in 'the Eternal City.'" It was dedicated according to the Methodist ritual on Christmas Day, 1875. Dr. Ravi, Dr. Lanna, and Dr. Gay all preached able sermons on this, the crowning occasion of the year; Dr. Gay became its first pastor.[285]

Appointments were made in 1876 to thirteen stations.* In Naples Vincenzo Ravi had begun preaching in his rented house. Even before renting, in February, a small theater in the center of this city of 700,000, he had received a few probationers. Some of the attendants were "of very decided intelligence and culture." A few were in comfortable circumstances. A converted soldier from the Military Church in Rome returned to his home in Grottole, a Neapolitan town of 4,000 people, and began talking to his friends and acquaintances about Christ and His salvation.

> Though a humble shoemaker, God blessed his testimony and his exhortations, and the result . . . [was] a considerable number of conversions, and the formation of a Methodist Society. The field is open, the ground fertile, and only awaits a faithful husbandman . . . . [286]

Some success was had this year in Sunday-school work. It had been begun earlier but had encountered formidable barriers, some of which were now breaking down. Six Sunday schools had been organized. Total church membership this year, as reported by the Superintendent, was: full members, 774; probationers, 162.

Early in 1877 the work among the Italian soldiers was voluntarily turned over to the Wesleyans. It had been successful and interesting, but very expensive. The Wesleyans had rooms not well adapted to other uses which were very suitable for this work, thus they could conduct it for "about half what it cost us." [287]

The W.F.M.S. General Executive this year made its first contribution to the Italy Mission—$1,500. in direct appropriations for Bible women, and $2,500. "provisional." The following year appropriations were reduced in line with the realities to $1,750. With this assistance Vernon employed in 1877 three Bible women, one each for Venice, Terni, and Rome.[288]

By 1877 Methodist Societies had been organized in Florence, Forli, Milan, Terni, Venice, Perugia, and Naples even though they met with the usual difficulties of finding locations where the owners dared withstand the popular prejudice against renting places for Protestant worship.

It was not easy for a Bible woman to reach Italian women. The difficulties encountered grew out of the inferior status of Italian women in the culture of the time. They had little formal education. Whereas the general literacy rate in Italy in this decade was very low, it was much lower among women, especially in southern Italy. A girl's life at home was one of endless tasks with little social life and no confidante except her confessor, who turned her hopes toward early marriage and the interests of her Church. The object of all her training was to keep her innocent and obedient to authority, with no will of her own even in the choice of a husband. The city working girl's life was hard with long hours, low pay, and with living and working conditions that made her an easy prey to temptation. From infancy she was taught to revere and obey the power of the Catholic Church.[289]

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* The 1876 appointments were: *Rome, St. Paul's,* Teofilo Gay, Alceste Lanna; *Rome, Military Church,* Luigi Capellini; *Milan,* Julius C. Mill; *Bologna,* Enrico Borelli; *Florence,* Antonio Arrighi; *Naples,* Vincenzo Ravi; *Soccavo,* Edoardo Stasio; *Perugia,* Enrico Caporali; *Venice,* Francesco Cardin; *Forli, Dovadola,* Amedeo Guigou; *Terni,* Daniele Gay, Crisanzio Bambini; *Brescello,* B. Malan; *Grottole,* to be supplied.—*Fifty-eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1876), p. 130.

The status of women in Italy emphasized the need of educating a nucleus of future teachers and homemakers who would have a real conception, through their own experience, of the meaning of Christian home life and of the Christian religion. Mrs. Vernon, who had been in charge of women's work in the mission, considered the work of the Bible women as highly important but also felt that much more than Bible women's work was required. In 1880 she wrote to the W.F.M.S.:

> it would be wise to send out some capable young woman whose exclusive business might be to direct the Society's work and greatly enhance its efficiency. She could be a great power for good. We live in strong hope, also, that the Society at no distant day will be able to establish in Rome a school or orphanage for girls. Many would be very glad to have their children under the care and training of such a school, and would cheerfully do what they could for their support. Let our sisters bear in mind this great desideratum, and may God speedily bring it to be an accomplished actuality.[290]

Italy Conference

The 1880 General Conference, on recommendation of the Committee on Missions, authorized an Italy Annual Conference.* The Conference was organized by Bishop S. M. Merrill on March 19, 1881. Appointments were made to eighteen charges.† Ordained Italian ministers numbered thirteen; unordained, six. There were 708 full members and 311 probationers, but only two church buildings. Other than these, there were fifteen halls and miscellaneous places of worship. Special services, three times a week, were begun this year among the soldiers at Venice.[291]

Notable conversions had continued to take place. A prelate of the Roman Catholic Church was one of the nine persons received into full connection in Rome on Christmas Day, 1878. Also in that year Dr. Vernon became acquainted with Monsignor Campello, a canon of the Patriarchal Basilica of St. Peter's. His conversion came three years later.

> The most striking event of . . . [1881] was the conversion of Monsignor Campello, a canon of the Patriarchal Basilica of St. Peter's in Rome. He had occupied that envied and distinguished position for fourteen years, after passing

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* "The Committee on Missions, to whom was referred the memorial of the Italian Mission, asking for the organization of an Annual Conference in Italy, beg leave respectfully to recommend that the prayer of the memorialists be granted; *provided,* that the Bishop presiding at the meeting of the Italian Mission approve the same." (*G.C. Journal,* 1880, p. 369.) The recommendation was adopted.

† The eighteen appointments at the first session of the Italy Annual Conference were: *Rome, Via Poli,* A. Lanna; *Rome, Piazza del Esquilino,* D. Polsinelli; *Naples,* V. Ravi; *Terni,* E. Ageno; *Perugia* and *Foligno,* G. Gattuso; *Todi,* E. Caporali; *Arezzo,* C. Bambini; *Florence,* Teofilo Gay, Emilio Borelli; *Pisa,* E. Stasio; *Bologna,* D. Gay; *Modena,* D. Gay; *Turin,* B. Bracchetto; *Milan,* S. Stazi; *Milan, Outside the Gate Ticinese,* G. Cavalleris; *Venice,* Enrico Borelli; *Venice, Military Church,* G. Benincasa; *Faenza, Forli,* and *Dovadola,* A. Guigou; *Asti,* G. Carboneri.—*Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1881), p. 198.

> six years in the canonry of Santa Maria Maggiore of this city. For many years he had been restless and unhappy because of serious doubts touching various doctrines and institutions of Romanism. . . . His resolution was taken early last summer. Finally, on the 14th of September, in our St. Paul's Church, on Via Poli, Rome, he solemnly abjured popery in a formal letter there read and addressed to the Cardinal Archpriest of St. Peter's, Cardinal Borromeo. He publicly professed a personal faith in Christ alone for salvation, embraced the Protestant religion, and entered our Church.

Count Campello was a man of unusual natural gifts and of culture. It was hoped that he might become a minister and render effective service as a Protestant preacher. However, a chronic throat condition limited his preaching. He established an independent magazine, *Il Libaro,* which rendered notable service in interpreting the Christian faith to the Italian people.[292]

The next year (1882) was marked by the reception of six men on trial. A new church was dedicated at Florence and a centrally located property purchased at Bologna. Vincenzo Ravi, pastor at Naples, was brought to trial on a charge of immorality and removed from the ministry. In retaliation he preferred charges in the civil courts against the Superintendent for the ecclesiastical action. By formal decree of the court the church discipline was upheld and Vernon was completely vindicated, giving the Methodist Church a standing in Italy which it had not previously had. Ravi was reinstated six years later through the influence of William Burt who was convinced of the preacher's contrition.[293]

For several years Mrs. Vernon had hoped to see a Methodist orphanage established in Rome. In 1878 she had first appealed to the W.F.M.S., calling attention to the effectiveness of such agencies in other countries and asserting that missions of other denominations had gained many advantages by their charitable and educational work. There was no immediate response to the appeal but in 1882 Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing, Official Correspondent of the W.F.M.S., asserted in no uncertain terms her conviction that the Society

> ought immediately to send some of . . . [the] strongest, most highly cultured and deeply consecrated women . . . [to Italy].
>
> There ought to be a Deaconesses' Home in Rome, an Orphanage in Florence, and at least a hundred women at work in the different towns and cities before . . . Christmas . . . of 1885.[294]

In 1885 the Society finally acted, sending Miss Emma M. Hall * as their first missionary to Italy. Her first annual report indicated that "tangible results" were few. Nevertheless, she had been able to make many home visits, enlisted and trained Sunday-school teachers, and prepared lesson helps which were printed in the Methodist weekly periodical. In October, 1888, she established a Home and Orphanage in Rome with a mission band and Sunday afternoon meetings. The rental of enlarged quarters enabled her to gather nine or ten girls into a really Christian home which could provide a nucleus for many other interests. This, initiated in the first year of service of Mrs. E. P. Crandon as Official Correspondent, was eventually given her name. In 1889 the W.F.M.S. made provision for the greatly needed work—long urged by the Vernons and others—of training Bible women. Miss Hall was requested to bring into the Home for training every new candidate for Bible women's work whom she recommended for employment. She was also asked "to prepare a course of study in the Bible" and some simple primary courses for the Bible women already employed, many of whom were pastors' wives and burdened with parish duties.[295]

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* Emma M. Hall (1849-?) studied at Cazenovia Seminary, later at the University of Michigan (A.B., 1874) in the first class which had women members. She afterward also took graduate work at the university. Before going to Italy she taught for ten years at Detroit, Circleville, Ohio, and the University of Illinois.—L. M. Hodgkins, *op. cit.,* p. 40.

In 1883 an appropriation was made by the Board for an assistant to the overburdened Superintendent. J. H. Hargis, pastor of Hedding Church, Jersey City, N. J., was appointed by Bishop Foss and on December 27, 1883, he sailed for Italy. Soon after beginning work on the field he became critical of Vernon's financial records and wrote to the Missionary Society urging a prompt investigation. An auditing committee was appointed which fully cleared the Superintendent, and in 1886 Hargis returned to the United States.[296]

The fifth session of the Italy Annual Conference was held in Bologna, April 23-27, 1885, with Bishop Hurst presiding. On April 23 he dedicated the new church in that city. At this session seven deacons and five elders were ordained. An Italian congregation in Geneva, Switzerland, asked for recognition as a Methodist Society. This was given and Teofilo Malan, the pastor, was admitted to the Conference on trial. Services at the time were being held in "the old consistory, or chapel, where John Calvin first delivered his exposition of the Psalms." [297]

By this time, wrote Secretary J. M. Reid, "the novelty of Protestant missions had worn off." The reaction against the formality and priestcraft of the Roman Church had partly spent itself, and a general indifference toward Protestant preaching was developing. This situation prompted inquiry concerning the desirability of union of all Protestant church bodies. A delegated council was called to meet in Florence in 1885 to determine the possibility—and practicability—of union. The Waldensians and the Free Church had already agreed on conditions of union, to be sanctioned by their respective synods. These two, with the Wesleyans and the Methodist Episcopal mission, sent delegates to the council meeting. Despite the fact that a considerable degree of cooperation already existed organic union was not agreed upon.[298]

The 1886 Annual Conference was held April 29-May 3 at Venice, under the presidency of Bishop C. D. Foss. William Burt* of the New York East Conference had arrived on the field April 29, and was appointed Presiding Elder of the Milan District. Vernon was continued on the Rome District.[299]

The 1888 Conference was held in Rome under the presidency of Superintendent Vernon, no Bishop being present. It was a momentous session. Upon his arrival two years earlier, Burt had been shocked and "almost overwhelmed with discouragement" to find that most of the ministers of the Conference drank wine and smoked, and that "wine was served at the table of the Presiding Elder to all who wished it . . . and often in Italian company he took the social glass." The Italian edition of the *Discipline* had been amended to prohibit simply drunkenness and immoderation. Burt felt the mission to be in the "hands of worldly cunning ex-priests." He had for two years protested quietly to the Bishop in charge and others, enlisting their support. On March 14, 1888, Everett S. Stackpole, from the Maine Conference, arrived to establish a theological school at Florence. He quickly joined Burt in criticizing the operation of the mission. At the Conference session Burt was faced with charges of maladministration brought by one of the pastors he had antagonized. The Annual Conference acquitted him, but by the narrow margin of three, because, wrote Burt, "seven ex-priests voted against me . . . while the President of the Conference [Vernon] did all he dared to do in favor of those who prosecuted me." Vernon, who had given seventeen years of service to the mission, announced his retirement. An Italian minister, Giovanni B. Gattuso, was appointed Presiding Elder of the Rome District and Burt was continued on the Milan District. Appointments† were made to ten Stations in the Rome District and fourteen in the Milan District.

On Christmas Day, 1888, Burt expressed to Missionary Secretary J. O. Peck satisfaction and encouragement at the progress already made. Five of the ex-priests in the mission at the time of his arrival were no longer with it, and three of the Italian preachers had given up the use of wine and tobacco. There still remained some who gave trouble, including Dr. Teofilo

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* William Burt was born in Padstow, Cornwall, England, Oct. 23, 1852. Left fatherless at an early age, he cared for his mother, two brothers, and a sister. He was converted in a Wesleyan meeting at fifteen, and immediately felt the call to preach. In 1868 he emigrated to the United States, found work as a machinist in Warren, Mass., and after a year and a half, was able to send for his family. Having seen them established, he entered Wilbraham Academy, graduated in 1875, and then went to Wesleyan University (A.B. 1879), and to Drew Theological Seminary. On his graduation in 1881, he was admitted to the New York East Conference and appointed to St. Paul's, Brooklyn, whose place of worship was in a butcher shop. He helped them build a church, served other appointments with much success, and in 1886, was sent to Italy as a missionary. From 1889 he was Presiding Elder for all Italy. Elected Bishop in 1904, he had supervision of all Methodist work in Europe with Zurich as center. In 1912 he returned to America and served the Buffalo area from that time until his retirement in 1924. He died in 1936. Mrs. Burt was Helen B. Graves (1856-1946), whom the Bishop met at Wilbraham.—Official Biographical Files.

† The 1888 appointments were: *Rome District*, Giovanni Gattuso, P.E..; *Foggia,* Pietro Tagliatela; *Melfi*, Gualtiero Fabbri; *Naples,* Edoardo Stasio, Antonio Savarese; *Palermo,* Gaetano Conte; *Perugia,* Raffaele Wigley; *Pisa*, Emilio Borelli; *Pontedera,* Felice Dardi; *Rome*, Teofilo Gay; *Terni,* Domenico Polsinelli; *Venosa,* Carlo Boglione; *Milan District*, William Burt, P.E.; *Adria,* Aristide Frizziero; *Alessandria*, Giovanni Pons; *Balogna,* Giacomo Carboneri; *Dovadola,* Paolo Gay; *Faenza,* Pietro Ballerini; *Florence*, Constantino Tollis, Vittorio Bani; *Forli,* Carlo Gay; *Genaa,* Daniele Gay; *Geneva*, Teofilo Malan; *Milan,* Vincenzo Ravi; *Madena,* Crisanzio Bambini; *San Marzano,* Augusto Manini; *Turin,* Bernardo Bracchetto; *Venice,* Federico Cruciani.—*Seventieth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1888), pp. 288 f.

Gay who had spoken against the temperance report given by Stackpole at the last Conference, but, Burt wrote,

> Let the church have a little patience and stand by us in this difficult work and the Italy Conf. shall become a Conf. of the Methodist Episcopal Church loyal to our spirit and discipline. It may however be necessary that we first destroy a large part of that which has been before rebuilding.[300]

REAPPRAISAL

Following Vernon's retirement those left in charge made a critical study of conditions in the mission. In order to facilitate the reappraisal William Burt was appointed by Bishop Fowler at the 1889 Conference to superintend the entire mission as a single District. In collaboration with E. S. Stackpole, he came to some disturbing conclusions that were to change radically the conduct and character of the mission.[301]

The mission in seventeen years had been extended from Venice to Palermo; and it was largely the work of one man's building. Vernon was an urbane, cosmopolitan gentleman and scholar. The mission was not to a primitive society but to a civilized land celebrated for its art and literature. Its cities were known around the world for their culture and their trade; but the country's wealth had been too little shared with an illiterate and exploited peasantry. Rome had been the capital of medieval Christendom and was still the head of a worldwide Church, although, because of abuses that had grown out of its struggle for wealth and temporal power, it had largely lost the allegiance and respect of its peoples.

The Superintendent knew that Methodism, with its emphasis on a spiritual rebirth, moral reformation, and strict discipline in everyday life, would need eloquent ambassadors if it was to win the hearts and minds of people devoted by tradition to a religion of pageantry and ritual which left individual morality too much to the easy bargains they could make with the priest at the confessional. He was keenly aware of the psychological effect on a people, proud of the flowing beauty of their language, of having to listen to foreigners presenting the Gospel in halting and ungrammatical speech that was an offense to them. Vernon found many dissatisfied intellectuals among both philosophers and churchmen, and he had unusual ability to attract them to the evangelical point of view. Like Henry J. Piggott of the Wesleyan mission, he reasoned that the most effective means of their salvation was to set converted priests to work preaching the Gospel to their fellow countrymen. These then were the men who in more than a score of Italy's cities and towns were carrying on the mission.

Stackpole, now in the first year of his service, had been shocked that some of these priests-turned-Methodists seemed more interested in exposing the abuses of the priesthood than in proclaiming the evangelical Gospel, and in their personal living had not departed much from the practices of their previous condition. They were users of tobacco, wine bibblers, and wore clerical gowns in the pulpit. To Stackpole—characterized by Bishop Vincent as "an intense believer in the most intense type of Methodism"—these things were not to be condoned and he condemned them in no uncertain terms. But beyond this he was prone to put together and reject everything in Italian customs and ideals that differed from American Methodism and to insist that converts conform to American practices.

Upon Burt fell the full responsibility of evaluating what had been accomplished in seventeen years, of facing the fact of mistakes in policy and poor judgment in making appointments, of performing major surgeries both in personnel and institutions. It was his job to keep the good and eliminate the harmful practices.

The survey of the work revealed certain faults which had hampered a number of the pastors in the performance of their ministry: (1) some were mercenary in spirit; they seemed interested only in a secure job, pleasant living quarters, a good salary, and a comfortable pension at their time of retirement. (2) Some were worldly men. Besides the things Stackpole had condemned, they allowed attendance on dancing parties, theaters, and other amusements to interfere with their pastoral work. (3) Some pastors falsified their statistical reports in order to gain prestige for progress in the Conference and so get better appointments. Some, it was charged, even connived with neighborhood pastors of other denominations to augment their congregations when the Presiding Elder was expected. (4) Too many pastors had brought over from their priesthood in the Catholic Church the concept of a separate clergy with a privileged status in the community. They were "too proud to associate familiarly with the poor people" to whom they preached.

The study of congregational practices gave evidence that: (1) conversion as a vital experience was not required or expected for church membership. There were no "altar calls" or revivals in the conduct of services in the parishes. Too often "intellectual change of opinion or belief" or "disgust with the Papacy and the corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church" were sufficient to obtain enrollment as a church member. (2) There were seldom any prayer meetings or Class meetings held in the churches; and in those that were held the ministers conducted a service of scripture reading, prayer, and exposition, similar to the Sunday service. There was no opportunity or desire for spontaneous prayer or testimony; and so these traditional Wesleyan devices for the guiding and training of the spiritual life of adults were neglected. The Italian ministers, perhaps because they did not understand them or know how to use them, considered them "not adapted to Italy." (3) The congregations were not taught to sing hymns with spirit or religious enthusiasm. In Italy, the land of song, this was evidence of lack of spiritual fervor. The hymnal the churches were using was published by the Waldensians. Some of the Sunday schools were using translations of Moody and Sankey songs, but for the most part there were few hymns expressive of the warmth and joy of evangelistic worship. Even those pastors who were poets tended to write religious hymns that were literary or philosophical rather than devotional. (4) The congregations were not trained in giving; therefore progress toward self-support was slow even in parishes where the worshipers had some means. In summary then, Burt and Stackpole agreed that two fundamental mistakes had been made. One was in relying for pastors upon Italian preachers trained either as priests or in a Waldensian theological school. The other was the failure to begin a comprehensive educational program at the starting of the mission. The Calvinistic sermons and Presbyterian forms of worship, inherited from Waldensian training on the one hand, and a Jesuitical morality on the other, were not to be changed by merely a shift of pastors. Burt was convinced that unless a church was true to the doctrines and practices of the Methodist Episcopal Church the work should be given to another denomination.[302]

A NEW ORDER ESTABLISHED

Burt took hold of the difficult task of establishing a new order in the mission with a firm hand. He began at once to reform the undesirable practices in pastoral conduct. In addition to the pastors who resigned or were dismissed, rather than conform,* several of the Italian Bible women left, taking a considerable number of their families and friends with them. Burt found the tasks he had set for himself difficult and slow of accomplishment, and at times a bitter experience. In a letter to Missionary Secretary Peck, he wrote:

> At Rome . . . we have been basely betrayed, and our church is in a very critical position—Dr. [Alceste] Lanna who had been pastor there for 10 years . . . was located at his own request. . . . Dr. [Teofilo] Gay who had been pastor at Rome for the past three years was also located at his own request because he could not approve the idea of introducing here the ways and customs of the Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . He has gone over to the Waldensians and now declares that during the sixteen years of service in our Church he has never had the idea of ever establishing here a Methodist Episcopal Church, but simply used our means with the purpose of establishing as soon as possible an independent church according to his own ideas. I weep when I consider how our Church has been betrayed in Italy. The very men who have been employed by our Church have never been of us, and they leave us and counsel others to do the same because we wish to

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* One of those no longer connected with the mission was Enrico Caporali. For several years he had edited *La Nuova Scienza,* his salary coming from the Missionary Society. The periodical was sometimes called the "Italian Methodist Quarterly Review," and the publication cost was covered by the Methodist Tract Society. It was an independent magazine, however, with no mention of the Methodist Church within it, and was philosophical rather than religious in aim. Following the removal of Methodist support from the magazine, Caporali withdrew from the ministry. The Methodist mission then established a new paper, *L'Evangelista.*—Everett S. Stackpole, *4½ Years in the Italy Mission, A Criticism of Missionary Methods,* pp. 83 ff.; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* III, 325, 326.

> introduce the *class-meeting, kneel in prayer,* and *invite* sinners to the *altar.* . . . Some will leave us, ministers and members, but we shall be better off without than with them. To retain them would be to compromise the whole Church, as in the past, and leave us no warrant of success. To part with them is to releave [sic] ourselves of a burden so that we may be free to go forward to victory. I am only sorry we cannot be rid at once of all who are not truly of us.[303]

Reforms in the conduct of congregations followed the purge of the disloyal in the ministry: the "call to the altar" was included in more and more of the services, from worship at Annual Conference to the farthest towns and cities; most of the hymns of Charles Wesley were translated to improve congregational singing; a new translation of the Methodist *Discipline* was circulated to emphasize the requirements and meaning of conversion and membership; prayer meetings and Class meetings were emphasized and incorporated into parish programs; congregations progressing in self-help were commended and their pastors publicly notified at the Annual Conference sessions.

The reform program in education also was thoroughgoing. F. A. Spencer (returned to his former work in India) must have read with real satisfaction that the policy of starving schools to pay for immediate evangelism had been reversed. It was this policy that had caused him to leave Italy after only a year and a half of service. Now Burt heartily encouraged the home Boards to speed up in Italy the program of education in day schools, orphanages, and the Sunday schools so ably supervised by Emma Hall. At this time, also, a careful supervision of native workers was instituted. The Florence Theological School, established under Stackpole's direction, had been opened on January 1, 1889, with seven young men. Elmer E. Count and Vittorio Bani, an Italian pastor-teacher, were added to the teaching staff and the school's function in the mission was now stressed. "We shall soon be substituting for those who are unfaithful to our rules those well trained in our *Discipline,*" was the stated purpose.

The 1890 Conference was convened in Bologna on April 23 by Bishop H. W. Warren. Appointments were made to twenty-four Stations and Circuits. Elmer E. Powell, a transfer from the Illinois Conference, was appointed professor in the seminary. The results of the new administration's policy were described in Burt's annual report to the Board:

> To those who simply compare statistics it may seem a contradiction to assert that this year has been one of marked success in our Italian work. But even the statistics will show that we have advanced along those lines that indicate permanent success. The ministers were never so united as now, and, with few exceptions, they are consecrated to the work of saving souls. Among the members there is a true *esprit de corps.* They begin to realize their mission as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to love our doctrines and methods.[304]

The need for evangelical schools was pressing. If the Methodist Church expected to stay in Italy, Stackpole declared, she must give attention to facilities for the education of her young people. Only as schools were provided for the children of the growing number of Protestants could it be hoped that the need for educated ministers and trained lay workers would be met. The need was emphasized by the rapid growth of the population and the activity of the Roman Church. As the authority and influence of the Papacy increased in other parts of the world the Catholic Church in Italy had gradually recovered from the staggering effects of the unification of Italy. By 1889 the Papacy was crowding Rome with its schools. While in 1870 there had been only five seminaries in the city for the training of priests, in 1889 there were forty-one; while in 1870 schools conducted by priests, friars, and nuns numbered only nine, in 1889 there were 117.[305]

As for the Methodist mission it could boast of less than a half dozen schools all told. There was a day and English school at Pontedera with seventy-five children, and an "evening-school of 50 working-men," in 1890. At Palermo there were over eighty children in a day school. Burt rejoiced to be able to report in 1892 two schools in Rome. He wrote:

> two well-organized and ably managed institutes . . . promise much for our work not only in Rome, but all over Italy. One is for girls, under the care and direction of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. This is mostly for poor girls. . . . The other is for boys. These are for the most part from well-to-do families in different parts of Italy. . . . We now have twenty-five of these bright boys, and I am sure from the demands for admission we might have a hundred of them for next year if we only had the room for them. These are sons of lawyers, doctors, and army officers . . . .They attend the municipal day schools and live in our home and are under our religious instruction as our boys.[306]

Among the children brought to the boys' school in Rome were the three sons of General Menotti Garibaldi, a member of the Chamber of Deputies and the son of the hero of the Italian struggle for independence and unification.

The activity of the Catholic Church in establishing schools for the training of priests intensified the missionaries' sense of need for an enlarged Methodist institution. As early as 1889 Bishop Fowler had urged moving the seminary to Rome and at the 1892 Conference Bishop Joyce brought about its relocation. In 1893 it was reorganized and in October was reopened in Rome. Stackpole, who favored the move, and also E. E. Count, returned to America. N. Walling Clark* of Frankfort, Germany, was transferred to the Italy Conference and appointed as president. In 1891 property had been purchased on Via Venti Settembre (September 20), next to the War Department and "a short distance from the royal palace" as a site for a "collegiate, publishing, and otherwise connectional building." Unfortunately funds were not available for building and it was necessary to make temporary provision for the seminary. There were twelve applicants for admission the first year in Rome, but as the policy had been adopted of admitting only those who had been "employed for at least one year under proper supervision in the regular work" only four were admitted. For the second year twenty applications were received but for lack of facilities only four students were accepted. These were from Milan, Florence, Pisa, and Palermo, Sicily.[307]

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* Nathaniel Walling Clark (1859-1918) was born at Plattsburg, N. Y. In 1872 he experienced conversion and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. He graduated from Wesleyan University in 1879 (A.B.) and from Drew Theological Seminary in 1893 (B.D.). On Aug. 22, 1883, he married Felicia H. Buttz. He was received into Philadelphia Conference. After serving pastorates in that and the Newark Conference he was appointed professor in Martin Mission Institute, Frankfort, Germany. For two years (1901-1903) he was traveling secretary for Europe and the Levant, of the World's Student Christian Federation, and during 1904-18 Superintendent of the Rome District, Italy Conference. He was an indefatigable worker and "a scholar of unusual attainments."—*Alumni Record of Drew Theological Seminary* (1867-1925), p. 148; *Christian Advocate,* XCIII (1918), 12 (March 21), 369; Official Biographical Files.

Meantime, the educational work for women and girls was progressing under the capable leadership of Emma Hall. The "nine or ten" pupils reported in 1889 in the girls' Home in Rome had by 1892 increased to forty-one from all parts of Italy. Fifteen were from Methodist families; twenty-six nominally Catholic. During the year four of the older girls were admitted to the Church on probation.

As the program for women and girls was widening in scope the W.F.M.S. in 1891 sent Miss Martha Ellen Vickery of the Northwestern Branch to assist Miss Hall. Miss Vickery emphasized the need of facilities for higher education of women. We are not doing that "which will best promote the spread of evangelical Christianity," she said, until a school for this purpose is established.

> . . . the power of the Romish Church is in the faith of their women. The crowd of earnest devotees is composed largely of the peasant women and ignorant people. Very rarely do you see a man among the worshipers, or an intelligent looking woman. The government free schools in Rome are very good, and all, even to the University, are open to girls. Still, owing to prejudices of co-education—much stronger than ever existed in America—they are sent to the convent schools . . . .[308]

Miss Vickery was confident that a higher school would not lack patronage.

In 1893 property was purchased by the W.F.M.S. between the city hospital and the Italian Academy of Fine Arts as a site for the Home and Orphanage, previously housed in rented quarters. On May 10, 1894, during the Conference session, a spacious new building was dedicated by Bishop Newman. The desired standard in the school was not reached in 1895 but progress was made. Courses in Bible history, music, French, and English were added to the regular government program. The six grades which began with the "first elementary" extended to the "second normal preparatory." The teachers were all earnest Christians, as interested in the spiritual as in the intellectual development of the pupils.[309]

As evidence increased of the missionary success of Methodism, and its institutional strength grew, the opposition of the Catholic hierarchy became intensified. Long articles were published in the widely circulated Catholic periodicals attacking the Protestants in general, and especially the Methodists as "the most dangerous of the sects." Warnings were addressed to the Methodists of what they might expect "from an offended and angry people" if they did not desist from their efforts. A few of the ex-priests on whom reliance had been placed in earlier years continued to make some trouble. Ravi was irresponsible in fulfilling his duties as pastor and in 1895 became a supernumerary. Gualtiero Fabbri of Pisa—who had withdrawn from the Conference in 1893 rather than face expulsion—appealed to the Missionary Society and to friends in America for money, reviling Burt and claiming that he had been persecuted.[310]

The 1895 Conference met in Florence, May 16-20, Bishop FitzGerald presiding. A detailed report of cities was made by Superintendent Burt. Appointments were made to nineteen of the twenty-nine Stations and Circuits.* Four of the centers, Bari, Pavia, Pegli, and Rapallo, had been opened during the six years of Burt's administration. Work had also been extended to some of the little villages and suburbs around the larger centers, some being supplied by theological students. The mission in Geneva (Switzerland) had been extended to Montreux, Vevey, and Lausanne. The prejudice against renting buildings to Protestants for worship services continued to be strong. Burt emphasized the handicap imposed by having to use small, often inconveniently located halls. In too many cases the only available quarters were on "unfrequented streets or hidden away in the back part of a building or up stairs." The meager progress in Modena and Naples—founded within three years of the beginning of the mission—was largely because of small, inadequate halls. The new building in Rome, designed to accommodate the church, theological school, college, Publishing House, and residences, was dedicated on September 20, 1895.[311]

TWENTY-THREE YEARS OF THE ITALY MISSION

The report in general for 1895 listed 1,179 members in full connection, 760 probationers; twenty native ordained preachers; nine native unordained preachers; eleven native teachers; twenty-four other helpers; two Bible women; twelve day schools with 398 pupils; twenty-seven Sunday schools with 816 pupils; eleven churches and chapels; and twenty-five halls and other places of worship.

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* Appointments for 1895 were: *Adria,* to be supplied; *Bari,* to be supplied; *Bologna,* Crisanzio Bambini; *Dovadola,* to be supplied; *Florence,* Vittorio Bani; *Forli* and *Faenza,* Federico Cruciani; *Foggia,* Domenico Polsinelli; *Genoa,* Pietro Taglialatela; *Geneva Circuit,* Edoardo Tourn; *Milan: First Church,* Edoardo Stasio; *Second Church,* Vincenzo Nitti; *Third Church,* to be supplied; *Modena Circuit,* Aristide Frizziero; *Naples,* Constantino Tollis; *Palermo,* to be supplied; *Pavia,* Giuseppe Vitale; *Pegli Circuit,* Antonio Beltrami; *Perugia,* to be supplied; *Pisa,* Bernardo Bracchetto; *Pontedera,* to be supplied; *Rapallo* and *Melfi,* to be supplied; *Rome: First Church,* Felice Dardi; *Second Church,* E. E. Powell; *Third Church,* to be supplied; *San Marzano Circuit;* Paolo Gay; *Terni,* Augusto Manini; *Turin,* Giovanni Pons; *Venice,* Angelo Penninetti; *Venosa,* to be supplied.—*Gen'l Minutes,* Fall, 1895, p. 370.

In Rome and Turin where buildings adequate for the maintenance of all features of a parish program had been provided the work really took root and flourished. In Bologna, Venice, Foggia, and Pisa, where suitable, well-located halls had been procured, not only was the record of evangelism excellent but Sunday schools, Epworth Leagues, and day schools and night schools flourished and bore fruit.[312]

Work had been begun and abandoned in many places during the twenty-three years the mission had been in existence. One such place was Asti. In his first annual report as Presiding Elder of Milan District, in 1887, Burt revealed the hopelessness of the situation there. The first members were formerly Plymouth Brethren. In 1885 one man was added to the Church, and he was the only one during six years of work. The "congregation" consisted of four to eight persons. An important reason for many failures was the instability of some of the preachers. For seventeen of the twenty-three years a mistaken policy had governed appointments. While the pathetic record must be charged to the Superintendent's error of judgment, it must also be said that the erroneous policy—so far as we have been able to discover from the available records—was never seriously called in question by the Missionary Secretaries or by any of the Bishops who presided over the Conferences.

Instability also marked the work of Bible women and the day schools—although not to the same extent as the preaching appointees—and for the same reason. In the early years many of the Bible women were wives of the ex-priests who were given appointments. While twelve day schools were reported in 1895, the number had varied from year to year. Continuance depended upon the availability of funds for payment of teachers and for textbooks. Self-support of schools and of churches could not be expected because of recurring depressions and unemployment. By 1895 the increasing numbers of young men trained in the theological school or under the supervision of mature pastors were adding to the stability of all phases of the missionary program.

It should be emphasized, however, that very many of the Italian preachers, including ex-priests, were men of great ability and faith. Of those in the Conference in 1895, two—Edoardo Stasio and Crisanzio Bambini—had given twenty years of stedfast service. Emilio Borelli and Enrico Borelli, both of whom died in the 1890's, had contributed almost as many years. Seven others had been with the mission between ten and fifteen years. Some of those who had been troublesome had been insincere and unreliable; others had been Protestant in spirit but intellectually incompatible with the Methodists. Both Burt and Stackpole on the other hand believed in the most rigid adherence to Methodist doctrines and customs. The Wesleyan missionary, Piggott, had found many sincere, courageous, and highly qualified ex-priests offering him their services, and it was to his sorrow that his Church had restrained him from training and utilizing the great reserve of potential preachers.

It should also be noted that with Italy the Missionary Society had been unable to follow its practice with Germany and Scandinavia of sending as missionaries men who were natives of those countries. There was no mission to the Italian people in the United States to draw upon for leadership. Those who were sent to Italy were Americans of mostly Anglo-Saxon background, unfamiliar with the Italian language and customs, and lacking the advantage of personal conversion from the entrenched Church.

Burt and Stackpole were keenly distressed by the "great spiritual lacuna" Piggott always felt existed in the Italian work—"the absence of those times of powerful religious awakening, of special effusions of the Spirit of God, recounted in the story of other Missions." A partial cause for this undoubtedly lay in the fact that the converts had considered themselves already Christians and had led moral lives under their former faith before throwing off its errors in favor of a more spiritual faith. The difficulties in the way of evangelistic efforts could not be better stated than they were by Piggott:

> It is not all true that is currently said . . . of the rupture of the Italian mind from the Roman faith. Nothing, indeed, can be more extreme than the vituperation and ridicule which . . . are poured upon the Pope and the priesthood; but the Italians distinguish, or try to distinguish, between Popery as a system of religion and the men who administer and abuse it. The Roman Catholic faith is still the faith of their ancestors, the faith associated with all the past glories of their land in art, science, and story. It is, in fact, the only Christian faith which the mass of the people recognize. . . . The long political agony is doing something—strengthening national character, consolidating new institutions—and, seeing how wisely the providence of God is ruling the destinies of the nation, one's hope is strong that the baptisms of the Spirit will follow.[313]

Central Council of Europe

The 1893 Italy Conference appointed a committee to take up with other Conferences the question "of forming some kind of union or central Conference in Europe." The inquiry resulted in the organization of the "Central Council of the Conferences and Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Europe." The Council held its first session in Berlin, April 21-26, 1895. Delegates were present from Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Italy, North and South Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. The Council concerned itself principally with the relations of Methodism in Europe to the State Churches, problems involved in property holding in the various countries, the press, and other topics of common interest. The General Missionary Committee was memorialized to establish a mission in France,* the Church

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* In the 1840's the Missionary Society exhibited interest in the spiritual welfare of France, and constantly watched for an opportunity to extend Methodism into that land. In 1847 it was noted

Extension Committee to extend its operations to Europe, and the General Conference to establish an episcopal residence in Europe. It was decided to make the Council a permanent organization, to meet quadrennially preceding the meeting of General Conference.[314]

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that France was abandoning her "frivolous skepticism." The Wesleyans had entered France many years before but their work was small. When in 1852 their labors were organized into an independent French Methodist Conference in connection with English Methodism under the Rev. Charles Cook, a Wesleyan, an opportunity was seen to extend the work through financial aid. The General Missionary Committee at its 1852 meeting voted to make an appropriation of $2,500. for the free use of the French Conference. The next year the sum was doubled. For some years the appropriation was continued. For a few years, also, an appropriation was made to the Irish Wesleyan Conference.

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II

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139. *Sixty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1886), p. 159; *ibid., 62nd* (1880), p. 112.

140. *Seventy-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1895), p. 155.

141. *Sixty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1880), p. 52.

142. *Christian Advocate,* LXII (1887), 50 (Dec. 15), 812.

143. *Minutes, B. M.,* V, 4 f.

144. "Minutes of the China Committee, M. S.," 1846–68, March 26, 1847, unpaged ms.

145. "Minutes of the India and Turkey Committee, M. S.," Feb. 18, 1856, I, 2; *ibid.,* April 7, 1858, pp. 11 f.

146. "Minutes of the China Committee, M. S.," April 20, 1866; "Minutes of the India and Turkey Committee, M. S.," July 20, 1868, II, 11; *Minutes, B. M.,* VII, 82.

147. *Christian Advocate,* XLVII (1872), 23 (June 6), 183.

148. *Missionaries' Manual,* 1885, pp. 11 f.; *Minutes, B. M.,* XVI, 19 f. Numerous other actions on the problem of furloughs may be found in the *Minutes, B. M.,* and in the "Minutes" of the several regional committees.

149. *First Ann. Rep., W.F.M.S.* (1870), p. 8; *ibid., 6th* (1875), p. 23.

150. *Twenty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1840–41), p. 91. The 1868 revision of the constitution added: "it being understood that they shall not receive more than is usually allowed to other superannuated ministers, their widows and orphans."—*G. C. Journal,* 1868, p. 515.

151. *Minutes, New York East Conference,* 1856, pp. 23 f.; *Christian Advocate,* LXXV (1900), 44 (Nov. 1), 22 f.; *Minutes, B. M.,* VI, 95 f., 98, 113; "Minutes of the China Committee, M.S.," Oct. 19, 25, 1853; *ibid.,* Jan. 17, 23, 1854; *ibid.,* Jan. 31, 1855; *ibid.,*

July, 1856; *ibid.,* November, 1856. See also Moses C. White, "Manuscripts Relating to the Founding of Methodist Missions in Foochow, China," *passim.*

152. *Minutes, B. M.,* IX, 22.

153. J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* p. 25.

154. *Minutes, B. M.,* XI, 321 f.

155. "Journal of the General Conference, 1836," p. 455, in *G. C. Journals,* I.

156. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* II, 300.

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159. *Ibid.,* p. 384.

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161. J. M. Thoburn, "Missionary Policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church," *Methodist Quarterly Review,* L (January, 1868), 89; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* III, 9.

162. *G. C. Journal,* 1868, pp. 283, Appendix, 497.

163. D[aniel] Wise, art., *Christian Advocate,* XLV (1870), 33 (Aug. 18), 257; *ibid.,* 50 (Dec. 15), 393.

164. Daniel Curry, "Missionary Methods," *Methodist Quarterly Review,* LXV (July, 1883), 528.

165. *G. C. Journal,* 1880, Appendix, p. 401.

166. *Ibid.,* pp. 245 f., 368; *Minutes, B. M.,* IX, 334.

167. *Ibid.,* pp. 334 f.

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169. *Ibid.,* Appendix, pp. 349 f.; *Discipline,* 1884, pp. 163 ff. The statement of Thomas Benjamin Neely, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and its Foreign Missions:* "The first law in regard to a 'Central Mission Conference' appears in the book of *Discipline* for 1892" (p. 233), is obviously erroneous.

170. *Minutes of the Third Session of the Central Conference of the Methodist Church in India and Malaysia . . . 1889,* pp. 1, 5; *ibid.,* 1894.

171. *Thirty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1855), p. 128.

172. *Daily Zion's Herald,* May 20, 1852, p. 62.

173. *Ibid.,* p. 62; "Journal of the General Conference, 1852," pp. 66, 67 f., Appendix, 193 f., in *G. C. Journals,* III.

174. Levi Scott, "Journal," included in James Mitchell, *The Life and Times of Levi Scott, D.D., One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* pp. 92-140; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 234 f.

175. *Daily Zion's Herald,* May 29, 1852, p. 94; *ibid.,* May 31, pp. 97 f.

176. *G. C. Journal,* 1860, pp. 312, 360; *ibid.,* 1864, pp. 280, 384.

177. *Ibid.,* 1868, Appendix, p. 517.

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179. George Prentice, *The Life of Gilbert Haven, Bishop of The Methodist Episcopal Church,* pp. 476 ff.

180. J. M. Reid, *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* I, 64.

181. *G. C. Journal,* 1880, p. 364.

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183. Episcopal Address, *ibid.,* 1888, p. 45.

184. *Ibid.,* pp. 331 f., 438; *ibid.,* 1892, p. 440.

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187. *G. C. Journal,* 1864, pp. 176, 226, Appendix, 356, 388.

188. *Ibid.,* 1876, Appendix, pp. 395 f.; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 242.

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190. *Ibid.,* 1880, pp. 96, 129, 154, 155, 166, 173.

191. *Ibid.,* p. 184.

192. T. B. Neely, *op. cit.,* p. 125.

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194. *G. C. Journal,* 1884, pp. 248, Appendix, 312; *Sixty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1884), p. 40; William Taylor, *Story of My Life . . . ,* p. 692.

195. William Taylor, letter, "Not 'Out of Order,'" *The Christian Witness and Advocate of Bible Holiness,* April, 1886.

196. *G. C. Journal,* 1888, pp. 300 f., 392 ff.

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215. *Fifty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1877), p. 66; *ibid., 47th* (1865), p. 34.

216. *Forty-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1862), p. 42.

217. *Sixty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1880), p. 119.

218. *Fifty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1877), p. 135.

219. *Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1887), p. 177.

220. *Seventy-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1892), p. 121.

221. *Fifty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1869), p. 102.

222. *Fifty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1870), p. 46.

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IV

NATURE AND SCOPE OF DOMESTIC MISSIONS

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3. *Seventieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1888), p. 345.

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7. *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXVI (1851), 17 (April 24), 66.

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15. *Ibid.,* 32 (Aug. 11), 127.

16. *Ibid.,* XXIX (1854), 29 (July 20), 114; *ibid.,* XXX (1855), 28 (July 12), 110.

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454. *Missionary Advocate,* XI (1855), 4 (July), 29; *ibid.,* XIV (1858), 9 (December), 70; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1860, p. 307; *ibid.,* 1861, p. 194; *Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1887), p. 347; *ibid., 70th* (1888), p. 388; *Minutes, Detroit Conference,* 1888, p. 43.

455. *Twenty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1845-46), p. 89; *ibid., 29th* (1847-48), pp. 89 f.; *ibid., 30th* (1848-49), p. 81.

456. After 1883 the mission under the name of Kewawenon disappears from the Detroit Conference *Minutes.* The Missionary Society continued to make appropriations for the work. Through the following years it seems to have been incorporated into other appointments (Pequaming, L'Anse). In 1889 it was retransferred to Michigan Conference and quite likely appeared under the name of Clarion. *Forty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1865), p. 116; *ibid., 72nd* (1890), p. 326; *Missionary Advocate,* XXI (1866), 11 (February), 86; *ibid.,* XXII (1866), 8 (November), 62 f.

457. *Twenty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1845-46), pp. 90 f.; *ibid., 29th* (1847-48), p. 92; *ibid., 30th* (1848-49), pp. 84 f.; *ibid., 31st* (1849-50), p. 71.

458. *Twenty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1846-47), pp. 92, 94; *ibid., 33rd* (1851-52), pp. 72-78; *ibid., 36th* (1854), pp. 77 f.; *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXVII (1852), 27 (July 1), 106; *ibid.,* XXVIII (1853), 11 (March 17), 42; *ibid.,* 33 (Aug. 18), 131; *Gen'l Minutes,* V, 112, 273.

459. *Thirty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1855), pp. 63-65; *ibid., 39th* (1857), p. 16.

460. *Minutes, Michigan Conference,* 1855, p. 9; *Thirty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1856), p. 87; *Missionary Advocate,* XII (1856), 9 (December), 70.

461. *Ibid.,* XIII (1857), 7 (October), 54.

462. *Minutes, Michigan Conference,* 1857, p. 472; *Forty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1859), pp. 58 f.; *ibid., 42nd* (1860), p. 65; *ibid., 69th* (1887), p. 348; *Missionary Advocate,* XIV (1858), 6 (September), 45 f.

463. *Ibid.,* XX (1864), 5 (August), 38; *ibid.,* XXII (1866), 2 (May), 14; *Forty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1865), pp. 120 f.; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1859, p. 352; *ibid.,* 1866, p. 173; *Minutes, Michigan Conference,* 1873, pp. 31, 60; *ibid.,* 1874, pp. 34, 78.

464. *Seventy-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1890), pp. 324 f.

465. *Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1887), p. 348.

466. *Seventy-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1890), p. 324.

467. *Ibid.,* p. 326.

468. *Twenty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1846-47), pp. 82 f.; *ibid., 29th* (1847-48), pp. 86 f.; *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXIX (1854), 39 (Sept. 28), 154; W. M'Donald, letter, *Zion's Herald,* as reprinted in *Missionary Advocate,* XII (1856), 8 (November), 59; *ibid.,* XIV (1858), 7 (October), 52; *ibid.,* XXII (1866), 6 (September), 46.

469. *Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1887), p. 351; *ibid., 72nd* (1890), p. 327.

470. *Twenty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1846-47), pp. 81 f.; Thomas Commuck, "Sketch of the Brothertown Indians," in *Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Years 1857 and 1858,* IV, 297 f.

471. *Thirty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1855), p. 66.

472. *Minutes, Wisconsin Conference,* 1858, p. 6; *ibid.,* 1859, p. 8; *ibid.,* 1860, p. 7; *ibid.,* 1861, p. 6; *ibid.,* 1862, p. 24; W. DeLoss Love, *Samson Occom, and The Christian Indians of New England,* pp. 329 f.

473. Charles E. Brown, *Wisconsin Indian Tribes,* p. 6; *Forty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1863), p. 82.

474. *Gen'l Minutes,* III, 631; *ibid.,* IV, 48; *Twenty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1847-48), p. 94; *ibid., 31st* (1849-50), p. 73; *ibid., 38th* (1856), pp. 92 ff.; *ibid., 47th* (1865), pp. 122 f.; *ibid., 68th* (1886), p. 283; *ibid., 75th* (1893), pp. 309 f.; *ibid., 77th* (1895), p. 302.

475. *Gen'l Minutes,* IV, 628; *ibid.,* Fall, 1895, p. 496; *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXIII (1848), 45 (Nov. 8), 178; *Forty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1865), p. 123; *ibid., 54th* (1872), pp. 138 f.; *ibid., 68th* (1886), p. 283; *ibid., 72nd* (1890), pp. 320, 321.

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478. *Forty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1865), pp. 113 f.; *ibid., 55th* (1873), p. 159; *ibid., 69th* (1887), pp. 349 f.; *ibid., 70th* (1888), p. 392; *Minutes, B. M.,* XV, 18. For a more detailed account of the mission see W. W. Clawson, "Brief Historical Sketch of the St. Regis Indian Mission, 1847-1897," ms.

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27. "Founding and Early History . . . ," pp. 29, 43 f., 50 in White MSS. Collection; E. Wentworth, "Mission Life," in *Isaac W. Wiley—A Monograph,* R. S. Rust, Ed., pp. 36-44; *Thirty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1854), pp. 28 f.; *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXIX (1854), 1 (Jan. 5), 2; *ibid.,* 14 (April 6), 54; *ibid.,* 47 (Nov. 23), 186; *ibid.,* 51 (Dec. 21), 202; G. A. Clayton, *Methodism in Central China,* ch. I; *Minutes, B. M.,* V, 356.

28. *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXIX (1854), 21 (May 25), 82; *ibid.,* XXX (1855), 49 (Dec. 6), 194; *ibid.,* 52 (Dec. 27), 206; *ibid.,* XXXI (1856), 12 (March 20), 46; "Minutes of the China Committee, M. S., 1846-68," Aug. 4, 1854, unpaged; *Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1877, p. 98; *Minutes, B. M.,* V, 397; *Thirty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1855-56), p. 23; *Missionary Advocate,* X (1854), 7 (October), 50.

29. *Minutes, B. M.,* V, 234; *Thirty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1856), pp. 31 f.; R. S. Maclay, *Life Among the Chinese . . . ,* pp. 194 ff., 200, 206 ff.; I. W. Wiley, *China and Japan . . . ,* p. 179.

30. R. S. Maclay, *op. cit.,* pp. 169 ff.; I. W. Wiley, *op. cit.,* pp. 174, 178.

31. R. S. Maclay, *op. cit.,* pp. 212 f.; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 436-40.

32. R. S. Maclay, *op. cit.,* pp. 212 ff.

33. *Fortieth Ann Rep., M. S.* (1858-59), p. 16; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *loc. cit.*

34. *Missionary Advocate,* XIV (1859), 12 (March), 89 f.

35. *Ibid.;* J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 441.

36. *Thirty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1849-50), p. 134; *ibid., 32nd* (1850-51), p. 147; *ibid., 40th* (1858), pp. 44, 46; R. S. Maclay, *op. cit.,* pp. 231 ff.

37. *Missionary Advocate,* XIV (1858), 9 (December), 65; Frances J. Baker, *The Story of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1869-1895,* pp. 262 f.; Mary S. Wheeler, *First Decade of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with Sketches of its Missionaries,* pp. 34 f.; Eddy Lucius Ford, *The History of the Educational Work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in China, A Study of its Development and Present Trends,* pp. 45 f.

38. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 444; *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXXVI (1861), 14 (April 4), 107; *Minutes, Vermont Conference,* 1865, pp. 40 f.

39. Walter N. Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism,* p. 56; *Fortieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1859), p. 22; *ibid., 41st* (1860), pp. 21 f.; *ibid., 43rd* (1861), pp. 35 f., 39.

40. S. Moore Sites, *Nathan Sites, An Epic of the East,* pp. 30, 35 ff.; W. N. Lacy, *op. cit.,* pp. 56 f.

41. *Christian Advocate,* LXX (1895), 16 (April 18), 6.

42. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 461; *Forty-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1862), pp. 40, 49 f.; *ibid., 45th* (1863), p. 18; Edward Thomson, *Our Oriental Missions,* I, 235-56; J. W. Bashford, *op. cit.,* p. 109.

43. *Forty-fourth Ann Rep., M. S.* (1862), p. 41; *ibid., 45th* (1863), pp. 21 f.; *ibid., 46th* (1864), p. 33; *ibid., 47th* (1865), p. 65.

44. *Forty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1866), pp. 27 ff.; *ibid., 49th* (1867), pp. 48 f.

45. *Fiftieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1868), pp. 94, 99; *ibid., 51st* (1869), pp. 64 f.; W. Lacy, *op. cit.,* pp. 62, 63; *Missionary Advocate,* XXV (1870), 12 (March 15), p. [45].

46. *Fifty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1869), p. 64.

47. *Fortieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1858), pp. 16 ff.; *Heathen Woman's Friend,* II (1870), 2 (August), 17.

48. *Fifty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1870), pp. 31, 51.

49. *Ibid.,* pp. 46-50.

50. W. N. Lacy, *op. cit.,* pp. 65, 300; R. S. Maclay to William L. Harris, Dec. 16, 1870, as quoted by W. N. Lacy, *op. cit.,* pp. 300 f.; *Fifty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1871), p. 50; *ibid., 54th* (1872), p. 54.

51. *Christian Advocate,* XLVIII (1873), 50 (Dec. 11), 396; J. M. Reid and J. T.

Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 479-80; *Fifty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1874), pp. 52, 186; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1873, p. 85.

52. Mary Isham, *Valorous Ventures . . . ,* pp. 168 f.; Mrs. J. T. Gracey, *Medical Work of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church,* pp. 149 f.; F. J. Baker, *op. cit.,* pp. 155 ff., 161 f.; *Twelfth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1881), p. 32; *ibid., 15th* (1884), p. 26; *Year Book, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church* (*70th Ann. Rep.*), 1939, pp. 164 f. (hereafter referred to as *Year Book, W. F. M. S.*).

53. *Christian Advocate,* XLVIII (1873), 50 (Dec. 11), 396; *Fifty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1873), pp. 52 f.

54. I. W. Wiley, *op. cit.,* pp. 224-31.

55. *Ibid.,* pp. 233 f., 235.

56. *Ibid.,* pp. 213 f.

57. *Ibid.,* pp. 220 f.

58. *Missionary Advocate,* I, New Series (1873), 1 (January), 2, 3.

59. *Fifty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1876), p. 53.

60. *Sixty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1879), p. 56; *ibid., 67th* (1885), p. 52.

61. *G. C. Journal,* 1880, Appendix, p. 407; E. L. Ford, *op. cit.,* pp. 146 ff.; *Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), pp. 57 f., 60 f., 63-65; *Fourteenth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1883), pp. 24 f.

62. F. J. Baker, *op. cit.,* pp. 266-68, 270 ff.

63. *Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), p. 66.

64. *Twentieth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1889), pp. 35 f.; *ibid., 22nd* (1890-91), pp. 35 f.; *ibid., 24th* (1892-93), p. 35; *ibid., 26th* (1894-95), pp. 40 f., 41-42; F. J. Baker, *op. cit.,* pp. 268, 302 f.

65. *Sixty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1883), p. 58; *ibid., 72nd* (1890), p. 56; *ibid., 73rd* (1891), p. 65; *ibid., 75th* (1893), pp. 44 f.

66. *Sixty-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1882), p. 49.

67. *Ibid.,* p. 51; *ibid., 65th* (1883), p. 55; *ibid., 66th* (1884), p. 51; *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* VI, 201 f.

68. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* II, 45-47.

69. *Sixty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1885), pp. 52 f.

70. *Seventieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1888), p. 66; *ibid., 71st* (1889), p. 62; *ibid., 76th* (1894), p. 48.

71. *Seventeenth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1886), p. 28; *ibid., 23rd* (1892), p. 46.

72. *Gospel in All Lands,* March, 1888, p. 119; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* II, 50.

73. *Seventy-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1890), pp. 48 f.; *Gen'l Minutes,* Spring, 1890, p. 75; *ibid.,* 1891, p. 72.

74. *Seventy-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1891), p. 116; *ibid., 74th* (1892), pp. 66, 67 f.; *ibid., 75th* (1893), pp. 45 f.

75. *Ibid., 75th* (1893), p. 42; *ibid., 77th* (1895), pp. 49 f.

76. *Seventy-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1894), p. 41.

77. W. N. Lacy, *op. cit.,* p. 62; *Fiftieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1868), pp. 99 f.; *ibid., 52nd* (1870), pp. 31, 52 f.; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1870, pp. 29, 191.

78. *Christian Advocate,* XLVI (1871), 10 (March 9), 75.

79. *Fifty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1871), pp. 52 f.; *ibid., 54th* (1872), pp. 61 f.

80. *Fifty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1873), p. 62.

81. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 479 f.; *Fifty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1873), p. 59; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1873, pp. 69, 129.

82. *Fifty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1873), pp. 59-61.

83. *Fifty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1874), pp. 64 f.; *ibid., 57th* (1875), p. 59; *ibid., 60th* (1878), pp. 66 f.

84. I. W. Wiley, *op. cit.,* pp. 144, 145-47.

85. *Sixty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1880), pp. 58-61; *Gen'l Minutes,* 1880, p. 297.

86. *Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), p. 73.

87. *Ibid.,* pp. 77-80.

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 76 f.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 75 f.

90. "Minutes of the Reference Committee, W. F. M. S., May 18, 1880-Oct. 2, 1883," April 10, 1882, unpaged ms.; *Thirteenth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1882), p. 30; *Year Book, W. F. M. S.*, 1939, p. 171; *Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), p. 72.

91. *Twelfth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1880-81), p. 40.

92. "Minutes of the Reference Committee, W. F. M. S., May 18, 1880-Oct. 2, 1883," April 4, 1881, unpaged ms.; *ibid.*, June 24, 1882; *Year Book, W. F. M. S.*, 1939, pp. 164-68; Louise Manning Hodgkins, *The Roll Call—An Introduction to Our Missionaries, 1869-1896*, p. 25.

93. *Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), p. 58; *ibid., 64th* (1882), pp. 60 f., 233; *ibid., 66th* (1884), p. 62; *ibid., 67th* (1885), pp. 58, 59; *ibid., 68th* (1886), pp. 69 f., 361, 362; *Gen'l Minutes*, Fall, 1881, pp. 226, 227; *ibid.*, Spring, 1882, p. 35; *ibid.*, Fall, 1883, p. 239; *ibid.*, Fall, 1886, p. 267; J. W. Bashford, *op. cit.*, p. 111; *Minutes, North Nebraska Conference*, 1886, p. 21. The personal diaries of V. C. Hart indicate serious ill feeling among the missionaries. At the 1884 annual meeting charges were preferred against Hart by three of his fellow workers, and against Hykes and Kupfer. The charges came to naught and were withdrawn.

94. *Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), p. 75; *ibid., 64th* (1882), pp. 61, 63; *ibid., 65th* (1883), pp. 63 f., 66; *ibid., 67th* (1885), p. 65; *ibid., 68th* (1886), p. 73; *ibid., 69th* (1887), pp. 102 f.; *ibid., 73rd* (1891), pp. 81 f.; *Seventeenth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1885-86), p. 34; *ibid., 26th* (1894-95), pp. 47 f.; M. Isham, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

95. *Sixty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1883), p. 64; *ibid., 66th* (1884), p. 66; *ibid., 67th* (1885), pp. 62 f.

96. George A. Stuart to the Missionary Secretaries, May 3, Aug. 20, 1887, Jan. 17, 1889.

97. *Seventy-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1889), p. 78.

98. As quoted in E. I. Hart, *Virgil C. Hart: Missionary Statesman . . .* , pp. 123 ff.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 126; *Sixty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1884), pp. 62, 67 f.; *ibid., 67th* (1885), pp. 63 f.; *ibid., 68th* (1886), p. 76; *ibid., 69th* (1887), p. 106; *Gen'l Minutes*, 1884, p. 42.

100. E. I. Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 f., 215, 218.

101. J. R. Hykes to Missionary Secretaries, Nov. 23, 1888.

102. J. R. Hykes to C. C. McCabe, June 17, 1889; J. R. Hykes to J. M. Reid, Jan. 14, 1888, V. C. Hart to C. C. McCabe, Nov. 27, Nov. 30, 1888, and others. Hykes apparently was difficult to get along with. Miss Howe encountered some unpleasantness in her association with him at the time of her resignation.

103. Robert C. Beebe to J. M. Reid, Sept. 3, 1887; R. C. Beebe to C. C. McCabe, Feb. 6, 1889; V. C. Hart to C. C. McCabe, Feb. 18, 1889; V. C. Hart to S. L. Baldwin, Feb. 20, 1889; G. A. Stuart to Missionary Secretaries, March 24, 1889.

104. *Seventy-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1890), p. 60; *Gen'l Minutes*, Fall, 1889, p. 333; *ibid.*, Spring, 1887, p. 68; J. R. Hykes to S. L. Baldwin, July 28, 1894.

105. *Seventy-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1889), pp. 70 f.; *ibid., 73rd* (1892), pp. 79, 81; *ibid., 74th* (1894), pp. 67 f.

106. *Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1887), p. 102; *ibid., 70th* (1888), p. 77; *ibid., 71st* (1889), p. 73; *ibid., 73rd* (1891), p. 88; *ibid., 74th* (1892), p. 79; *ibid., 75th* (1893), p. 60; *ibid., 76th* (1894), pp. 64 f.

107. *Seventy-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1893), p. 62.

108. *Seventieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1888), p. 81; *ibid., 72nd* (1890), pp. 62 f.; *ibid., 75th* (1893), p. 58; *ibid., 76th* (1894), p. 70; C. F. Kupfer to C. C. McCabe, Sept. 9, 1891; E. L. Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 f.

109. *Seventy-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1891), p. 79; *ibid., 75th* (1893), p. 58; *ibid., 77th* (1895), p. 60.

110. *Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1887), pp. 103, 104; *ibid., 72nd* (1890), pp. 78, 79; *ibid., 75th* (1893), p. 59.

111. *Sixty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1885), p. 60; *ibid., 70th* (1888), p. 79; *ibid., 71st* (1889), p. 70; *ibid., 73rd* (1891), p. [89]; *ibid., 74th* (1894), p. 68.

112. *Seventy-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1889), pp. 79, 80; *ibid., 77th* (1895), p. 64.

113. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, I, 465.

114. *Ibid.*, I, 464-70; J. W. Bashford, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

115. *Fifty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1870), pp. 54, 55; *ibid., 53rd* (1871), pp. 54-58; *ibid., 54th* (1872), p. 63; E. L. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

116. M. S. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 f., 111 ff.; M. Isham, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff.; F. J. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 274 ff.; W. Lacy, *op. cit.*, p. 64; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, I, 474; *Year Book, W. F. M. S.*, 1939, pp. 164, 177.

117. *Fifty-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1872), p. 64.

118. *Fifty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1874), pp. 68 f.; *Gen'l Minutes*, 1872, p. 46; *ibid.*, 1873, p. 36.

119. *Fifty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1874), p. 71.

120. *Fifty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1875), p. 66; Richard Terrill Baker, *Ten Thousand Years, The Story of Methodism's First Century in China,* pp. 79 f.; Perry O. Hanson, "The Methodist Mission in Shantung, 1873-1933," *China Christian Advocate,* XX (1933), 4 (April), 14.

121. I. W. Wiley, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 f., 64-67.

122. M. Isham, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 ff.; Mrs. J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.; *Eleventh Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1879-80), pp. 32 f.; F. J. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff.

123. *Sixty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1879), pp. 66-68. The two statistical statements do not agree in all details.

124. *Ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.; *ibid., 63rd* (1881), pp. 83 f.

125. *Sixty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1886), pp. 80 f.

126. *Sixty-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1882), p. 70.

127. *Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1887), p. 119.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 123; *ibid., 70th* (1888), pp. 98, 102 f.; *ibid., 71st* (1889), pp. 93 f.; *ibid., 72nd* (1890), pp. 86, 87.

129. *Sixty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1886), pp. 89 f.; *ibid., 69th* (1887), p. 112; *ibid., 70th* (1888), p. 102; *ibid., 71st* (1889), pp. 91, 92; H. H. Lowry to Missionary Secretaries, Dec. 20, 1883; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, II, 131-33.

130. *Seventy-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1890), pp. 94 f.; *ibid., 75th* (1893), p. 68; *ibid., 77th* (1895), pp. 84 f.

131. *Seventy-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1891), p. 102; *ibid., 75th* (1893), pp. 69, 71.

132. *Seventy-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1891), pp. 104 f.

133. *Minutes, North China Conference*, 1893, pp. 10, 12 f., 17, 22 ff.; *Christian Advocate,* LXIX (1894), 30 (July 26), 480.

134. H. H. Lowry to Missionary Secretaries, Jan. 22, Aug. 8, 1894; *Seventy-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1893), p. 36.

135. H. H. Lowry to Missionary Secretaries, May 14, 1894, Dec. 14, 1895; *Minutes, B. M.*, XVI, 64 f.

136. *Seventy-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1895), pp. 77 ff., 70 f., 80 ff.

137. *Minutes, North China Conference*, 1895, p. 68.

138. F. Ohlinger to R. L. Dashiell, Nov. 9, 1878; Nathan Sites to C. H. Fowler, Oct. 1, 1880.

139. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, II, 154-59; Spencer Lewis, "Pioneering in West China," *China Christian Advocate*, XX (1933), 9 (September), 17-18.

140. *Ibid.*; *Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), p. 58; *Minutes, B. M.*, VIII, 367 f.

141. S. Lewis, *op. cit.*, XX (1933), 10 (October), 8, 17; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, II, 163-65; clipping on F. I. Wheeler, in Library, Board of Missions. Dates given by Reid and Gracey are not correct.

142. *Sixty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1884), p. 82; *ibid., 67th* (1885), pp. 82 f.; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, II, 164.

143. S. Lewis, *loc. cit.*; *Sixty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1884), p. 82.

144. *Sixty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1883), p. 80; *ibid., 66th* (1884), pp. 84 f.; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.*, II, 165.

145. *Sixty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1885), pp. 82 f.; *ibid., 68th* (1886), pp. 100 ff., 104; S. Lewis, *op. cit.*, XX (1933), 11 (November), 8, 17.

146. *Sixty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1886), p. 101.

147. S. Lewis, *loc. cit.;* J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* II, 167 ff.

148. *Sixty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1886), pp. 99 f.

149. E. I. Hart, *op. cit.,* pp. 149 f., 184, 186; V. C. Hart to J. M. Reid, March 5, 1887; *Sixty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1887), pp. 126 ff.; E. I. Hart refers to Virgil C. Hart's appointment to the superintendency. This designation does not appear in any other source and is to be questioned.

150. S. Lewis, *op. cit.,* XX (1933), 12 (December), 17; S. Lewis to J. M. Reid, June 14, 1888.

151. *Seventy-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1889), pp. 105-108; S. Lewis to Corresponding Secretaries, April 24, 1889.

152. *Seventy-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1890), pp. 102 f.

153. *Seventy-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1891), pp. 120-22; *ibid., 74th* (1892), pp. 121, 124; *ibid., 75th* (1893), p. 88; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* II, 175-77.

154. H. C. Canright, Ms. Notes; *Seventy-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1892), pp. 122, 125; *ibid., 76th* (1894), pp. 76 f., 78; *ibid., 77th* (1895), p. 91. For further comment on the Chengtu field, see H. Olin Cady, Ms. Notes.

155. *Ibid., 77th* (1895), pp. 87 f., 90.

156. *Ibid.,* pp. 88 f.; Alfred Cunningham, *A History of the Szechuen Riots* (May June, 1895), pp. 2, 5, 7, 17 ff.

157. H. Olin Cady, "Chentu, West China, and the Late Riots," *Gospel in All Lands,* October, 1895, pp. 502, 504; *Minutes, B. M.,* XVI, 66; *Seventy-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1896), p. 73.

158. *Seventy-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1895), p. 93.

159. *Seventy-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1892), p. 121.

160. Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History,* pp. 491-504; K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China,* p. 467 *n.*

161. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* II, 97 ff.; *Gospel in All Lands,* January, 1892, p. 53; *Missionary Herald,* quoted, *ibid.,* June, 1892, p. 256.

162. R. S. Maclay to W. L. Harris, Aug. 23, Oct. 9, 1871; V. C. Hart to Corresponding Secretary, May 7, 1875.

163. *Missionary Herald,* as quoted in *Gospel in All Lands,* June, 1892, p. 256.

164. *Forty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1864), p. 33; *ibid., 57th* (1875), p. 59; *ibid., 71st* (1889), p. 96; *ibid., 72nd* (1890), p. 68; *ibid., 73rd* (1891), pp. 83, 85; J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* II, 26 f., 48.

165. *Fifty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1870), p. 48; *ibid., 69th* (1887), pp. 95 f.; *ibid., 70th* (1888), p. 67; *ibid., 71st* (1889), pp. 62 f.

166. K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.,* pp. 467 f.

167. Ella Shaw, biographical materials, Library, Board of Missions; E. I. Hart, *op. cit.,* p. 182.

168. W. F. Mallalieu, "Some Facts Concerning China," *Christian Advocate,* LXVIII (1893), 3 (Jan. 19), 35.

169. *Seventy-third Ann. Rep.,* M. S. (1891), p. 95.

170. V. C. Hart to J. M. Reid, March 5, 1887.

171. Bishops' Address, 1856, *G. C. Journals,* III, 198 f.

172. *Sixty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1883), p. 71; *ibid., 73rd* (1891), pp. 78 f.

173. J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* p. 36.

174. E. Thomson, *op. cit.,* I, 256 ff.; *Missionary Advocate,* X (1854), 3 (June), 17.

175. *Fifty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1875), p. 66; G. A. Clayton, *op. cit.,* pp. 75 f.

176. *Seventy-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1893), p. 61; *ibid., 76th* (1894), pp. 67 f.

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VI

EXPANDING MISSIONS—INDIA AND MALAYSIA

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2. *Minutes, B.M.,* V, 30.

3. *Twenty-ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1847-48), p. 114; *ibid., 30th* (1848-49), p. 8; *ibid., 31st* (1849-50), p. 89; *ibid., 34th* (1852-53), pp. 17 f.; "Report of the General Missionary Committee," 1852, Appendix, p. 136, in *G. C. Journals,* III; *Minutes, B.M.,* V, 281.

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5. William Butler, *The Land of the Veda . . . ,* p. 221.

6. William Butler, report to Bishop Simpson and Board, March 10, 1857, in Butler-Durbin Correspondence. This closely written twenty-four-page ms. has apparently never been printed.

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E. J. Humphrey, *Six Years in India: Or, Sketches of India and Its People as Seen by a Lady Missionary,* p. 75.

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18. J. L. Humphrey, *Twenty-One Years in India,* pp. 67, 76 f.; J. E. Scott, *History of Fifty Years . . . ,* pp. 55 f.; *Fortieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1858), p. 35; *ibid., 41st* (1859), p. 37; *ibid., 42nd* (1860), p. 38; *ibid., 46th* (1864), p. 61; *Missionary Advocate,* XVI (1860), 7 (October), 49; *ibid.,* XVII (1861), 8 (November), 58.

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25. Edward Thomson, *Our Oriental Missions,* I, *India and China, 72*; *Forty-sixth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1864), p. [63].

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42. Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India,* pp. 180 f.; *Forty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1859), p. 39; Butler to Durbin, Oct. 1, 1859, in Butler-Durbin Correspondence.

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46. Butler to David Terry, Dec. 28, 1858, in Butler-Durbin Correspondence; Durbin to Butler, March 1 and 3, 1859, *ibid.*

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50. J. H. Messmore, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

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56. *Forty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1866), p. 76; *Missionary Advocate,* XX (1864), 5 (August), 36 f.; Parker's "Journal," quoted by J. H. Messmore, *op. cit.,* pp. 97, 121, 143 f.

57. *Minutes, B. M.,* VI, 432; *G. C. Journal,* 1864, p. 219.

58. Bishop Thomson's address can be found in the *Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1864, pp. 3-20. *Minutes, India Conference, Minutes, North India Conference,* and *Minutes, Northwest India Conference* were printed in a somewhat different format from those of other Conferences, carrying two dates—the year covered by the Presiding Elders' reports and the year of the Conference: *e.g., Minutes, India Conference,* 1874, preceded by *Ninth Annual Report Mission Stations, 1873.* In these references we use only the date of the Conference, which in this case would be 1874. J. H. Messmore, *op. cit.,* pp. 98 f.; J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* p. 110.

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159. *Minutes, India Mission Conference,* 1872, pp. 41, 42 f., 56.

160. W. Taylor, *Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions . . . ,* pp. 133 f.

161. *G. C. Journal,* 1872, p. 114. Taylor is mistaken in saying "it was read and laid on the table—not to be taken up again."—W. Taylor, *Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions . . . ,* p. 135.

162. *Bombay Guardian,* XVII (1872-73), 11 (May 11), 81.

163. W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign . . . ,* pp. 164 f.

164. *Bombay Guardian,* XVIII (1872-73), 40 (Nov. 30), 313; *ibid.,* 41 (Dec. 7), 321; W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign . . . ,* p. 238; *Fifty-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1872), p. 116.

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167. *Indian Statesman,* quoted, *ibid.,* XVIII (1872-73), 16 (June 15), 124 f.

168. *Ibid.,* 45 (Jan. 4), 353; Frederick Wood, in B. T. Badley, Ed., *op. cit.,* p. 224.

169. W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign . . . ,* p. 230; *Bombay Guardian,* XVIII (1872-73), 25 (Aug. 17), 193; *ibid.,* 33 (Oct. 12), 257.

170. W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign . . . ,* pp. 224, 233, 234 f., 274; *Missionary Advocate,* New Series, II (1874), 4 (April), 52.

171. W. F. Oldham, "God Keeps," *Christian Advocate,* XCII (1917), 44 (Nov. 1), 1135 f.; *idem,* "Some Life Experiences," ms.

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175. *Christian Advocate,* XLVIII (1873), 20 (May 15), p. [153].

176. W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign . . . ,* p. 270.

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179. J. M. Thoburn, "Rev. W. Taylor's Work in India," *Christian Advocate,* XLVIII (1873), 52 (Dec. 25), 409.

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181. J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* pp. 314 f.; W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign . . . ,* p. 293.

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183. J. M. Thoburn, *My Missionary Apprenticeship,* p. 315; W. Taylor, *Four Years' Campaign . . . ,* p. 294; *idem, Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions . . . ,* p. 142.

184. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* III, 20.

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207. J. M. Reid, report to Board of Managers, Missionary Society, in *Manual of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . ,* III (1883), 228 f.

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VII

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VIII

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9. Bishop E. R. Ames to T. Carter, Nov. 20, 1855, J. P. Durbin to T. Carter, Nov. 24, Dec. 26, 1855, Jan. 18, 1856, J. P. Durbin to Bishop Ames, March 19, 1856, Feb. 6, 1857, all in "Letters from the Board of Missions, South America, May 14, 1850—Oct. 17, 1865," ms., hereafter referred to as "South America Letter Book."

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74. *Tenth Ann. Rep., W. F. M. S.* (1878-79), p. 24; *ibid., 11th* (1879-80), pp. 48 f.; *ibid., 14th* (1883), pp. 44 f.; *ibid., 18th* (1887), p. 58.

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87. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

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89. *Ibid.*, pp. 29 f.

90. W. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 671 f.; G. F. Arms, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.

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94. *Ibid.*, pp. 37 f., 52 ff., 59; W. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 674.

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115. A. T. Jeffrey, quoted, *ibid.*, pp. 82 f.

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125. *Report of Bishop Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions, From July 1st, 1884, to March 24th, 1888,* pp. 5-13; G. F. Arms, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-17.

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149. *Seventy-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1895), pp. 46 f. This statistical statement, based upon the Missionary Society *Annual Report,* does not agree with the *Minutes, South America Conference,* 1895, in which there are numerous inaccuracies.

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IX

AFRICA

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2. *Ibid., 27th* (1845-46), pp. 25 ff.

3. *Ibid.,* p. 19. For details on the care given some of these children by Ann Wilkins, see Ann Wilkins to Mary R. Garrettson, June 22, 1846.

4. *Twenty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1847-48), p. 18.

5. *Twenty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1846-47), p. 20.

6. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* I, 231; *Missionary Advocate,* IV (1848), 1 (April), 5; *ibid.,* 3 (June), 21, 22.

7. *Twenty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1847-48), pp. 26 ff.

8. *Thirtieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1848-49), pp. 15 f.

9. *Thirty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1849-50), pp. 13 f.; *Christian Advocate and Journal,* XXV (1850), 1 (Jan. 3), 2.

10. *Thirty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1849-50), pp. 15 f.

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12. *Minutes, B. M.,* V, 193, 195, 200.

13. *Thirtieth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1848-49), pp. 16 ff.

14. "Journal of the General Conference, 1848," p. 131, in *G. C. Journals,* III.

15. *Missionary Advocate,* III (1847), 3 (June), p. 21; *ibid.,* III (1848), 12 (March), 94; Ann Wilkins to Mrs. Mary W. Mason, Oct. 18, 1849.

16. *Missionary Advocate,* V (1850), 12 (March), 94.

17. *Minutes, B. M.,* V, 159.

18. *Ibid.,* pp. 148, 251; *Thirty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1849-50), Appendix, p. 94.

19. *Missionary Advocate,* IX (1853), 6 (September), 42.

20. *Ibid.,* 3 (June), 26 f.; Ann Wilkins to Mary R. Garrettson, May 8, 1856.

21. *Thirty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1855), pp. 35 f.; *ibid., 39th* (1857), pp. 38, 41.

22. *Thirty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1853), p. 101; *ibid., 36th* (1854), pp. 41 f.; *ibid., 37th* (1855), pp. 35 f.; *ibid., 38th* (1856), p. 58; *ibid., 39th* (1857), p. 41. Although the Board permitted her to return to America in March, 1854, she delayed for two years. See letter "My Dear Sister Wilkins . . . ," March 24, 1854.

23. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 238; Willis J. King, "History of the Methodist Church Mission in Liberia," mimeographed ms., pp. 31, 33 f.

24. Francis Burns to J. P. Durbin, Dec. 27, 1861. See also F. Burns to John M. Reid, May 3, 1859.

25. W. J. King, *op. cit.,* pp. 33 ff.; *Forty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1860), p. 18.

26. *Ibid., 42nd* (1860), pp. 18 f.; *ibid., 43rd* (1861), p. 46; *ibid., 46th* (1864), p. 83.

27. *Thirty-ninth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1857), p. 41; *ibid., 42nd* (1860), p. 19; *ibid., 43rd* (1861), p. 47.

28. W. J. King, *op. cit.,* p. 41.

29. *Forty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1861), p. 46.

30. *Forty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1863), p. 65; W. J. King, *op. cit.,* p. 40.

31. *Minutes, B. M.,* VI, 449.

32. W. J. King, *op. cit.,* p. 41; *Forty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1866), p. 14.

33. *Fifty-first Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1869), p. 45.

34. *Forty-eighth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1866), p. 18.

35. *Forty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1865), p. 92.
36. *Fifty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1870), p. 34.
37. *Fifty-seventh Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1875), p. [35].
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39. George Prentice, *The Life of Gilbert Haven, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* pp. 482 f.
40. *Ibid.,* p. 483.
41. *Sixty-second Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1880), p. [33].
42. *Sixty-third Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1881), p. 36.
43. *Sixty-fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1882), pp. [35] ff.
44. *Sixty-fifth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1883), p. 41.
45. J. M. Reid and J. T. Gracey, *op. cit.,* I, 259.
46. "Minutes," Third Annual Meeting, General Executive Comm., W. F. M. S., 1872, ms., pp. 60, 76.
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59. *Gospel in All Lands,* March, 1885, p. 113.
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61. W. Taylor, *op. cit.,* pp. 716 ff.
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